University of Bedfordshire

Title　　　Politeness, The Japanese Style:

An Investigation into the use of Honorific Forms

and People's Attitudes Towards Such Use.

Name　　Yoko Tsuruta

POLITENESS, THE JAPANESE STYLE:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE USE OF HONORIFIC FORMS

AND PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUCH USE

by

YOKO TSURUTA

A thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities

of the University of Luton

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1998

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the thesis is to explore the characteristics of politeness which are conveyed by the use of Japanese honorific forms (i.e. honorific politeness). The perspective of the research is as follows: 1) the concept of politeness is regarded as being wider in scope than in major past studies of linguistic politeness in the West (e.g. Leech 1983); 2) unlike many past studies of politeness related to Japanese honorific forms, the research attempts to study the social effect of the use of an honorific form rather than the grammatical or semantic properties of such forms; 3) the analysis of honorific politeness is based on the findings about the mechanism by which honorific politeness mitigates discomfiture, and on the metalinguistic evaluations of honorific forms made by native speakers. Results from a questionnaire, which investigated the types of discomfiture which result from various kinds of inappropriate linguistic behaviour, suggested that the use of an honorific form can mitigate two main types of discomfiture, which differ in degree of seriousness, depending on the social features of the situation in which the use occurs. It is pointed out that the mitigation of either type of discomfiture should be regarded as flowing from a common type of linguistic choice, that is, compliance with a social norm governing the appropriate use of language in different kinds of communication situations, i.e. register rules. Furthermore, based on observations of the use of linguistic forms other than

honorific ones, it is argued that honorific forms are one of many linguistic devices for realizing register differences, i.e. register markers. Results from the other questionnaire, which probed native speaker's evaluation of different types of language use for the communication of politeness, indicate that native speakers tend to place special aesthetic value on honorific forms and their use, independently of the seriousness of the discomfiture they can mitigate. Based on an analysis of the background to this tendency, it is argued that the value can be appropriately regarded as sharing many properties with the value which language users place on a certain part of register markers in a diglossic community. It is thus concluded that honorific politeness is a form of diglossia.

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Preface

The first inkling I had that there seems to be a problem with discussions of Japanese linguistic politeness presented by various people came from my experience as a teacher of Japanese as a second/foreign language (JSL). I noted a number of my JSL students were inadvertently rude in their language use in Japanese. I soon realized that their inappropriate behaviour was a result of the treatment of linguistic politeness in the mainstream JSL syllabuses for elementary-level learners. In the standard syllabus, the appropriate use of honorific forms is emphasized, while the use of other forms that native speakers normally use for the communication of politeness is often neglected; e.g. the choice among expressions for making a request depending on the degree to which the other person has the obligation to accept the request (such as between *-te-itadake-masu-ka* and *-te-itadake-nai-de-shoo-ka*). I felt strongly the need for a more comprehensive teaching of polite language use and, to support such teaching, for an investigation into politeness other than that related to honorific forms.

Later, I began to teach introductory courses in sociolinguistics and JSL teaching methodology at Japanese universities, and comments given in class discussions in those courses by native-speaking students led me to realize that JSL teachers are not the only group of people who tend to regard the use of honorific forms as the sole important polite linguistic behaviour. Many of this young generation of native speakers expressed their belief in the importance of the use of such forms, while they often were unaware of their own use of other forms for the conveyance of politeness. Meanwhile, I realized that some researchers of linguistic politeness held the same view, regarding honorific forms as being of key importance in linguistic politeness in Japanese. Writings by some linguists in the field of politeness theory seemed to assume that the use of honorific politeness is the most (if not the only) important linguistic behaviour for the communication of politeness in Japanese.

As these realizations emerged, my interest in Japanese linguistic politeness gradually shifted its

focus; from politeness other than honorific politeness to people's attitudes towards honorific politeness. I grew curious to know why so many Japanese people believed in the paramount importance of the use of honorific forms and paid little attention to other important kinds of linguistic politeness in Japanese. I came to believe that an exploration of the background to this tendency would make an equally (or perhaps more) significant contribution to the improvement of the treatment of politeness in JSL teaching, illuminating the factors which may have impeded the realization of the need for such an improvement.

I finally decided to investigate the characteristics of politeness communicated by the use of honorific forms, in an attempt to draw people's attention to other kinds of politeness in Japanese, addressing the following two questions. The first question was whether the use of honorific forms is really the most crucial kind of linguistic behaviour for the communication of politeness; in other words, whether it plays such an important role in terms of avoiding causing uncomfortable feelings with other participants. The second question was what underlies the prevalence of the view of the importance of the use of such forms.

Acknowledgements

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Luton. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Yoko Tsuruta

June 1998

List of acronyms

CC	Conversational Contracts	PEN	Politeness Enactment Norm
CP	Cooperative Principle	PMN	Politeness Management Norm
ER	Eyebrow-Raising	PP	Politeness Principle
FN	First Name	PPN	Politeness Principle Norm
FT	Face-Threatening	PS	Pilot Study
FTA	Face threatening act	PQ	Pilot Questionnaire
GTA	Greater Tokyo Area	PQD	Post-Questionnaire Discussion
IER	Illocutionary-Eyebrow-Raising	RSRC	Referent's Social Rank Connoter
IFT	Illocutionary-Face-Threatening	SER	Stylistic-Eyebrow-Raising
JSL	Japanese as a Second Language	SFT	Stylistic-Face-Threatening
KT	Kin Title	SM	Situation Marker
N-S	Non-Student	TLN	Title + Last Name

A note on the Japanese transcription

The transcription of Japanese basically follows Hepburn's system, in which the consonants are

expressed by ones which look most natural for English speakers and the vowels are expressed in the

Italian manner. However, the five long vowels are expressed as "aa", "ii", "uu", "ei" and "oo" instead

of the short counterparts with a bar, which is not available in my word processor. Following the common

practice, no distinction is made between the short and long vowels, except for that between "e" and "ei",

in the case of proper nouns (including the titles of books and articles). Words are divided into

morphemes with hyphens between them, where it seems useful to separate an honorific morpheme from

other parts.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   The aims

It is widely accepted that the appropriate use of honorific forms, or *keigo* in Japanese, is a very

important element of linguistic politeness in Japanese for learners of Japanese as a second/foreign

language (JSL, henceforth) to master. For example, warning JSL learners that a lack of knowledge

concerning the appropriate use of such forms can critically affect their professional life in Japan,

Niyekawa (1991) writes:

> An ordinary grammatical error made by a foreigner may simply seem cute to the
>
> Japanese, but an error in *keigo* tends to arouse an instantaneous emotional reaction.
>
> Niyekawa 1991: 14

Similarly, most JSL textbooks for learners from the elementary to advanced levels deal with the usage

of honorific forms, and many audio and video materials specifically focus on the teaching of this aspect

of language use. An introduction such as the following is likely to be made concerning the usage of

honorific forms in an elementary level textbook:

> *I-u* "to say" has two honorific equivalents, *osshar-u* "to say (gracefully)" and *moos-*
>
> *u* "to say (humbly)". You must appropriately choose between the two honorific forms:
>
> *osshar-u* is appropriate to refer to the action of 'saying' which is performed by
>
> someone who is in relatively higher social status, such as your teacher, while *moos-u*
>
> is appropriate to refer to the action performed by someone who has a relatively lower
>
> social status. Thus, you say:

Sensei-ga   *osshar-u.*
teacher-SUB   says (gracefully)
"The teacher says (something) gracefully."

Watashi-ga   *moos-u.*
I-SUB   say (humbly).
"I say (something) humbly."

However, I have regularly met, as a JSL teacher, intermediate- and advanced-level students who had learnt to be fluent in the usage of honorific forms and yet were rude, inadvertently, in their speech in Japanese. Many of such otherwise successful learners seemed to lack knowledge and skills about how people can politely perform in Japanese "socially difficult" speech acts such as requesting, asking for permission, apologizing and refusing a request/invitation. It is unfortunate and ironical with such learners that, the more fluent in the use of honorific forms a learner is, the more offensiveness his/her tactless utterance for performing such a speech act is often perceived to be. One typical example of inappropriate utterances by such a learner is one whose illocutionary meaning can be spelled out as follows:

"I'm (humbly) very sorry that I'm late for the class and please (gracefully) forgive me, but I (humbly) declare that I had every right to be late since I overslept this morning." (*Okure-mash-i-te, mooshiwake gozai-mas-en. Demo, kesa neboo shi-mash-i-ta-kara.*)

It is assumed that such an inappropriate utterance results from the speaker's lack of knowledge about the meaning conveyed by the form s/he uses here for explaining the reason for his/her delay, *-mash-i-ta-kara* ("since"). The form conventionally conveys the speaker's assumption that the condition referred to in the part connected to it (i.e. her/his oversleeping, in this case) entirely justifies the other condition (i.e. her/his being late), and thereby fails to convey her/his regret/apology for the whole incident. (Note, however, that the use of the form will be appropriate for giving a reason when the speaker is making a

hearer-supportive speech act such as "Don't worry about your delay, since I overslept, too, and am going to be late, myself".)

The knowledge about polite language use that such a JSL learner seems to have failed to learn is different in type from that of the use of honorific forms. The latter does not redeem the lack of the former; on the contrary, it can worsen it. This implies that the appropriate use of honorific forms is not all that JSL learners need to learn in order to avoid making inadvertently offensive utterances; there is at least one other type of language use that they need to know for this purpose.

My experience as a JSL teacher has led me to realize the need to re-examine the importance of the use of honorific forms in Japanese linguistic politeness and to obtain a broader perspective on how politeness is conveyed in Japanese. Thus, my research aims to consider politeness in Japanese from a wider perspective, and to explore whether the role honorific forms play in Japanese linguistic politeness is in fact as important as is generally assumed.

However, there was another factor that prompted me to carry out my research: I realized that the learners' unintended inappropriate behaviour was a reflection of inadequate JSL teaching; that is, they had not been appropriately taught in their Japanese classes to avoid language use which might cause offence. No JSL textbooks (with a few exceptions, such as Yamakami and Tsuruta 1988 andYamakami 1992) attempt to provide learners with explicit knowledge concerning the distinction between politely giving an apologetic excuse and politely giving a reason in a hearer-supportive utterance. Nor do they teach how to make a polite utterance in the context of requesting, of refusing a request/invitation, of correcting another person's mistake, or of any other "socially difficult" speech act.

The traditional treatment of linguistic politeness in JSL teaching, in which appropriate choices of honorific forms has been emphatically focused on and other categories of "socially difficult" forms have been neglected, was adopted in the syllabus for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, which was officially issued in 1994 (Kokusai Koryu Kikin and Nihon Kokusai Kyoiku Kyokai 1994). The syllabus includes the appropriate usage of honorific forms at all its four levels (from introductory to

advanced), but makes no mention of appropriate choices of any other politeness forms. Learners who make an inadvertently offensive utterance could therefore be regarded as rather natural products of the standardized syllabus of JSL teaching.

It appears that such a syllabus is based on the prevailing assumption among JSL teachers and textbook writers that the appropriate choice of honorific forms is so significantly more important for avoiding causing offence or discomfiture than choice of any other forms that learners need only acquire the proper usage of honorific forms to become polite speakers of Japanese. It is curious that such an assumption has remained unchallenged for such a long time. While changes in various aspects, such as teaching methods, have occurred in JSL teaching in response to developments in linguistics and applied linguistics in the West, since modern JSL teaching began in the 1950's, no fundamental change seems to have occurred in the principle of the teaching of Japanese linguistic politeness. It is particularly significant that the treatment of linguistic politeness in JSL teaching has remained unchanged, despite language teachers' growing realization worldwide of the importance of teaching politeness in relation to making requests and other socially difficult types of contexts (for examples, see: Hymes 1972, Kasper 1979, 1982; House and Kasper 1982; Thomas 1983; Blum-Kulka 1982; Osugi 1982; Sakamoto and Naotsuka 1982). JSL teachers were not exceptions in following this trend in language teaching. Increasingly, books, articles, papers in journals and JSL textbooks were published by JSL teachers, textbook writers and researchers in an effort to provide both learners and teachers with analyses of polite linguistic behaviour in the Japanese language. However, it seems that much of the effort was focused on politeness in relation to the use of honorific forms (for example, Ide et al. 1986) while the arguments concerning other types of politeness (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; Neustupny 1987; Tsuruta 1992; Tateoka 1993), it seems, were not powerful enough to cause a drastic change in treatment of linguistic politeness within the standard JSL syllabus.

Thus, in my research, I also attempt to explore why honorific forms are regarded as so crucial to Japanese linguistic politeness, by seeking to identify the factors behind the prevailing unchanging

view of the importance of such forms for politeness in the language.

My research is primarily aimed at improving the teaching of linguistic politeness to JSL learners, by attempting to equip teachers with knowledge necessary to avoid inadvertently causing discomfiture, and by exploring what factors have hindered such improvement. An understanding of the characteristics of politeness communicated by the use of honorific forms and an understanding of the background of the fixed but unsubstantiated idea about the importance of such forms commonly shared by native-speaking JSL teachers will serve as a useful basis on which to construct a better syllabus for the teaching of honorific forms and Japanese linguistic politeness in general.

However, I am also concerned with arguments concerning Japanese linguistic politeness made within the academic field of politeness theory. Some such arguments seem to be based on the same type of assumption as is found in JSL teaching concerning the importance of honorific forms in Japanese linguistic politeness. For example, Ide describes honorific forms as "the major linguistic devices for politeness" (1989: 224). With a few exceptions (e.g. Leech 1983), discussions on Japanese politeness focus on the appropriate use of honorific forms, and regard it as the most important aspect of polite linguistic behaviour. Further, some comparative discussions of Japanese politeness appear to be based on certain unfortunate confusions, attempting to compare the use of Japanese honorific forms with polite linguistic behaviour in another language which communicates a different type of politeness from that communicated by the use of honorific forms. My research therefore attempts to clarify the ways in which such approaches to Japanese linguistic politeness are not based on a theoretically adequate perspective of politeness, and tries to provide a more principled framework for study of politeness communicated by the use of honorific forms. I hope my work will contribute to the enhancement of "both factual accuracy and theoretical parsimony" (Fishman 1972: 438) in research into linguistic politeness.

1.2   Definition of key terms

1.2.1   Politeness

Key terms for politeness discussions, such as **polite, politeness, impolite** and **rude,** have been used by different authors in different ways (I will discuss the variety of usage of "polite" both as a technical and a folk term in Chapter 3). There are two major ways in which these terms can be used in a discussion of linguistic politeness. One is to use these terms to refer to a pragmatic property; that is, to refer to the social effect resulting from a piece of linguistic behaviour (usually an utterance) made by a speaker to another participant in a particular context/situation. The other is to use the terms to refer to a semantic property or value that a linguistic form (or a sentence) constantly holds regardless of its use. The distinction between these two types corresponds to the distinction which Leech (1983) makes between his "relative politeness" and "absolute politeness". By relative politeness, he means "politeness relative to context or situation". In my view, he correctly justifies his distinction by claiming:

In an absolute sense, [1] "Just be quiet" is less polite than [2] "Would you please be quiet for a moment?" But there are occasions where [1] could be too polite, and other occasions where [2] would not be polite enough.

Leech 1983: 102. My quotation marks.

Of the two senses of politeness, the pragmatic sense of politeness (i.e. Leech's relative politeness) is more important for my research. It is only the use of a linguistic form (and other types of linguistic behaviour) in a given context or situation, rather than the linguistic form itself, that can cause people to raise their eyebrows, to get annoyed, or to become angry. It is this pragmatic sense of politeness that I deal with in my research. The problem is, however, that the pragmatic effect produced by an utterance can very easily be confused with the semantic quality of a form. Such confusion seems to occur regularly not only in folk discussions but also in academic writing on linguistic politeness, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3. To

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prevent any such confusion in my discussions, unlike Leech, I will use "polite" to refer exclusively to the pragmatic notion. Thus, "polite", in my usage, means "not found to be uncomfortable/offensive by a participant (usually the addressee but not exclusively) in a context/situation". Similarly, I use "rude" and "impolite" exclusively to mean "felt to be uncomfortable by a participant (usually the addressee) in a context/situation". To refer to the semantic property of a form, I will not use any of these terms but some other ones (see Chapter 2). Accordingly, "politeness" is used exclusively to refer to the consequences of linguistic behaviour in a particular context/situation, such as "feelings which are not uncomfortable" or "meanings which are not found to be uncomfortable".

However, in my discussion of politeness, I will use **comfortable, comfort, uncomfortable** and **discomfiture** more often than the terms I discussed above. I do so in order to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of readers who are accustomed to the standard usage of the traditional key terms in past literature on Japanese linguistic politeness written in English. In such writings, "polite", "impolite" and "rude" have often been used to refer to the semantic properties of honorific and non-honorific forms, and I fear I might be understood by doing the same. It is important to note that, in my usage, "comfortable", "comfort", "uncomfortable" and "discomfiture" all cover fairly wide ranges of strength of feelings; for example, I may use the latter to refer to any degree of discomfiture which might be described as "offended", "angry", "irritated", "embarrassed", "incongruous" or "inappropriate".

Within the pragmatic notion of politeness, I further narrow the scope of my observation. Some polite linguistic behaviour may be perceived as comfortable when it is performed, but may simply pass unnoticed if it is not performed. For example, someone's joking in a crisis moment may be felt to be comfortable, relaxing the conflict, whereas his/her not joking in the same context would probably not be noticed nor be felt as particularly uncomfortable. Other polite linguistic behaviour, on the other hand, may be unnoticed when it is performed, but may be perceived as uncomfortable if it is not performed. For example, responding to someone's greeting may go unnoticed, whereas failure to respond would be found to be uncomfortable. I focus my observation on the latter of these two types of polite behaviour. Goffman describes such behaviour

as that "which gives rise to specific negative sanctions if not performed, but which, if it is performed, passes unperceived as an event", and terms it **Negatively Eventful** (1963: 7).

My choice to focus on this is again based on the primary aim of my research. For any language learner, these two types of polite behaviour will naturally have a different significance. If the learner fails to perform polite behaviour, in other words, if it is negatively eventful behaviour, the consequence is likely to be serious and may even result in social punishment; on the other hand, if the behaviour is **Positively Eventful**[1], it is likely to elicit no response. For most learners, therefore, the more important type of polite linguistic behaviour that they need to be aware of, and the first that they need to learn about, will be the negatively eventful type .

In this regard, I find it perfectly natural that much pedagogically-motivated research on linguistic politeness deals with this negatively eventful type of polite behaviour. Interestingly, researchers of linguistic politeness who are not particularly concerned with language teaching, and, for that matter, researchers of more general linguistic behaviour also often seem to focus on negatively eventful linguistic behaviour. For example, Gumperz and Tannen commented on their sociolinguistic research as follows: "by studying what has gone wrong when communication breaks down, we seek to understand a process that goes unnoticed when it is successful" (1979: 308).

Furthermore, throughout my research, I mainly deal with the choice of grammatical forms (i.e. words, phrases and sentences) and prosodic features (e.g. articulation of the pronunciation), although other types of linguistic behaviour (such as the choice of a particular structure of discourse, as well as para-linguistic behaviour and the choice of topic of conversation) can clearly be studied in terms of linguistic politeness. I do so for two reasons. The first is a practical reason; it would not be practical to include all types of linguistic behaviour in my study of polite linguistic behaviour. The second concerns the consistency of my

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[1] It may be possible to use "negative politeness" and "positive politeness" to distinguish the social effect that the two types of behaviour cause, as Leech (1983: 83-84) does. However, I prefer not to, because these terms happen to be more widely employed to refer to completely different notions introduced by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), and, again, it might cause confusion in my discussion.

discussion. The focus of my research is on the use of honorific forms, which are a particular category of grammatical forms, and by limiting my observation of polite behaviour to the use of honorific and other grammatical forms, I can be consistent. However, as I will discuss in detail later, certain prosodic features co-occur with the use of honorific forms, and the inclusion of such features in my discussion of politeness conveyed by the use of honorific forms seems therefore useful for a fuller understanding of such politeness.

1.2.2   Japanese, native speaker and honorific form

Apart from those key terms commonly appearing in discussions of linguistic politeness, the terms **Japanese, Native Speaker** and, obviously, **Honorific Form** are also important in my discussion, and it is useful to clarify the reference of each.

In Japanese, as in any other language, different varieties have been used in different historical and geographical divisions of society by different socio-economic groups of speakers of different generations, and this implies that various systems of honorific forms have been used in different ways by different groups of people (Nomoto 1957; Kato 1974; Egawa 1974; Honna 1980; Mitsuishi, 1986) . Among these varieties, my research concerns the contemporary one which is spoken in Tokyo and three surrounding prefectures (Saitama, Kanagawa and Chiba) by educated young generation of speakers. This is the variety which is often identified as *Kyootsuu-go* (common language) and is used in national (as well as much local) broadcasting. It is, therefore, understood by almost all Japanese, and spoken by many of the younger generation who speak both the vernacular and this variety in different situations. This is also the variety which most JSL learners are (disputably) expected to learn. Further, the system of honorific forms within this variety is the one that both JSL learners and native speakers from all regions are expected to learn (although many regional dialects have their own system of honorific forms). The terms **(the) Japanese (language)** and **honorific form** in my discussion refer to this variety of the language and the honorific forms in it, respectively, unless stated otherwise.

By **Native Speaker (of Japanese)**, I mean speakers of this variety who have lived in this part of

Japan for at least ten years, among whom I further narrow my scope and focus on native-speaking university students. It is important to note, however, that a "native speaker of Japanese" is not necessarily a fluent user of "honorific forms". As I discuss in Chapters 2 and 6, many of the younger generation do not use these forms in the same manner as the older generation of speakers of this variety of Japanese. However, both younger and older generations of native speakers share an idea of "the proper usage of honorific forms". When I discuss the usage of honorific forms (which I explain in Chapter 2), I refer both to this ideal usage of such forms and to the way in which all native speakers actually use them. The "proper" usage is the one both Japanese natives and JSL learners are normally expected to (and, wish to, in many cases) learn, and is the one normally referred to in discussions of Japanese honorific forms.

1.3   Outline of chapters

In Chapter 2, I describe the grammatical (i.e. lexico-morphological and semantic) properties of honorific forms and the usage of such forms. By doing so, I hope to give readers who are not familiar with the forms basic knowledge about them, and also to present certain terminology which I will use throughout my discussion to refer to different notions concerning such forms and their usage.

In Chapter 3, I consider the theoretical perspective of my research. I first examine the scope of the notion of politeness and the framework for analyzing politeness in past literature. I then propose my own definition of politeness suitable for my study of politeness communicated by the use of honorific forms. I also describe my own framework for the analysis of linguistic politeness, in which I observe native speakers' linguistic attitudes towards language use for the communication of politeness, as well as the regularities in their language use for the avoidance or mitigation of discomfiture.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I detail the three studies which I undertook for my research. In these studies, I explored people's evaluative attitudes towards honorific forms and the strength and types of discomfiture which are likely to result from failure to use such forms appropriately.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the results of my studies, and attempt to propose a description of the

characteristics of politeness communicated by the use of honorific forms, based on the analysis of results from my studies as well as on information from other sources.

In Chapter 7, I conclude my research by discussing its implications for JSL teaching and the theoretical study of linguistic politeness.

Chapter 2: Use of Japanese honorific forms

2.1 Introduction

Before beginning my investigation of politeness communicated through the use of Japanese honorific forms, it may be useful for readers who are not familiar with the Japanese language, to provide a brief illustration of how such forms are used. Therefore, in this section, I describe the grammatical (i.e. lexico-morphological and semantic) features of Japanese honorific forms and provide a sociolinguistic description of the use of these forms.

2.2 Grammar of honorific forms

2.2.1 On agglutination

I begin by outlining the general morphological characteristics of the language which will aid in understanding the lexico-morphological structure of honorific forms. I must emphasize that grammar is not in itself the main topic of my discussions, but merely the base for understanding them. My description of the grammatical characteristics in the following pages is simply intended to facilitate understanding for readers unfamiliar with the Japanese language. My description of the morphological rules, consisting of sub-rules dealing with allomorphs, phonological rules accompanying the morphological rules, and exceptions to those rules, will be presented in a simplified manner, focusing upon essential core aspects.

Japanese is an agglutinative language, and a variety of affixes (small particles attached to a word) are attached to a word to add some meaning to it or to modify its grammatical property. Although affixes may be attached to various parts of speech, my examples are restricted to the agglutination of verbs, partly because I would like to keep my discussion as simple as possible, and partly because verbs will be the main focus of my discussions of honorific forms.

Attaching the suffix, *-i-ta*, to the stem, *hanas-*, of the verb, *hanas-u* ("speak"), for example, converts the verb into the past tense: *hanash-i-ta* ("spoke"). (Some phonological change between consonants regularly accompanies the agglutination of this suffix, such as that between /s/ and /sh/ in this case). Another suffix, *-a-nai* is also attached to the stem of a verb to change it into the negative: *hanas-a-nai* ("do/does not speak"). The verb can also be converted into the negative past form by the addition of the combination *-a-nai* (the negativizer) and *-ta* (an allomorph of *-i-ta*). The agglutination of the two suffixes requires a small inflectional change at the end of *-a-nai*. Thus, the combination of the two is *-a-nakat-ta*, and the negative past tense of *hanas-u* ("to speak") is *hanas-a-nakat-ta* ("did not speak"). Different suffixes can be added one after another as in the above example. The following is another such example:

> *hanash-i-taku-nak-a-tta-yoo-da*
> speak-want-NEGATIVE-PAST-seem
> "seem not to have wanted to speak"

One final note on general Japanese grammar: all the forms shown in the preceding examples can be used as the predicate of a sentence (including an embedded sentence) without any restriction of concordance with the subject. That is, unlike English and other European languages, the grammatical categories known as number and first/second/third person do not exist in Japanese.

2.2.2   Two categories of honorific forms

An honorific form, or *keigo* in Japanese, is not a strictly technical term but rather a commonly used expression in most educated households. As a folk term, however, *keigo* seems to be used to refer to a range of notions. In responding to my question regarding their own use of honorific forms, for example, several members of a class of some forty first-year university students stated that they sometimes used the *Des-Mas*-Style of forms (a more formal equivalent; for a more detailed explanation, see below in this section) but never honorific forms. This response sounds highly contradictory to me and probably to

most other JSL teachers and Japanese language researchers, since a more formal version of words and

phrases are clearly within the denotation of *keigo* in its traditional technical usage as well as in the usage

which has been taught to pupils and students in Japanese language classes in school. Obviously, an

explicit definition is necessary concerning the way in which I employ "honorific form" in my discussion.

I use the term to refer to those forms which traditional Japanese linguists refer to as *keigo*,

including two semantically distinct categories of forms. The first category includes those forms which

connote a fictitious relative social rank on the part of the person referred to, or the person related to the

action/state referred to (henceforth, the **Referent** of the form). For example, an agglutinatively derived

honorific form, *o-hanashi-ni-nar-u* ("gracefully speak"), is the same as the non-honorific verb *hanas-*

u ("speak") in propositional meaning, i.e. "to speak", but differs from it in the expressive (also termed

"emotional", "social" or "connotative" by different authors) meaning, in that the former conveys a

fictionally higher status on the part of the agent of the action, speaking, which the latter does not.

The other category of honorific forms consists of those which are perceived as formal versions

of verbs and the copula. This type of forms differ from the first category in that they simply indicate

formality without connoting anything about the referent. For example, *hanashi-mas-u* ("speak

[FORMAL])"), another agglutinatively derived honorific form, is different from its non-honorific

counterpart, *hanas-u*, in that it indicates that the speaker is talking in a more formal manner. Similarly,

an honorific equivalent of the copula, *-des-u* is identical in its propositional meaning but conveys a

higher level of formality than its non-honorific counterpart, *-da*. (The more formal equivalents of the

copula and the main verb end in either *-des-* or *-mas-*, and therefore this category of forms (and the

speech style in which they are used) is called *Des-Mas*-Style.)

The distinction between the two categories has been recognized and identified by various

authors: e.g. Tokieda (1941), Tsujimura (1967) and Watanabe (1971). Two terms originally proposed

by Tsujimura (1963) which have finally been accepted for the categories and now commonly used in

Japanese linguistics: *Sozai-Keigo* (*lit.* "honorific forms in which respect for the designated is encoded")

and *Taisha-Keigo* (*lit.* "honorific forms in which respect for the addressee is encoded"), were translated

as **Referent Honorifics** and **Addressee Honorifics** respectively by Comrie (1976)[1]. Since then, these English terms have been in common usage by authors such as Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), Levinson (1983), and Ide (1989). However, I prefer not to use these terms for the reason which I will discuss in Chapter 3 (3.4.1). Instead, I use my own terminology to distinguish between the two categories. Henceforth, I refer to those which connote a fictitious relative social rank of the person related to the action/state referred to by the forms as **Referent's Social Rank Connoters (RSRCs)**. I refer to those which mark the formality of the situation as **Situation Markers (SMs)**.

In my employment of the term "honorific forms" I also follow the tradition in Japanese linguistics which restricts the range of honorific forms to only verbs, the copula, nouns, and two prefixes, *o-* and *go-*. These prefixes can be attached to a noun, adjective, adverb, and counters (or, quantity indicators), as in the following examples:

o-taku	Prefix + Noun	"graceful house"
o-kirei-na	Prefix + Adjective	"gracefully beautiful"
go-yururi-to	Prefix + Adverb	"gracefully slowly"
o-hitotsu	Prefix + Counter	"one (graceful piece)"
o-futari	Prefix + Counter	"two (graceful people)"

This traditional limitation of the range of forms covered by the term "honorific forms" is inconsistent, as there are some forms which also serve to indicate formality, although they are traditionally not included in the scope of "honorific forms" (But see e.g. Bunkacho (1971) for the usage of this term in which a wider range of forms are referred to). For example, some adjectives and adverbs as well as some function words such as **Sentence Connectors** (i.e. conjunctions) and **Case-Indicating Particles** serve to convey formality and therefore ought to be included in SMs (I will return to use of such forms in

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[1] Harada (1976) calls them "propositional honorifics" and "performative honorifics" respectively.

Chapter 6). The following list illustrates pairs in which the left-hand counterparts convey higher level of formality than the right-hand ones:

birei-na	"exquisite"	*kirei-na*	"beautiful"
shukushuku-to	"serenely"	*shizuka-ni*	"quietly"
shikashi	"however"	*demo*	"but"
-nite	"at the locus of"	*de*	"at"

Despite its terminological weakness, I adopt the traditional technical usage of the term *keigo* in Japanese linguistics in my employment of the English term "honorific forms", because the usage has become established in the field and has had significant influence on general native speakers' attitudes concerning linguistic politeness, which is an essential factor I intend to include in my observations of linguistic politeness in Japanese. (But I will discuss, later in this section, use of some of those forms which are not included in the category of "honorific forms".)

2.2.3   Semantic differences between RSRCs and SMs

An honorific form, either RSRC or SM, could not perform the honorific function it does, if it had no non-honorific counterparts, nor if people used the honorific form regardless of the situation (see Tsujimura 1967 and Minami 1987). The honorific function of such a form therefore rests on the contrast it presents with its non-honorific counterparts. I will use the term **Honorific Unit**, whenever necessary, to refer to the contrast occurring between several forms where propositional meaning is identical but where expressive meaning, that is, honorific value, is distinct in each case. The terms **Component of an** honorific unit, or **Honorific Component** will refer to each of the opposing forms, including the non-honorific counterpart. To look at honorific forms as components of these units makes it easier to understand the semantic and morphological characteristics of these forms.

There are different types of honorific components: [A] (non-honorific form), [B] (*Sonkei-go*),
[C] (*Kenjoo-go*) and [D] (*Teinei-go*), for example, are all equivalent in their propositional meaning to,
say, "to eat", yet different in terms of their honorific value. Unlike [A], the non-honorific component,
[B], the RSRC component, connotes the speaker's acknowledgement of fictitious grace accompanying
the action, "eating" in this case, and thereby imparts a fictionally higher social rank on the part of the
agent of the action (namely, the referent). The difference between the two components is illustrated by
the following sentences, the first using [A], the second [B].

Chinpanji-ga   *banana-o*   [A].
Chimpanzees-SUB   banana-OBJ   eat
"Chimps eat bananas."

Sensei-ga   *banana-o*   [B].
The teacher-SUB   banana-OBJ   eats-gracefully
"The teacher (who is socially higher than me) eats bananas."

On the other hand, [C], the other type of RSRC component, differs from its non-honorific counterpart,
[A], in that it connotes the speaker's acknowledgement of fictitious humbleness accompanying the
action and, thus, of the referent's fictionally lower social status.

Watashi-ga   *banana-o*   [C].
I-SUB   banana-OBJ   eat-humbly
"I (who am relatively lower in social status) eat bananas"

[B] and [C] communicate the speaker's acknowledgement of fictitious grace ([B]) or
humbleness ([C]) accompanying the action referred to and, by doing so, of a fictionally higher ([B]) or
lower ([C]) social status on the part of the referent in comparison with the speaker ([B]) or the provider

of the benefit the referent enjoys, the provider of the bananas in this case ([C])[2].

[B] and [C] are alike in communicating the speaker's acknowledgement of the fictitious relative social rank of the referent and in fictionally exalting the referent or other parties. [B] and [C], however, differ from each other in the way in which they fictionally exalt a party. The [B] equivalent of a verb simply exalts fictionally the referent by acknowledgement of his/her fictionally higher rank. A [C] equivalent, on the other hand, does not directly exalt the party which is exalted but exalts him/her indirectly by means of lowering its referent. I will use **Exalting RSRC** to refer to the [B] equivalent of a verb and **Lowering RSRC** to refer to the [C] equivalent of a verb, when the specification is necessary[3].

Finally, [D], a Formal equivalent of SM (**Formal SM**, henceforth), is distinct from [B] and [C], in that it does not perform the job either of fictional exalting nor lowering, but instead indicates a higher level of formality. For example:

Chinpanjii-ga   *banana-o*   [D].
Chimpanzees-SUB   banana-OBJ   eat-FORMAL
"(I state with formality that) Chimpanzees eat bananas."

To summarize the semantic difference between an RSRC and an SM, the honorific function that an RSRC performs involves its semantic job of referring to something, whereas the honorific function that an SM performs is independent of its semantic job. An RSRC differs from its non-honorific counterpart semantically: the former refers to its referent in a fictionally exalting or lowering manner,

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[2] What is communicated by the [C] equivalent of a verb concerning the relative social rank of the referent varies depending on the lexical nature of the verb. A [C] equivalent of a verb may communicate that the referent has a fictionally lower social rank compared with the recipient of the benefit or cost that the action generates, or compared with an unmentioned addressee. For example, in the sentence, "X help[C] Prof. Y", the [C] equivalent of the verb meaning "to help" conveys the speaker's acknowledgement of the referent's (i.e. X's) fictionally lower social status compared to Prof. Y (i.e. the recipient of the benefit). In "X disturbs-[C] Ms. Y" and in "Sorry to disturb-[C] you", on the other hand, the referent of the verb, X, and the speaker respectively, are presented fictionally as in a lower status than the recipient of the cost, Ms. Y or the mentioned addressee. Finally, in "I go-[C] to work", it is in comparison to the unmentioned addressee that the referent of the verb, the speaker, is presented fictionally as of a lower social rank.

[3] Harada (1976) calls my Exalting RSRC "subject honorifics" and my Lowering RSRC "object honorifics".

which the latter does not. An SM, on the other hand, does not differ from its non-honorific equivalent semantically but pragmatically: the former refers to its referent exactly in the same manner as the latter refers to its referent, but conveys a pragmatic meaning, i.e. formality, which its non-honorific equivalent does not.

Here I need to suggest some modification in terminology. So far I have used "non-honorific" to refer to the characteristic that the unmarked component of the honorific unit, [A], has as a form in contrast with the marked, i.e. honorific, equivalents, [B], [C] and [D]. Such use of "non-honorific" and "honorific" is insufficient in two ways. Firstly, as may have been noticed, the non-honorific characteristics of [A] consist of two elements. The honorific value which [A] lacks, but which [B] and [C] have, is semantic value, whereas that which [A] lacks, but [D] has, is pragmatic value. Thus, terms which can distinguish the two types of value more precisely than the term "non-honorifiic" are necessary. Secondly, referring to [B], [C] and [D] as honorific components while referring to [A] as an non-honorific component is contradictory to my argument that honorific value of a form which has traditionally been called an honorific form rests on the contrast among components of honorific units. So in the following discussions, I will use **Neutral** and **Plain**, when I need to make clear the difference between the two characteristics of "non-honorific-ness" of a form. I will use "RSRC" to refer not to [B] and [C] but to the system consisting of [B], [C] vs. [A], and "SM" to refer not only to [D] but to the system consisting of [D] vs. [A]. Thus, components [B], [C] vs. [A] are the Exalting, Lowering vs. Neutral RSRCs, respectively, and, [D] vs. [A] are the Formal vs. Plain SMs. The term "non-honorific" will still be used but only to refer to the lexico-morphological characteristic of a form.

2.2.4   Comparable forms in Western languages

It may be helpful for readers who are not familiar with Japanese honorific forms to present here some forms in English and other Western languages which convey an expressive meaning similar to the expressive meaning of a Japanese RSRC or SM. As Comrie (1976) sees it correctly, in my view, the English verb "perspire" can be regarded as an honorific form. I adopt his illustration here.

two of her majesty's loyal subjects are discussing the sudatory effect of hot weather during

the royal parade, they might agree on saying that the soldiers *sweated*, whereas the queen

perspired.

1976: A14; my italicization

Based on such a usage of the verb, in which it conveys respect to the action referred to by the verb by

connoting a fictionally higher social rank on the part of the queen (i.e. the agent of the action, i.e. the

referent), which its counterpart "sweat" would not, it seems appropriate to observe that "perspire" can,

in some usage, fictionally exalt its referent. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to say that "perspire" can

convey a similar expressive meaning to a Japanese Exalting RSRC in some usage. However, this is not

a semantic property the English verb permanently have. In another usage such as "I perspire immensely

these days", the same verb does not do the fictional exalting or lowering of the social rank of its referent,

"I", but only conveys the other kind of expressive meaning. It conveys the speaker's acknowledgement

of the formality of the situation in which s/he is speaking. "Perspire" in such a usage connotes nothing

about the speaker's perception about the social rank of the referent but rather indicates formality. In

other words, the English verb can act as a Formal SM in some usage.

Other English verbs and phrasal verbs such as "dine" (vs. "eat"), "be seated" (vs. "sit") and

"spend the night" (vs. "sleep") seem to be used as Exalting RSRCs and as Formal SMs in different uses.

It is important to note that all of these are versatile forms; in other words, one cannot describe any of

these forms either as an RSRC or an SM, but only particular uses as functioning as an RSRC or as an

SM. Thus, the verb "perspire" is neither an Exalting RSRC or a Formal SM as a form. Instead, it can be

used either to connote fictitious grace accompanying the referred action and thus fictionally exalt the

agent of the action, as a Japanese Exalting RSRC does, in one use, or to indicate formality without

connoting any relative social status, as a Japanese Formal SM does, in another use.

It seems difficult to find an example of an Exalting or Lowering RSRC in English, especially

among verbs. However, an example can be found among nominal expressions. That is **Title plus Last**

Name (TLN) vs. First Name (FN). Using "Dr Smith", rather than "Judy", for example, to refer to a Dr Judy Smith, invariably implies a higher status on the part of the referent. Whether or not the referent (Judy Smith) is the addressee, it is invariable that the person is fictionally exalted. Therefore, TLN is, by definition, an Exalting RSRC.

The so-called polite alternative of European T/V units, e.g. *vous* vs. *tu* in French and *Sie* vs. *du* in German, can also rightly be considered as examples of Exalting RSRC. Use of the V alternative can convey the speaker's acknowledgement of a higher status of the referent, or greater social distance between him/her and the referent, than the T alternative does.

Further, if one extends the perspective and allows the term "form" to include not only lexico-morphological entities but also morpho-phonetic variants such as

"going to"   vs.   "gonna"
"don't know"   vs.   "dunno"

the first alternatives of such pairs can also be considered as examples of SM, as they are morpho-phonetic forms that consistently convey the speaker's acknowledgement of a more formal level of speech, without doing any fictitious exalting or lowering of the referent. However, if one strictly limits "forms" to grammatical entities, it seems fair to say most English honorific forms are versatile enough to serve as either an Exalting RSRC or a Formal SM, i.e. they function as one of the two categories of honorific forms depending on usage.

It is also difficult to find an English example of a form which can be used as a Lowering RSRC. "Blubber" vs. "cry" might be one such example. Nominal examples seem easier to find: "hovel" and "shack" as against "house" may be examples.

2.2.5 Lexico-morphological characteristics of honorific forms

In Japanese, the Formal SM equivalent of a verb can be created regularly by attaching the suffix

-mas-u to the stem of the non-honorific equivalent of the verb. Thus, the Formal SM equivalent of the

verb *hanas-u* ("speak") is *hanash-i-mas-u*. The Exalting and Lowering RSRC of a verb, on the other

hand, may be either an agglutinative derivative of the non-honorific equivalent or a form which is

lexically unrelated to the verb. For example, in the case of the same verb *hanas-u* ("speak"), its

Exalting and Lowering RSRCs derive from it by agglutination. The combination of a prefix and a

compound suffix attached to the stem of the non-honorific equivalent of a verb (the [A] equivalent,

according to the manner I adopted in 2.2.3) converts the verb into its Exalting or Lowering RSRC

counterpart. Thus, the agglutinative structure formulated as [*o-* STEM OF VERB *-i-ni-nar-u*] is that of

the Exalting RSRC, i.e. the [B] equivalent, and a similar but different structure [*o-* STEM OF VERB *-

i-suru*] is that of the Lowering RSRC, the [C] equivalent. Thus, the four equivalents constituting the unit

"speak" is as follows:

Non-Honorific Form:	[A]	*hanas-u* "speak"
Exalting RSRC:	[B]	*o-hanash-i-ni-nar-u* "gracefully speak"
Lowering RSRC:	[C]	*o-hanash-i-suru* "humbly speak"
Formal SM:	[D]	*hanash-i-mas-u* "speak-FORMAL"

In the case of the verb *tabe-ru* ("eat"), on the other hand, the commonly used Exalting and Lowering

RSRC counterparts of the non-honorific equivalent are lexically completely different verbs as shown in

the following:

Non-Honorific Form:	[A]	*tabe-ru* "eat"

Exalting RSRC: [B]   *meshiagar-u*
                                "gracefully eat"

Lowering RSRC: [C]   *itadak-u*
                                "humbly eat"

Formal SM: [D]   *tabe-mas-u*
                                "eat-FORMAL"

Among commonly used verbs, only some twenty such as those meaning "to go", "to be (exist)",

"to say", "to know", "to give", "to receive" and "to do", have lexically different honorific counterparts.

The agglutinative structures for Exalting and Lowering RSRC, [*o-* STEM OF VERB *-i-ni-nar-u*] and

[*o-* STEM OF VERB *-i-suru*], are much more productive in that they can be applied to the majority of

Japanese verbs, which do not have lexically different honorific counterparts[4].

The derivation and changes in Formal, Exalting and Lowering equivalents of the copula have a

long and complicated history. However, the diachronic development of honorific forms is outside the

scope of my study, and I simply present the contemporary honorific counterparts of the copula here.

Non-Honorific Form: [A]   *-da*
                                "be (something)"

Exalting RSRC: [B]   *-de-irasshar-u*
                                "gracefully be (something)"

Lowering RSRC: [C]   *-de-gozar-u*[5]
                                "humbly be (something)"

Formal SM: [D]   *-des-u*
                                "be (something)-FORMAL"

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[4] This description does not apply to verbs whose lexical meaning is conceptually contradictory to honorification For example, it would be absurd to say "gracefully steal others' property", and therefore the verb *nusum-u* ("steal") does not normally have an Exalting RSRC equivalent.

[5] In contemporary Japanese, *-de-gozar-u* is not used without the Formal SM suffix *-mas-u* attached to it as in *-de-goza-i-mas-u*. See 2.2.6 for an explanation of the combination of an Exalting or Lowering RSRC suffix and the Formal SM suffix. I present a sentence which contains *-de-gozar-u*, however, because my discussion in this section aims to illustrate the morphological structure of honorific components, and these examples are provided to help readers understand the syntax and semantics of a sentence structure in which such a component is contained.

While verbs have only two levels of formality, i.e. Plain and Formal, the copula has yet another level, which I call **Super Formal** (which I designate as [D+]). The Super Formal SM of the copula is:

Super Formal SM: [D+]   *-de-goza-i-mas-u*
                              "be (something)-SUPER FORMAL"

In order for readers unfamiliar with Japanese to have an idea of the syntactic structures in which those equivalents of the copula occur, I present some examples of sentences containing them with a rough translation.

[A]   *Susan-ga   shikai-da.*
        Susan-SUB   chairperson be
        "Susan's the chairperson."

[B]   *Honda-sensei-ga   shikai-de-irasshar-u.*
        Honda-Prof.-SUB   chairperson gracefully be
        "Prof. Honda (who is socially higher than me) is the chairperson."

[C]   *Watashi-ga   shikai-de-gozar-u.*
        I-SUB   chairperson be humbly
        "I (who am socially lower than you) am the chairperson."

[A]   *Banana-da.*
        Banana be
        "(They')re bananas."

[D]   *Banana-des-u.*
        Banana be-FORMAL
        "(I state with formality that they) are bananas."

[D+]   *Banana-de-goza-i-mas-u.*
        Banana be-SUPER FORMAL
        "(I state with super formality that they) are bananas."

As we saw in 2.2.4, most English honorific units are versatile in that they can be either an Exalting RSRC or a Formal SM, in different uses, with the exception of a few forms such as Title + Last Name (TLN), an Exalting RSRC. On the other hand, most Japanese honorific forms are forms which consistently perform a particular honorific function or functions. In the case of an agglutinatively derived honorific form, there is a one-to-one correspondence between its morphological property and the function it may perform. Thus, a form with the structure [*o-* STEM OF VERB-*i-ni-nar-u*] or [*o-* STEM OF VERB -*i-suru*] is invariably an Exalting RSRC and a form ending with a -*mas-u*, -*des-u* or -*de-goza-i-mas-u* is invariably a Formal or Super Formal SM.

In the case of verbs whose Exalting and Lowering RSRCs are not an agglutinative derivative of their Neutral equivalent but instead are lexically unrelated, their Exalting or Lowering RSRC equivalents cannot be determined simply on the basis of their formal properties. However, the number of such verbs are, as already stated, only about twenty. It is therefore safe to say that, in the case of the majority of Japanese honorific forms, the function an honorific form performs is obvious from its morphological property.

2.2.6   Dual-functioned honorific forms

It may be a little confusing that, in spite of the fact most Japanese honorific forms are not versatile in the way most English honorific forms are, a Japanese honorific form, if it is a verb, can **simultaneously** be both an RSRC and an SM. The Formal SM suffix, -*mas-u* can be attached to an Exalting or a Lowering RSRC. For example, adding -*mas-u* to *meshiagar-u*, i.e. the (lexical) Exalting RSRC equivalent of *tabe-ru* ("eat"), generates:

> *Meshiagar - i - mas-u*
> Eat-gracefully-FORMAL
> "(I state with formality that someone who is higher than me) Eats (something)."

Similarly, by adding *-mas-u* to the verb *hanas-u* ("speak") in the Exalting RSRC structure [*o*- STEM

OF VERB *-i-ni-nar-u*], one obtains:

> O *- hanash-i - ni - nar-i - mas-u*
> gracefully speak-FORMAL
> "(I state with formality that someone who is higher than me) Speaks."

In this way, forms of the structure formulated as [EXALTING/LOWERING RSRC OF VERB-*mas-u*]

simultaneously and invariably connote the speaker's acknowledgement of a fictitious relative social

rank of the referent of the form as well as indicate formality. The **dual** function which these forms fulfill

differs from the function of English honorific forms such as "perspire" which I have called **versatile**.

The difference lies in that which exists between simultaneity and alternation.

2.2.7   Examples of major honorific units

Before closing this section and moving to 2.3 (where I will discuss in detail how these forms are used

and what is communicated by their use), it may be useful to present the main types of honorific forms in

a manner which summarizes the semantic and lexico-morphological characteristics that I have

described. The following three tables illustrate the lexico-morphological structures of three types of

honorific units of verbs and copulas.

Table 2.1 Agglutinative honorific verb unit: *hanas-u* "to speak"

FORMALITY (SM) S-R RELATIONS (RSRC)	PLAIN	FORMAL
NEUTRAL	*hanas-u*	*hanash-i-mas-u*
EXALTING	*o-hanash-i-ni-nar-u*	*o-hanash-i-ni-nari-mas-u*
LOWERING	*o-hanash-i-suru*	*o-hanash-i-shi-mas-u*

Table 2.2 Lexical honorific verb unit: *tabe-ru* "to eat"

FORMALITY (SM) S-R RELATIONS (RSRC)	PLAIN	FORMAL
NEUTRAL	*tabe-ru*	*tabe-mas-u*
EXALTING	*meshiagar-u*	*meshiagar-i-mas-u*
LOWERING	*itadak-u*	*itadaki-mas-u*

Table 2.3 Honorific copula unit

FORMALITY (SM) S-R RELATIONS (RSRC)	PLAIN	FORMAL	SUPER FORMAL
NEUTRAL	*-da*	*-des-u*	*-de-goza-i-mas-u*
EXALTING	*-de-irasshar-u*	*-de-irassha-i-mas-u*	
LOWERING	*-de-gozar-u*	*-de-goza-i-mas-u*	

To summarize my use of terminology, **Honorific Component** is used to refer to any of the six (or seven in the case of the copula) types of forms indicated in each table, while **Honorific Form** is used to refer to an honorific component which is Formal, Super Formal, Exalting and/or Lowering type or types (i.e. those presented in bold in the three tables). Among honorific forms, Formal and Super Formal SMs may be referred to as **Non-Plain** components and Exalting and Lowering RSRCs as **Non-Neutral** components.

2.3   Uses of honorific forms

Having completed a brief illustration of the semantic and lexico-morphological characteristics of honorific units, I now move on to a discussion of the uses of these forms. Since the aim of the description of honorific forms in this chapter is to provide readers with a basic understanding of these forms and their use, I limit my discussion in this section to the use of Japanese honorific forms in speech, and exclude that in written Japanese. (There is a significant difference between spoken and written communication in Japanese in terms of choice of honorific forms. The difference will be a major topic of

my discussion in Chapter 6) .

2.3.1   Comparison with the choice among American address terms

To begin with, I would like to sketch choices among components of Japanese honorific units by comparing them with choices among American English address terms. I do so for two reasons. Firstly, as certain similarities are found between the two systems of choices of linguistic forms, it will be a useful way to help readers who do not speak Japanese to obtain an idea of how Japanese honorific components are chosen to portray the Japanese choices by comparing them with the English choices. Secondly, choices among English address terms have been largely explored, and appropriate descriptions are available, and, therefore, it is easy to illustrate different aspects of the Japanese choice by comparing them with the American counterparts.

It is important to keep in mind that observations of the grammatical characteristics of honorific forms which I presented in 2.2 do not allow one to predict automatically the pragmatic characteristics of the use of the forms. For example, the two semantically distinguishable forms, i.e. an RSRC and an SM, may perform the same function, such as functioning as a marker of formality. It is also important to remember that a semantic similarity discovered between an English form and a Japanese form does not necessarily guarantee a parallel similarity between the two sets of forms in terms of the function they may perform.

2.3.1.1 Illustration of the choices by diagram

To illustrate choice of Japanese honorific forms, I adopt the method in which Ervin-Tripp (1972) uses a diagram to present choice among different address terms made in the Western American academic community. An adapted version is given in Fig. 2.1. The diagram is to be read as a flow chart, where the starting point is on the left, and there are binary selectors shown in a diamond arranged from left to right. The selectors and the symbols "+" or "-" (which mean "meeting-" or "not meeting the condition

NON
DISPENS-
SATION

IDENTITY
SET

+ → TITLE + LN

NON
FRIEND OR
COLLEAGUE

ALTER
HIGHER
RANK

ALTER
15 YEARS
OLDER

MALE

+ → MR. +LN

FRIEND OR
COLLEAGUE

NAME
KNOWN

NON
KIN

MARRIED

+ → MRS. +LN

- → MISS +LN

STATUS-
MARKED
SETTING

ADULT

KIN
TITLE
+ FN

ASCENDING
GENERATION

OLDER

FN

NAME
KNOWN

0
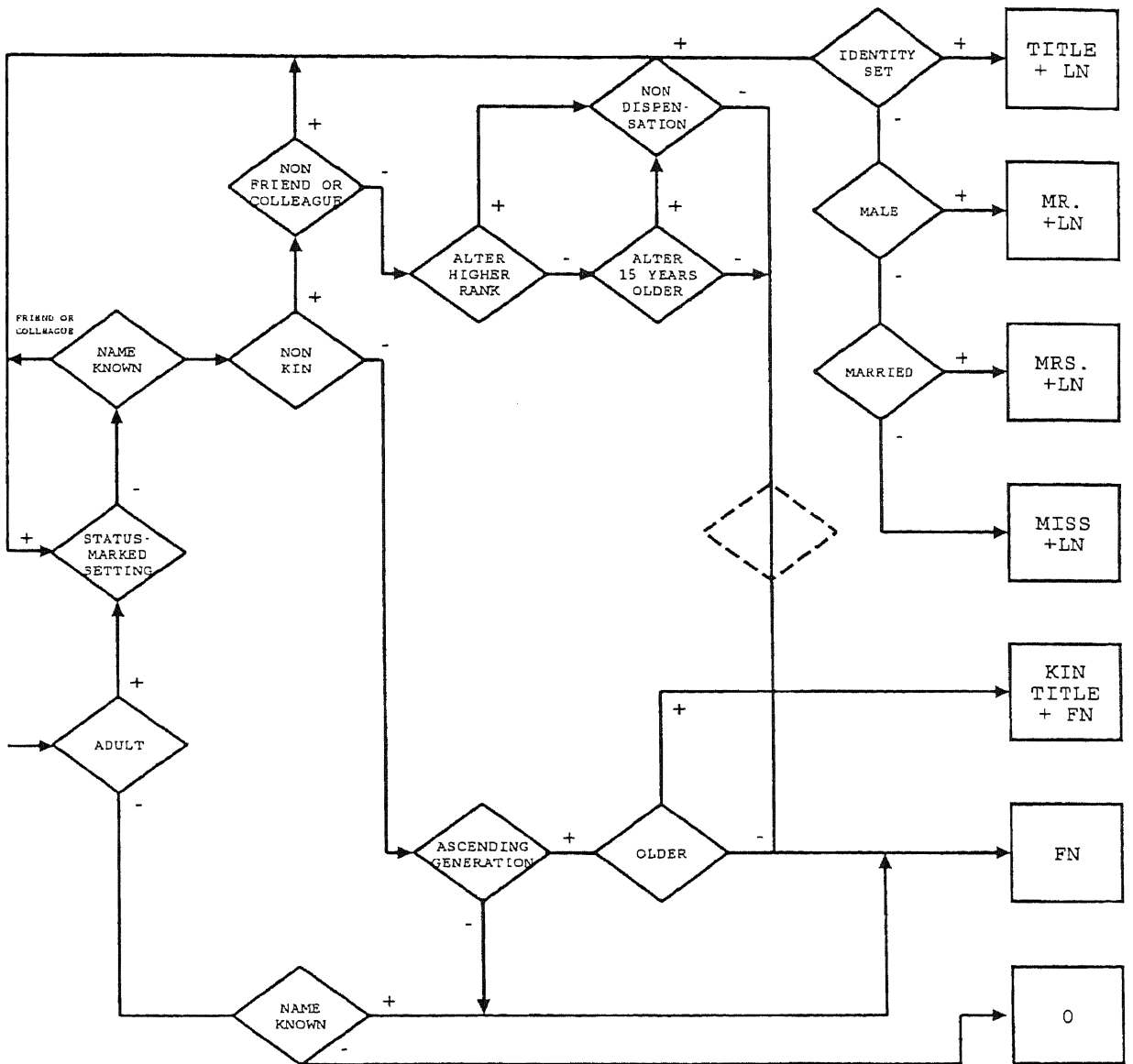
Figure 2.1 Choice among American address terms (adapted from Ervin-Tripp 1972)

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indicated by the selector" respectively) in each path through the diagram illustrate the social features

which determine the appropriateness of using the alternative forms presented at the goals of the paths.

However, as Ervin-Tripp explains, the diagram does not represent the process of the actual choice

sequence. Rather it portrays the logical relation between the choice of forms and the social features that

determine it.

While Ervin-Tripp (1972) claims greater precision as the advantage of formal diagramming

over discursive description, the method also offers a visual aid which facilitates immediate

understanding of what is more dominant among relevant social determinants. That is, the nearer a social

feature, or a

selector, is to the starting point, the more dominant the feature is in determining the choice.

Fig. 2.1 is basically a faithful adoption of Ervin-Tripp's (1972: 219) but I have made some

minor technical alterations to the labels of some of the features. I changed the direction of some labels so

that following the "+" path starting from every label leads to a form which is, according to native

speakers' valuation, higher in formality level than the forms which the "-" path leads to. For example, I

use "non-kin" instead of "kin" because "+ non-kin" rather than "+ kin" leads to a choice of a more

formal form. Such consistency of direction in labelling seems to be cognitively more natural and helpful

in understanding which social features determine the choice of honorific components.

2.3.1.2 Two phases of choice

Figs. 2.2 and 2.3 provide a description of the system of the choice of honorific forms, generally shared

by professional adults and many university students of both sexes who use the GTA version of Japanese

for their everyday and/or professional interactions. I worked out the system from information derived

from two kinds of sources. The first was an examination of recordings provided by three informants.

Two informants were undergraduates, the third a graduate, and the recordings consisted of

conversations and speeches by various participants, including themselves. I also examined reflective

statements made by the participants concerning their own use of language in the recordings, and reports

Figure 2.2 Choice among speech levels

Formal ↕ Informal

SM	Non-Neutral RSRC	
	Exalting	Lowering
Super Formal	Full Use	Full Use

(Level 4)

SM	Non-Neutral RSRC	
	Exalting	Lowering
Formal	Full Use	Partial Use
	Full or Partial Use	—
	—	

(Level 3)
(Level 2)
(Level 1)

SM	Non-Neutral RSRC
Plain	—

(Level 0)

Super Stiff Setting + / −

Non-Personal Setting + / −   Mature + / −   Non-Family + / −   New Acquaintance + / −   Socially Higher + / −

Figure 2.2 Choice among speech levels

Referent:Human
  Referent: S's ingroup → Lowering RSRC
  Referent: Others → Exalting RSRC
Referent:Non-human → Neutral RSRC

Figure 2.3 Choice among RSRCs

made by several groups of native speakers, including myself, on the use of forms they assume are appropriate in different situations. The second source of information was a collection of descriptions of uses of honorific forms provided by sociolinguistic researchers: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo (1983: 1986), Inoue (1983, 1986), Uno (1985), Watanabe (1986) and Kuno (1990).

Attempting to illustrate the system of choice of Japanese honorific components by comparing it with that of American address terms, I ignore the path leading to the outcome of non-use of an address term, indicated as "0" in Fig. 2.1. I do so, as the choice of non-use of an English address term prompted by the selector "name unknown" has no equivalent in the Japanese system. Whether or not the speaker knows the addressee's name does not affect the choice of honorific components. I also ignore, for the time being, the very first selector, "adult" in the English system, which does have an equivalent, "mature", in the Japanese counterpart, but in a different position in the diagram. I will discuss this in 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.2.

It appears possible and appropriate in both systems to make a distinction between two phases of choice, namely, two phases which are distinct in the level of dominance. The choice among the three alternatives, TLN (i.e. Title + LN, Mr. + LN, Mrs. + LN and Miss + LN), "KIN TITLE + FN" (such as "Aunt Jane") and FN differs from the choices among the varieties of TLN in the American system.

One reason is that the choice among the three alternatives, i.e., TLN, KT + FN and FN, is a choice among three speech levels which are different from one another in terms of the level of formality, whereas the choice among different varieties of TLN (Title + LN, Mr + LN, Mrs + LN and Miss + LN) is not a choice of a speech level. For example, addressing someone called Jane Smith as "Mrs Smith" indicates that the speaker is talking to her in a more formal speech level than would be the case if she addresses her as "Jane". On the other hand, in a situation where both Mrs Smith and her unmarried daughter Miss Smith are present, addressing Mrs Smith as "Mrs Smith" and addressing her daughter as "Miss Smith", does not indicate that the speaker is talking to her in a more (or less) formal speech level than to her daughter, but rather in the same speech level. Moreover, a breach of the rules governing the choice among TLN, KT + FN and FN, is likely to provoke an uncomfortable feeling, perhaps criticism

such as "very underbred" or "thick-skinned", as an etiquette book says (Post 1922: 54, cited by Ervin-Tripp 1972: 221) or as "aloof or excessively formal" (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 231), while a breach of the rule governing choice among different TLN forms will be less likely to provoke such a reaction but a very different type of comment.

The other reason for the distinction between the two phases of choices is that the former can be seen as the primary phase of choice and the latter as the subordinate, as the former is determined by more dominant features, namely, those located closer to the starting point in the diagram in Fig. 2.1, than the latter choices. In other words, the latter choices, those among different TLN forms, are subordinate in that they are made on the condition the dominant choice is so made that the use of a FN is abandoned. I therefore call the two phases of choice as the **Primary** and **Secondary Choices**, respectively.

A similar, although not exactly the same, phase distinction is discovered in the system of choice of Japanese honorific components. The choices, shown in Fig. 2.2, are choices among speech levels perceived as different in level of formality, i.e. the speech levels are distinct in terms of the number of types of honorific components that are used, which may be compared to the primary choice of the American address terms, i.e. those among TLN, KT + FN and FN. The choices among different RSRC forms, which are expressed in Fig. 2.3, on the other hand, are not choices of speech levels, and can be compared to the secondary choice of the American forms, i.e. those among different TLN forms.

The choices among the different speech levels shown in Fig. 2.2 are determined by the more dominant features, and those among RSRCs shown in Fig. 2.3 can been seen as subordinate in that they are made only on condition the dominant choice is so made that the use of a Neutral RSRC is abandoned. (It is on the basis of this distinction that I divided the whole system of the choices of honorific components into two diagrams.)

The Japanese and American systems seem to have a further similarity. In both systems, the primary choices are determined by features concerning the situational features, such as "status-marked setting", "non-personal settings" and features concerning the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee, such as "non-kin" and "socially higher".

Lastly, yet another, though a minor, characteristic which is shared by the two systems is that the addressee's maturity works as a selector at a relatively early stage of the logical steps in both systems. In other words, if the addressee is under a certain age, all or most of the other features are ignored.

Two major differences are found, however, between the two systems of alternation of forms. The first relates to the linguistic resource for the realization of different speech levels. While the three speech levels in the American system are realized by the use of three fairly distinct forms, i.e. FN, KT + FN and TLN, the five speech levels in the Japanese system are realized by the use of different combinations of different types of honorific forms, i.e. Formal and Super Formal SMs and Exalting and Lowering RSRCs. Consequently, while a single American alternative, FN for example, does not occur in a very wide range of speech levels in the American system, except for the neighbouring ones, "FN" and "KT + FN", it does, in the Japanese system. Formal SMs for example, occur in the three middle levels, i.e. Levels 1-3, combined with different occurrences of other types of honorific forms.

The second difference relates to the co-occurrence rules which are involved in the two systems. Ervin-Tripp (1972), as well as other sociolinguists, employs the term **Alternation Rules** to refer to the system of choices among linguistic alternatives of which American address terms, as well as T/V pronouns in European languages. As seen in my description in this section, the alternation rules which govern choices among Japanese honorific components have considerable similarities with those governing choices among American address forms. As Ervin-Tripp notes, "Once a selection has been made, ... later occurrences within the same utterance, conversation, or even between the same dyad may be predictable" (1972: 233). She, as well as Gumperz (1964, 1967), calls this predictability between two linguistic forms a **Co-occurrence Rule**. Thus, the bizarreness of an utterance, "Hi, Your Eminence," is explained as violation of a co-occurrence rule in English. The form "hi" does not belong to the speech level in which the address term "Your Eminence" is expected to occur. The relationship between alternation rules and co-occurrence rules are neatly described by Gumperz: "these two rules are sociolinguistic analogues of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes" (1972: 312).

Returning to the distinction that I made between the primary and secondary choices of American address forms, the distinction may be paraphrased as follows: the choice among FN, KT + FN and TLN is a paradigmatic choice, whereas that among different variations of TLN is a syntagmatic one. Although Ervin-Tripp does not clearly point this out, the relationship among different American variations of TLN is therefore co-occurring, whereas the relationship among FN, KT + FN and TLN is alternating. In a speech where "Mr" occurs, for example, co-occurrence of "Mrs" and "Miss" is predicted.

On the other hand, the relationship among Exalting RSRCs, Lowering RSRCs and Neutral RSRCs, whose choice I claim is comparable to that among different TLN variations is not co-occurring. In a speech where Exalting RSRCs occur, it is not necessarily predicted that Lowering RSRCs also occur. As I pointed out earlier when explaining the first difference between the American and Japanese systems, different speech levels in Japanese are realized by the use of different combinations of Non-Neutral RSRCs, rather than by the use of different Non-Neutral RSRCs per se. For example, occurrence of Formal SM with co-occurrence of both Exalting and Lowering RSRCs (i.e. the level indicated as Level 3 in Fig. 2.2) is perceived as a more formal speech level than that with co-occurrence of Exalting RSRCs alone (i.e. the level indicated as Level 2 in Fig. 2.2).

However, an asymmetrical type of co-occurrence rules is found between Non-Plain SMs and Non-Neutral RSRCs and between Exalting RSRCs and Lowering RSRCs, which can be summarized as follows:

a) In an utterance where Non-Neutral RSRCs occur, Non-Plain SMs co-occur, while in an utterance where Non-Plain SMs occur, a Non-Neutral RSRC may or may not co-occur. (But see 2.3.2.5 for a discussion of exceptions.)

b) In an utterance where Lowering RSRCs occur, Exalting RSRCs co-occur, while in an utterance where Exalting RSRCs occur, Lowering RSRCs may or may not co-occur.

Thus, a speech where all the possible honorific forms, namely, both Exalting and Lowering RSRCs, Formal SM as well as the Super Formal SM of the copula are used (i.e. that indicated as Level 4) is perceived as the most formal (or stiffest (*aratamatta*) as often described in Japanese) speech level. In the speech level which is the least formal (Level 0), on the other hand, only Plain and Neutral components are used. Between the two extremes, there are three speech levels where Lowering RSRCs occur only if Exalting ones occur.

This may lead readers to think Lowering RSRCs are forms of more formal speech level than Exalting RSRCs. However, it is more accurate to describe the speech level in which Lowering RSRCs co-occur with Exalting RSRCs and Formal SMs (rather than the use of Lowering RSRCs *per se*) as a more formal speech level than that in which they do not. One of my reasons for claiming so, as will be seen in 2.3.3, is that choice between use of Lowering or Exalting RSRCs is determined by whether or not the referent is among the speaker's ingroups, just as choice between use of "Mrs" or "Miss" is determined by the referent's marital status, and that it is therefore intrinsically impossible to compare the use of the two forms in terms of formality level. A second reason is that the two sub-types of RSRC do co-occur, in a speech level which is perceived to be the stiffest, i.e. the most formal, speech level. Lastly, Lowering and Exalting RSRCs are not usually felt by native speakers, and have not been treated in the classifications in the traditional Japanese linguistics, to be of different speech levels.

2.3.2   The primary choice

As Ervin-Tripp states, social features that may look like simple external features in fact vary according to ethnographic interpretation; "For example, 'Older' implies knowledge by the range of ages defined as contemporary. In some southeast Asian systems, even one day makes a person socially older" (1972: 220). At this ethnographic level, features that determine the choice of Japanese honorific components differ from those that determine the choice of American English address forms, as I outline in 2.3.2.

2.3.2.1 Use of a Formal SM in Non-Personal settings

The first selector for determining the choice of an honorific component examines whether the setting is a situation where the participants are prescribed to play a particular social role or whether it is not. The former type of settings may be referred to by **Non-Personal Settings**, which can be distinguished from **Personal Settings**. With regard to the choice of honorific forms, Non-Personal settings can be of two types. One of them is of a business nature. It is normal to use a Non-Plain SM in an interaction between selling and buying parties; such as a bank teller and a customer, a travel agent and a customer, an advertising agent and a client, a hotel manager and a patron, a representative of a firm and a client. It is also the case between a shop assistant or a waiter/waitress and a customer, unless a close friendship has been developed between the two parties AND unless the whole atmosphere of the place (the shop or the restaurant) is felt to be private rather than public. I will use **Seller-Client Setting** to refer to this type of business setting, and **Seller** and **Client** to refer to the selling and buying parties, respectively. Note, however, that, as may be found in English speaking societies, speech settings between a medical doctor and a patient, a solicitor and a client, a teacher and a student, and between other "prestigious" professionals and clients, do not belong to this category. Although they are selling their professional knowledge and skills, their choice of honorific components can differ from those used by a speaker in a "non-prestigious" selling profession (see Hamaguchi 1996 for examples of language use between a doctor and a patient in Japanese).

The other type of Non-Personal setting is a situation where participants have a Speaker-Audience relationship and/or one in which speech is made as an official announcement rather than a personal and mutual conversation. I will use **Speaker-Audience Setting** to refer to this type of setting, and **Speaker** and **Audience** to the speaker and the addressees in such a setting, respectively. (Note, however, that the distinction between a Seller-Client setting and a Speaker-Audience setting is not entirely clear-cut. For example, a setting in which a business person gives a presentation concerning new products to a client falls into the area where the two types of settings overlap.) Thus, a lecture,

"a talk" or an academic presentation are examples of this type of settings, and are normally given with the use of Formal SMs regardless of the size of the audience. University students, who normally talk to one another using Plain SMs, normally switch to the use of Formal SMs, when they give a presentation before the entire class, no matter how small the class is. Even a primary school pupil switches the speech level from Plain to Formal, using Formal SMs, when s/he says anything that is supposed to be listened to by the whole class, even when s/he shouts a single sentence to tell the class, when the class has just ended, as a leader of a project, to stay longer to discuss arrangements for a class hiking trip.

In a further formal Non-Personal setting, the Super Formal equivalent of the copula, *-de-goza-i-mas-u*, is used. This speech level is not normally used by young speakers prior to leaving school or graduation from university. Nor is it used by the majority of adult speakers regularly. In a high class store, restaurant and hotel, one is likely to be served at this speech level. To some speakers, the Congress, a large faculty meeting, or an executive meeting in a firm may be a setting where they feel they should use the most formal speech level.

In both types of Non-Personal settings, choice of a Formal SM is normal, as far as the Seller and the Speaker are concerned. However, while the Audience in a Speaker-Audience setting is likely to be expected to use a Formal SM, a Client in a Seller-Client setting may or may not use a Formal SM, depending on his/her age and personality. For example, it would be very unusual for a bank teller to speak to a customer without using a Formal SM and s/he would attract attention and criticism, but it is normally acceptable for an elderly customer to speak to a bank teller without using a Formal SM. In my group discussions with students in the 18 to 22 age group about their own use of honorific forms, most of them reported that they always use Formal SM forms when speaking to a bank teller, a shop assistant or a waiter/waitress. Their comments also revealed that their parents are more likely to use Plain SMs when they speak in such a situation.

My data, which consisted of recordings of speech made by two university students and a graduate to various types of addressee or addressees in various settings, do not include many examples

of speech in a Seller-Client setting where a student is the speaker. One typical situation where a

university student is likely to play the role of Seller is when s/he interacts with his/her customer at

his/her part time job. In the following two conversations, which are extracted from recordings, one

student (K), who was then a shop assistant at a branch of a franchised doughnut shop, switched her

speech level from Plain to Formal, when she finished her conversation with other student part-timers,

(B) and (Y), and began talking to a customer (C):

[Ex 1-i] The three part-timers were talking, in the back kitchen, about helping a mutual friend who is
moving house. Y says that her brother may join them:

Y: *Moshika-shi-tara,*   *uchi- no otooto-kun-ga*   *iku-kamo-shir-e-nai.*
        Maybe   my younger brother-SUB   go-may-PLAIN
        "Maybe, my younger brother may join us."

B: *O!*
        Oh
        "Oh?!"

K: *O!*   *Tsure-te-koi,*   *tsure-te-koi!*
        Oh   Bring -PLAIN   bring-PLAIN
        "Oh!   Bring him, bring him!"

B2:   *Namae-wa?*
        Name as for
        "What's his name?"

Y2:   *Hansamu-da-yo.*
        Handsome-is-PLAIN-ASSERTIVE
        "I can tell you he's handsome."

K2:   *Honto-nii?!*   *Chotto   yuuwaku-shi-chaoo-ka-na.*
        Really   A little   tempt dare-PLAIN perhaps
        "Really?! I think I may tempt him then."

[Ex 1-ii] At the shop front, after taking a customer's order:

K: *Ijoo-de   yoroshii-des-u-ka.*
      That   all right-is-FORMAL-QUESTION
      "(I ask you with formality:) Is that all?"

In the first conversation in this example, which was being conducted in the back kitchen, all the

participants use Plain SMs: *iku-kamo-shir-e-nai* (vs. *iku-kamo-shir-e-masen*) by Y, *tsure-te-koi* (vs.

tsure-te-kite-kudasai) by K, and *hansamu-da-yo* (vs. *hansamu-des-u-yo*) by Y in her second line are

the Plain SMs. When K interacts with the customer in the shop front, in the second conversation, on the

other hand, she uses a Formal SM form. The copula, *-des-u*, K uses here towards the customer is a

Formal SM, which does not occur in the informal conversation among the three part-time colleagues[6].

A similar switch from Plain to Formal SMs is found in the following recording, which was part

of a continuous recording of a YMCA staff meeting. In this part of the transcription, the participants

were the same throughout the two distinct settings, but one of them, O, switched her role from one of

many equal participants in an informal chat to the Speaker, when a Speaker-Audience setting emerged:

[Ex 2-i] A YMCA director in her early twenties, O, and a student working part-time camp leader, Y, are
discussing how many people have applied for the camping trip, before the meeting begins:

Y: *25!   Sore-de   ik-e-ru!*
      25   that'll   do-PLAIN
      "25 people! That'll be plenty."

O: *Moo chotto   ganba-tte   fuyash-i-cha-u-to   oogata-ni shi-te-mo*
      A bit more   succeed   increase-PLAIN if   larger size fine

---

[6]   K, in her statement in the discussion, while we listened to the recording, reported that employees at all franchised
shops and restaurants are given language training based on a manual in order that they will be able to conduct service
interactions with a customer using appropriate formulaic expressions containing Non-Neutral RSRCs and Non-Plain
SMs. See also 2.3.2.3 for a discussion on their limited proficiency in the use of Non-Neutral RSRCs.

ii-n-da-kedo.
will be-PLAIN

"If we manage to get a bit more poeple, we'll be able to hire a larger car."

[Ex 2-ii] The meeting begins:

O: *Soredewa, mina-sama (laughter),*   *nan-da-kke,*   *ettoo,*
     Er, ladies and gentlemen   what was-PLAIN it,   erm,

     boshuu jookyoo-desu-ga...,
     application is-FORMAL-SOFTENER

     "Er, ladies and gentlemen (laughter), what was it about? .. erm, (I state with formality that)
     as for the application results, ..."

In her first utterance, O uses Plain SMs, *fuyash-i-cha-u* (vs. *fuyash-i-cha-i-mas-u*) and *ii-n-da-kedo*

(vs. *ii-n-des-u-kedo*), while she is casually conversing with her colleague, who also uses a Plain SM,

ik-e-ru (vs. *ik-e-mas-u*). However, O uses the Formal equivalent of the copula *-des-u*, in *boshuu-*

jookyoo-des-u ("is about the application result"), to the same group of participants, when she realizes it

is time to start the meeting and therefore to switch her role and speech level.

     The switch of the speech level that occurs here is a mild rather than a sharp one, but the

mildness itself seems to evidence the existence of the sociolinguistic rule of alternation which requires

speech conducted in a Formal speech level in this situation. O uses a phrase that is obviously too formal

for the present situation but would be suitable for a solemn speech at a wedding or a funeral: *minasama*

("ladies and gentlemen"). She also slipped down to Plain speech level, when she could not remember

what she was going to say: *nan-da-kke* ("what was it about?") (vs. *nan-desh-i-ta-kke*), which contains

the Plain SM of the copula, *-da*, which can be interpreted as being another evidence that the level switch

is a mild and hesitant one. These features in her language use in the second part of Example 2 may be

interpreted as being the expression of the shy hesitation she seemed to be feeling when she had to speak

in a prescribed stiffer way to people she normally talked to in a much more informal speech level, as she

had been doing until a moment earlier.

A Non-Personal setting, the first selector for the use of Japanese honorific forms that we have seen so far, thus seems to correspond to that which Ervin-Tripp calls "status-marked situations" for the choice of American address terms, as both check whether "speech level is rigidly prescribed" (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 220). However, according to her description, "Status-marked situations" for the choices of American address terms are significantly more elevated ones, and "are settings such as the courtroom, the large faculty meeting, and Congress" (1972: 220). As already seen, a Formal SM is used in what seem to be settings much more informal than those for TLN forms. Formal SMs can normally be chosen, for example, in a ten-minute class presentation in a primary school, whereas a TLN is less likely in an equivalent situation.

Another difference between the Japanese and English systems is that whether the addressee is a child or not does not normally matter in choices of Japanese honorific forms in a Non-Personal setting. whereas in English "in face-to-face address, if the addressee is a child, all of the other distinctions can be ignored" (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 220). It is normal, although it is by no means the only possible way, for a shop assistant or a waiter/waitress in Japan to treat a five-year-old child in exactly the same manner as an adult customer. Similarly, in a Speaker-Audience setting, an audience made up exclusively of children is normally treated in basically the same manner as an adult audience, and an adult speaker giving a lecture to various sizes of juvenile audiences without using a Formal SM at all may be regarded as strange or "marked", although s/he would probably not be criticized.

2.3.2.2 Use of a Formal SM in Personal settings

In Personal settings, participants do not play a role prescribed by the nature of the setting but rather act as a person in accordance with his/her social attributes and the social relationship with other participants. Personal settings are the settings most of the university students, and other younger generation speakers, normally take part in their everyday lives. Generally, choice of speech level in Personal settings is less rigid than in Non-Personal settings, as personality plays a larger part in selection of forms. In a Personal setting, the social relationship between the participants is more

powerful in determining the choice of forms.

Unlike in a Non-Personal setting, if the addressee is immature and/or a family, no Formal SM is used regardless of any other features of the Personal setting. The border between "immature" and "mature", however, varies among informants, especially according to their own age. Most of my informants under forty years of age think that puberty is the boundary, and to those people the selector "mature" for choices of Japanese honorific components differs from "adult" which Ervin-Tripp designates and tentatively defines as school-leaving age. However, older Japanese people tend to set an older age as the boundary; many of them stated they would not use a Formal SM to "young people in a school uniform", i.e. people under eighteen.

"Non-family" is also vague as a selector. It is clearly not normal in a family to speak with another family member using a Formal SM, except perhaps in the royal family and the former aristocratic families where members are more likely to use Formal SMs to one another (Oki et al. 1969) or in some extremely old-fashioned families where the wife and children may use Formal SM in addressing the husband/father[7]. It seems safe to say that kins who are not members of the same family living in a single household also normally speak to each other without using a Formal SM. In some cases, however, it is possible that family members use a Formal SM in conversation either reciprocally or nonreciprocally, especially between in-laws and members who live geographically apart and therefore are socially distant from one another.

Whether or not to use a Formal SM to an addressee who is regarded both as non-family and mature is determined by the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, i.e. whether the two parties are socially close or distant. The social distance can be **Horizontal** or **Vertical** (Brown 1965: 57). The participants may be different in terms of social status or rank, and therefore one has

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[7] Non-use of Formal SMs among family members, which is now normal among the majority of Japanese speakers, is evidenced to have come to be regarded as normal only quite recently. The survey conducted in 1964 by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1967) showed a conspicuous difference between two generations in attitudes towards use of honorific forms in the home. The opinion; "People should use honorific forms to talk to family members" was supported by 50.0 % of those older than 50 at the time, and by 18.8 % of those younger than 31.

reward/coercive power (French and Raven 1959) over the other, and/or they may feel distant, as they have known each other for a short time, or for some psychological reasons, even if they are socially equal[8]. (Horizontal and vertical social distance may or may not be clearly distinguished (Thomas 1995)).

If the addressee is a "new acquaintance" to the speaker, i.e. if the horizontal social distance between the two parties is large, and/or the addressee is "socially higher", i.e. the vertical social distance between them is large, a Formal SM is normally chosen. (If the distance is exceptionally large, some speakers may use Super Formal SM of the copula, but such speakers do not constitute the majority.) If neither forms of distance is large, on the other hand, a Plain SM is normally chosen.

Adults normally speak to each other with reciprocal use of a Formal SM until they have developed some social relationship. As the relationship between two adults develops over time, change in the speech level may occur. If neither side of the dyad is significantly "socially higher" than the other, the language in the speech between them is likely to shift from reciprocal use to reciprocal non-use of Formal SMs. The shift can be a gradual process. Shifting back and forth between the two levels can be hesitantly prolonged for some time, particularly between two who have met when they are already in their middle age and/or socially established. Whether or not such a switch occurs at all depends on the personalities of both participants and the psychological elements between them. It is also possible that one party of the dyad may make a shift in speech level, while the other never does, due to personality differences, differences in the perception of the vertical social distance.

If there is a significant vertical social distance between the members of the dyad, which is determined by various factors, non-reciprocal use of Formal SM may occur at some point subsequent to the initial meeting. I will firstly observe some factors which determine choice of Formal SMs between institutional dyads, i.e. dyads whose relationship is influenced by their status and rank in the organization they belong to, in which choice is more rigidly determined than in non-institutional dyads

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[8] Therefore, the choice between Plain and Formal SM in a Personal setting is comparable to that between European second person pronouns, T/V (Brown and Gilman 1960).

In schools (and in universities for the most part) in Japan, a student's age normally corresponds to the group s/he is categorized in according to the number of years s/he has spent there. Therefore the age order accords the senior-junior order. An age difference which reflects the senior-junior order in a school is likely to be taken more strictly in Japan than in English speaking societies, where "age difference is not significant until it is nearly the size of a generation" (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 221). The juniors, or *koohai* in Japanese, almost always speak to their seniors, or *senpai*, with Formal SMs. The choice of Formal SMs in conversation among students is remarkably rigid. I have often witnessed university students switch their speech level hurriedly to begin using Formal SMs, when they discover that a classmate is senior to them (which does not normally happen in most classes in university but did in my classes, because rather unusually, students from different years were allowed to take the same courses). The use of Formal SMs between a junior and a senior, in university and otherwise, is normally non-reciprocal. A senior does not use an honorific form to talk to a junior in an interaction in a Personal setting.

The senior-junior order corresponds to age order less frequently in a university than in lower level educational institutions, since there is an increasing number of mature students in universities, so that a younger student may be in a higher grade than an older student. It seems normal, however, for a junior student to use a Formal SM to talk to a senior, even if s/he is older in age; in other words, the senior-junior order seems to be paramount, unless the age difference is significantly large. Sometimes, though, a senior but younger student (and sometimes a teacher as well) may feel it difficult to choose an appropriate speech level when talking to a junior but older student. It seems, however, that the decision whether or not to use a Formal SM to each other in such circumstances is likely to be determined according to the personality of the speaker and/or the addressee.

Teachers in institutions of higher education are often addressed by students in a Personal setting with a Formal SM, and therefore are classified as a "socially higher" addressee by him/her. The feature determining the choice of such a form, however, (contrary to what is often thought) seems to be age rather than social status, as younger university teachers are more likely to be addressed without a

Formal SM compared to those who are older. For teachers in primary and secondary schools, on the other hand, it is normal to be addressed without a Formal SM in a Personal setting (see Muraishi 1974 and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1967, for a developmental discussion of children's use of honorific forms), while, as explained in 2.3.1, primary and secondary school children choose a Formal SM when assuming the role of a Speaker speaking to an Audience, whether or not it includes a teacher.

At a workplace, as in an educational institution, the junior and the younger person speaks using Formal SMs to a senior and an older addressee in a non-reciprocal manner. However, among members in a firm or other organizations, the conflict between the age order and the senior-junior order is more common than among university students, and, as an additional factor, these two kinds of order can conflict with the rank order in the organization. Predictably, difficulties are apt to arise more frequently in choice of speech level in an interaction with an addressee, when these social orders conflict with one another. Different speakers with different personalities may take one of the three factors as the most powerful to determine choice of speech level. The following, which I adopt from Sugito (1976: 30-31), is by no means common or normal but a very unusual and regrettable case, but it seems to clearly illustrate possible difficulties in choice of address forms resulting from such a conflict in a workplace.

[Ex 3] The figures in parentheses indicate the age of the person in the following. Both the speakers are male. This case ended up with the murder of one party by the other.

Junior (30):   *Daitai kisama-wa ore-yori mittsu toshi-shita-no kuseni, namae-o yobisute-ni suru-no-wa keshikaran.*

"It's outrageous that you should call me by my name without putting *-san* (Mr) after it, when you are younger than me by three years."

Senior (27):   *Baka-na koto-o i-u-na. Ore-no hoo-ga shareki-ga nagai-n-da-kara,* [ADDRESSEE'S SURNAME WITHOUT Mr]-*wa* [ADDRESSEE'S SURNAME WITHOUT Mr]-*de ii-ja-nai-ka.*

"Don't be ridiculous! I've been with this company longer than you have. Why shouldn't I call you without using Mr?!"

(*The Tokyo Shimbun,* 5 June 1975)

As the phrases uttered by the two men in the argument, *toshi-shita-no kuseni* ("when you are younger") and *shareki-ga nagai-n-da-kara* ("have been with the company longer") reveal, one's age and the period of time one has spent with an organization are normally considered to be significant factors in determining appropriate linguistic behaviour.

It may be notable that members of an institution tend to maintain their relative rank even in verbal interactions held outside of the institution. For example, university students do not usually change their choice of honorific components in interactions among themselves outside of the university setting. Further more, the patterns usually persist even after one has ceased to be a member of the institution and often for one's life time. Graduates of a school/university or former colleagues (and, especially, former military veterans) also tend to keep the pattern of choice of honorific components that they used to use while they were students and colleagues (and soldiers).

When people meet outside of an institution, their ages and social ranks are not always known immediately. In such an encounter, as my informants reported, some sussing, adjusting and re-adjusting may be necessary before a speech level can be established in which the two people feel they can comfortably have a verbal interaction. In the choice of honorific components outside of schools and workplaces, a small difference in age does not tend to be taken as significant. Some speakers may not regard an addressee who is older than him/her by ten years (and whom they met outside an institution) as "significantly higher", and so may talk to him/her without using Formal SMs. Thus for people whose relationship is not based on institutional ties, the personality of the speaker and addressee seems to play a larger part in determining the speech level used than is the case between members of an institution.

Reciprocal use of Plain SMs in Personal settings normally occurs in the following circumstances: if the addressee is a child, is a family member of the speaker, and/or has no great horizontal nor vertical social distance towards the speaker. Non-reciprocal use of Plain SMs occurs in speech between adults, if they are not of the same family and if one of the parties is regarded as socially higher than the other. In this case, the socially higher party alone uses Plain SMs.

Before closing the discussion on the choice among Super Formal, Formal and Plain speech

levels, a note is worth making on the prosodic phenomenon which co-occurs with the choice. Ervin-

Tripp distinguishes **Vertical Co-occurrence Rules** from **Horizontal Co-occurrence Rules**. While

horizontal co-occurrence rules specify relations between items sequentially in the discourse, vertical

co-occurrence rules specify the realization of an item at each of the levels of structure of a language

(1972: 233). Thus, the oddity of "Hi, Your Eminence" is found not only when one looks at the

combination of "hi" and the address term but also when one attempts to pronounce it. S/he will find

him/herself required to switch the prosodic tone, or "phonetic coloring" in Ervin-Tripp's terminology,

between "hi" and "Your Eminence". This is required because of the vertical co-occurrence rule which

holds in English.

In a parallel fashion, a prosodic switch accompanies a grammatical switch in Japanese. For

example, the utterance of my informant, K, towards a customer at the doughnut shop (in Ex 1), is made

with a significantly sharper articulation and a slightly higher pitch than her utterance in the back kitchen

towards her peer part-timers[9].

So far we have explored choices between a Non-Plain and Plain SM. People perceive the

Non-Plain SMs as formal language. They also perceive the types of situation where those forms are

chosen: i.e. Speaker-Audience settings, Seller-Client settings and Personal settings where the addressee

is adult, non-family, new acquaintance or socially higher (or **Personal Settings with**

(Horizontal/Vertical) Social Distance, for the sake of convenience) as formal situations. Following

this native speakers' perception, I will use **Formal Situation** to refer to any of these three types of

situations.

---

[9] I have experienced an incident which epitomized the vertical co-occurrence rule specifying the relation between
grammatical and prosodic choices. When I played recorded segments of different radio programmes, each of which
lasted for a few seconds, in a class on JSL teaching methodology, one student described a recording of news as *teinei*
("polite"). To my instruction to specify the linguistic features which lead her to think it *teinei*, she stated that forms in
the recorded utterance were with *-des/-mas* endings (i.e. in Formal SM). All the class members agreed with her.
However, they found, on my replaying the tape, that the utterance was too short to include a sentence-end and it
included no other GRAMMATICAL clue to indicate the speech level. It was obvious that she and all the other members
of the class had predicted the occurrence of a Formal SM in the utterance on the basis of articulate prosodic features
they had heard.

2.3.2.3 Use of a Non-Neutral RSRC

While no Exalting nor Lowering-Neutral RSRC normally occurs in a situation where Plain SMs occur, such RSRCs may occur in a formal situation (but see 2.3.3 for exceptional use of a Non-Neutral RSRC with Plain SMs). However, as described in 2.3.1.2, the co-occurrence between Non-Plain SMs and Non-Neutral RSRCs is an asymmetrical one, and therefore, a Formal SM may occur with or without a Non-Neutral RSRC.

As the use of a Formal or Super Formal equivalent of the copula divides formal situations into two sub-levels, the choice among different combinations of Non-Neutral RSRCs divides formal situations into finer sub-levels. The following is a maximally simplified illustration of the alternation rules determining the choice among combinations of Exalting and Lowering RSRCs in formal situations.

In a modest inexpensive restaurant, for example, the owner may use Formal SMs in his/her interaction with a customer but not an Non-Neutral RSRC at all (Level 1). In a middle-range, slightly more fashionable restaurant, in contrast, a waiter/waitress may not only make use of Formal SMs, but also make partial or full use of Exalting RSRCs and no use of Lowering RSRCs (Level 2). A more stylish place which can marginally be categorized as a "fairly expensive restaurant", may show the full use of Exalting RSRCs and partial use of Lowering RSRCs in addition to use of Formal SMs (Level 3).

A further stiffer speech in which the Super Formal equivalent of the copula, -de-goza-i -mas-u, is used (Level 4), can be chosen in expensive restaurants, stores, hotels, which may be proud of the length of their business history and of the exclusiveness of their clientele. At this level of speech, the full use of both Exalting and Lowering RSRCs is normal.

When Non-Neutral RSRCs are partially used, the following tendency is found: a Non-Neutral RSRC is more likely to be used in the predicate of the main sentence than in an embedded sentence; a Non-Neutral RSRC is more likely to be used to refer to the addressee than to refer to an unrelated third party; and a lexical Non-Neutral RSRC is more likely to be used than an agglutinative one.

Vertical co-occurrence rules hold in choices of different forms in each of the gradations from Level 1 to Level 4 and Super Formal Level. The fuller the use of Non-Neutral RSRCs is, the more articulate, or "monitored" in Labov's terminology, the prosodic features are likely to be. Vertical co-occurrence specifies even para- and non-linguistic features, as English equivalents may do, and features such as "dress, gesture, or spatial organization" (Irvine 1979: 776) can be subject to the degree of formality of the situation. Sales personnel at an immaculate show room of Mercedes cars, for example, who are likely to speak to a customer using Formal SMs of verbs, the Super Formal MS of copula and Non-Neutral RSRCs to the full extent, tend to be formally dressed. Those at a dealer of used Mercedes cars, who are likely to use a less formal speech level, tend to be dressed less formally. Garage mechanics, who are likely to use a still less stiff speech level, tend to be dressed even less formally.

Thus, the fuller the use of Non-Neutral RSRCs, along with co-occurring para-linguistic features, the more likely the situation is to be perceived and described as stiffer, or more formal. And as Irvine's observation exemplifies, such a perception seems to be universal rather than peculiar to Japanese. Here in this chapter, I use the term "formality" to refer to the perception native speakers seem to share of Non-Plain speech levels and of situations where such speech levels are chosen. However, I will discuss the validity of the notion of "formality" as a technical term later (in Chapter 6).

In my recorded data, people spoke to a student informant using the following levels: a receptionist at a post office and a receptionist at a drivers license office used Level 1; a bank teller used Level 2; and a travel agent used Level 2 with a slightly fuller use of Lowering RSRCs. My data, however, do not include a single utterance of the form *-de-goza-i-mas-u* made by a student or the graduate informant. A university student usually has little experience of using the Super Formal equivalent of the copula in speech during his/her student life. Some informants reported, however, that at the places where they held part-time jobs (such as department stores or restaurants), they had been trained to use *-de-goza-i-mas-u* and both Exalting and Lowering RSRC forms in formulaic sales expressions in commercial settings. Examples of formulaic expressions that these students learned at one of these job sites, a family-type restaurant chain, are as follows:

[Ex 4]

> *Tadaima*   *menyuu-o*   *o-mochi-shi-masu.*
> Now   menu-OBJ.   bring-LOWERING RSRC-FORMAL
>
> (I state with Super Formality to you who are socially higher than me that) I will come back with the menu for you."

The honorific expression in the predicate of this formula is a Lowering RSRC equivalent of the verb *mots-u* ("to bring") in the *Des-Mas* Style.

Interestingly, a part-time shop assistant/waiter/waitress who is a university student is often able to use Non-Neutral RSRCs only when they are part of such formulaic expressions. I have often found such a shop assistant/waiter/waitress make what seems to an older generation of native speakers to be a switch of speech level, when s/he is called upon to make a response that goes beyond a formulaic utterance to a customer's question, such as what is the difference between such and such salad and another one. S/he would suddenly speak as if s/he were speaking to a friend, using none of the Non-Neutral RSRCs which an older generation of speakers with knowledge of the traditional horizontal co-occurrence rule would expect to hear.

The choices between use and non-use of (and among different degrees of use of) Non-Neutral RSRCs in Non-Personal settings that I have discussed so far are also found in speech where Non-Plain SMs are chosen in a non-reciprocal manner in Personal settings. As seen in 2.3.2.2, Non-Plain forms are normally chosen when speaking to a mature, non-family and socially distant addressee in a Personal setting. The more pronounced the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, the more formal the speech level that tends to be chosen. For example, while I, an associate professor at a university, use Level 1 reciprocally to speak to a colleague who is older than me by four years and is a full professor, I use Level 2 to talk to the President, who usually responds using Level 2.

Between members of a dyad who have met for the first time, reciprocal use of Non-Plain SMs is normal and non-use of one by either party can be perceived by the other party to be "too informal". In

such an interaction, however, Non-Neutral RSRCs may be used to some degree or may not be used. In such an interaction, such forms are more likely to be chosen by the socially lower party of the dyad, and to be perceived by the other party as indicating his/her acknowledgement of the vertical social distance between the two parties. However, Non-Neutral RSRCs can also be used even when there is no significant difference in social status. A fuller use of Non-Neutral RSRCs in a Personal setting where Formal SMs are reciprocally used can be felt to be a manifestation, whether actual or pretended, of the speaker's higher sophistication, breed or social class, which, according to Tsujimura (1967), is a new function that use of honorific forms has to come to perform after World War II.

2.3.2.4 Notes on other factors influencing choice of formality level

So far I have illustrated the fundamental features which determine whether or not Non-Plain SMs are used and the degree (i.e. from nil to full) of use of Non-Neutral RSRCs. In doing so, I have adopted an extremely simplistic manner of illustration in order to make my explanation easy for readers to follow. One of the ways in which I have done this is by focusing on interactions in dyads. The existence of a third party may affect the choice of honorific components at least in two ways. Firstly, the presence of a third party may lead the speaker to switch between different speech levels in one speech event. In the following recorded interaction, my informant (K, a university student, part-time YMCA staff) and a friend switch between use and non-use of Formal SMs depending on which of the other participants they are talking to:

[Ex 5] Before a meeting at the YMCA, two part-time activity leaders, K and Y (older than K by two years), and Y's boss, a director, O (not significantly older than K), are chatting about a pen which K has recently bought.

K: *Kore mi-te, ...*   *Shi-tte-ru?*
        This look-PLAIN at   Know-PLAIN
        "Look at this. Do you know about it?"

Y: *Aa kore?*   *Kie-te-shimau pen-desh-o.*   *I-tte-ta-jan.*
    Oh this   Disappears completely pen right   Were saying-PLAIN
    "Oh, this? The pen whose ink disappears completely, that you once mentioned"

K: *A, i-tta-kke?*
    Oh said-PLAIN
    "Oh, did I mention it?"

                    :

O: *Jikan-ga*   *tats-u-to*   *kie-ru-no?*
    time-SUB   passes-PLAIN when   disappears-PLAIN you mean
    "You mean the mark it makes disappears, after a while?"

K: *Soo-nan-des-u-yo.*
    So I mean is-FORMAL
    "(I state with formality that) Yes, that is right."

Y: *Kaki-mash-oo-ka,*   *odeko-ni-demo.*
    Write shall-I-FORMAL   forehead on or
    "(I state with formality to you that) Shall I write something on your forehead or something?"

K and Y (socially equal to each other) use no Formal SM between them, while they use a Formal SM to answer or talk to O, who is socially higher than them, *-des-u* and *-mash-oo-ka* (a derivative of the morpheme *-mas-u*), respectively.

The presence of a third party may influence the choice of honorific components also in a situation where the third party does not take direct part in the verbal interaction but is merely a bystander. The questionnaire research conducted by the National Language Research Institute in 1975-78 in the headquarters of a large firm in central Tokyo examines the influence the presence of various bystanders may have on the choice of honorific forms. According to the results of the questionnaire, the presence of a socially higher bystander is more likely to prompt the choice of a more formal speech level than that of a non-higher bystander or the absence of a bystander (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1982).

Discoursal factors may also affect the choice of speech level. Between members of a dyad who regularly speak to each other with Plain SMs, it is possible that they may use a Formal SM at the beginning and/or the end of the interaction. One typical example is a conversation between two adult friends either face-to-face or on the telephone. In such a conversation, use of Formal SMs emerges in the initial greetings where the parties often express appreciation and/or apologies about a social incident in the previous meeting and ask about the family's well-being, and in the closing exchange, where concluding remarks, parting words, expression of thanks and/or apologies about the content of the present talk, and wishes to the other's family may be made, while no Formal SM is used in the main conversation which takes place between the opening and closing segments.

In the following interaction held at a YMCA, in which two part-time activity leaders, K and Y, and two directors, O and B discussed and reached an agreement, the final concluding statement was made by the directors using a Formal SM:

[Ex 6] The four are discussing the number of the people who finally join the camping tour.

Y: *Nacchan-wa   honnin-wa   ik-i-tai-n-da-kedo, ...*
   Nacchan-TOPIC herself-TOPIC   wants to go-PLAIN but
   "Nacchan herself wants to join, but .."

O: *A, demo,   ik-e-ru-wake?*
   Oh but   can go-PLAIN you mean
   "Oh, but you mean she can join us?"

Y: *Ik-i-tai-mitai,   honnin-wa,   un.*
   Want seems-PLAIN   herself-TOPIC   yeah
   "She herself seems to want to, I believe."

O: *Tte koto-wa,   kanoosei   takai-yo-ne.   Kono roku-mei-sama.*
   That means-PLAIN   possibility   high   these six people.

   Ja,   ikkini   juu-nana-tte-no-wa   erai chigai-da-yo-ne.
   Then   suddenly   seventeen   large difference-copula-PLAIN

"That means that she may join us, probably. People may suddenly increase from six to seventeen, then. A big difference, isn't it?"

B: *Un, ... Konshuu-chuu-ni*   *renraku-ga aru-to?*
     Yeah   this week   talk to us do-you-think-PLAIN
     "Yeah, do you think they'll talk to us this week?"

Y: (Nods)

O: *Tte koto-wa,*   *juunana-na-tta-tte*
     That means-PLAIN   seventeen become say-PLAIN if

     i-ccha-e-ba ii-no-ka.   *De,*   *futa ake-tara,*
     OK-you-mean-PLAIN-QUESTION   And   eventually,

     juuichi-da-tte   *ii-wake. (Laughter)*   *De,*   *jissai*
     eleven-is-PLAIN if   alright-you-mean. (Laughter)   Then   in fact

     namae-wa   *aru-wake-da-kara.*
     names-TOPIC   exist-PLAIN since

"That means it will be OK if we just tell (the finance section) we've got seventeen people coming. And, if there're only eleven, there'll be no problem. (Laughter) Since we'll have all the names anyway."

K: *Unnnnh*
     Hmmm
     "Hmmm"
         :

O: *Dakara, juu-shichi-nichi-ga*   *ano setumeikai-da-kara, soremade-ni*   *moo ikkai*
     So   seventeen-SUB.   the meeting because   by the time   another

     saikakunin sh-ite, de,   *kakujitsu-ni shi-tara,*   *moo*   *ato-wa mondai nai-yo-ne.*
     re-confirm   and   make sure after   already   after that no problem is-PLAIN

"So, because the meeting's on the seventeenth, if we can make another confirmation and make it sure by then, there'll be no problem."

B: *Un.*
        Yeah
        "Yeah"

O: *Shitara,*   *oogata demo ii-ya.*
        In that case   large car COPULA-PLAIN alright
        "In that case, a large car will do."

B: *Soo-des-u-ne.*   *un.*
        So-is-Formal   yes
        "(I state with formality that) that is right, yes!"

O: Un
        yes
        "Yes!"

O: *Jaa*   *soo i-u koto-ni*   *nar-u-to-iu*   *zentei-de*
        Then   such situation   fix that   assumption on

        hanashi-o susum-e-mash-oo.
        procedure-OBJ move-FORMAL ahead

        "(I state with formality that) all right, then, let's assume everything goes in a way that is
        convenient for us, and start the necessary procedure based on the assumption."

A temporary switch from the unmarked Plain to marked Formal speech level can also be

prompted by an emotional factor. Among couples, friends or colleagues who normally interact with each

other using Plain SMs reciprocally, one member may switch to a Formal speech level, when they get

angry at one another and start to quarrel. Such speech level switches may be compared to a choice of an

English form which conveys an ironically large social distance between the speaker and the addressee

made by an irritated spouse; "Could I possibly ask you please to let me finish?" In my recorded data, the

wife of a young couple temporarily switched her speech level from Plain to Formal, when her husband

insistently suggested that they should pre-book an optional tour in Hawaii where they were planning to

go for a holiday, while she had argued that they could book one after arriving in Hawaii, though it might

cost them a bit more (the wife is a speaker of Osaka Dialect):

[Ex 7]

Wife: *Demo,   okane-sae   dash-i-tara,   are-ya-de....*
            But   only money   pay-if   it's-PLAIN-ASSERT ...
            "But if you only pay a bit more, it's ..."

Husband: *Iya,   soo-da-kedo,   aru teido shita-shirabe*
           Yeah   so is-PLAIN but certain amount of preparation

           shi-te-ka-nai-to dame-nan-da-yo.
           necessary is-PLAIN-ASSERTIVE

           "I know, but we need to make some preparatory investigation."

Wife: *Hai, ... shita-shirabe shi-toki-mas-u!*
            Yes --- preparation I will do-FORMAL
            "All right! (I state with formality that) I will make some preparatory investigation!"

Another factor which may prompt a temporary switch from Plain to Formal speech level is an illocutionary feature. Although my data do not include an example, students, according to reports in our small-group discussions, may elevate the speech level to Formal, when they apologize, thank or make a request to their parents to whom they otherwise use Plain SMs. Temporary use of Formal SMs in apologizing and in thanking is not uncommon, but it tends to be regarded as ideolectal rather than normal among the majority of native speakers. As my informants suggested, switching to use Formal SMs in such an utterance can be marked, while not making such a switch is likely to be quite normal and unmarked.

So far, for the sake of simplicity, I have presented the system of choices of Japanese honorifics as if the two types of settings, Non-Personal and Personal settings, can be clearly distinguished. However, in real life, some settings can be ambiguous in this regard, as the report by one of my

informants, J, revealed. J, a graduate, had recorded a talk she had made in front of five juniors, two years after her graduation, when she visited the university and the circle she used to be a member of.

On listening to the recorded speech made by herself, she reflected as follows on the ambivalence she had felt during her speech. The fact that her speech had been made at the request of the advisor (a professor) of the circle, and the fact that she had referred to it as "a talk" had obliged her to make a fairly formal speech. However, her discovery that there were only five students in her audience had prompted her to regard the occasion more as a Personal setting with her peers rather than one where she was expected to play the role of Speaker towards Audience. Still, from time to time in the course of her talk, she had thought of the fact that the advisor had described her role on the occasion as that of *senpai*, ("a senior"), and somehow wanted to sound like a mature, sophisticated elder sister.

Her speech included continuous switching back and forth between Plain and Formal speech levels, as well as the use of feminine versions of sentence-end expressions such as *-kashira* (vs. *ka-naa*, both meaning "I wonder" and *no-yo* (vs. *-n-da-yo*, both meaning "this is what I believe is the explanation"), which she described as unusual for her. The informant J analyzed the occurrence of such features as manifestations of both her hesitant desire to be appropriately formal in the setting which she had considered to have an element of Non-Personal setting and of her desire to present herself as one who is a nice person to the younger students listening to her.

2.3.3   The secondary choice

We have seen so far that Non-Plain SMs are chosen in a Speaker-Audience setting, a Seller-Client setting and a Personal setting with social distance (i.e. formal situations). I will now move to the secondary choice, and illustrate how the choice among a Lowering, Exalting or Neutral RSRC is made in such a situation.

As shown in Fig. 2.3, the choice among the three types of RSRCs is two-staged. At the first stage, the choice between Non-Neutral or Neutral RSRC is determined by whether the referent is an entity belonging/related to a human being. At the second stage, the choice between Lowering or

Exalting RSRC forms is determined by whether the referent belongs/is related to the speaker. Neutral RSRCs are normally used to refer to things and phenomena not belonging or related to anybody. Thus, a natural phenomenon such as wind blowing is normally referred to by a Neutral RSRC, even in a formal speech.

Lowering RSRCs are used to refer to a person, thing or action belonging or related to the speaker or his/her ingroup. **Speaker's ingroup** refers to a member of his/her family or any other group s/he belongs to, depending on the situation of the speech. For example, a speaker referring to his personal history in a public lecture may use a Lowering RSRC form to refer to his/her family and their actions as well as his/her own actions. S/he would not use a Lowering RSRC, and it would be felt to be "wrong" if s/he did so, to refer to, e.g. a person in the audience, or a thing or action belonging or related to him/her. Similarly, a representative of a firm, when s/he is giving a presentation on a new company product to clients, may use a Lowering RSRC to refer to people, things and actions related to his/her company but not those related to the clients or a third company.

Exalting RSRC forms are used to refer to a person, thing or action belonging or related to people other than the speaker or his/her ingroup. For example, the representative of a firm may use one to refer to an action performed by one of the clients listening to him/her there (i.e. one of his/her addressees) or one performed by a third party such as one of his/her rival companies[10]

It seems a normal practice in JSL textbooks, textbooks for native speaking children and in academic writing by linguists, to describe a Non-Neutral RSRC as being used to convey the speaker's respect to someone who is socially higher than him/her, through exalting the person or lowering the other party. However, such a description is inappropriate. Although the use of a Lowering RSRC often conveys the speaker's respect to someone through fictionally lowering him/herself, it is not necessarily

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[10] The choice between an Exalting and Lowering RSRC made by younger generation of Japanese today is in fact not as clear as the rules described above. As many older native speakers as well as Japanese linguists have long been complaining, the distinction people traditionally made between the Exalting and Lowering RSRC is not made by many university students. The most common "mistakes" occurring among the younger generation is to use the forms which are traditionally Lowering RSRCs as an Exalting RSRC. I will return to the recent change in the usage of honorific forms in Chapter 6.

the case. For example, in the following use, which may not be a typical usage and yet an appropriate rather than inappropriate one, a Lowering RSRC seems to convey quite a different meaning.

[Ex 8] At a court dealing with an incident in which a man had nearly been killed by VX-gas (a lethal gas), the wife of the victim was called. She did not immediately begin her testimony, as she could not help sobbing for a little while. She then apologized to the chief judge, saying:

> *Hajimete*   *o-ai-sh-i-ta*   *mono-de...*
> first time   meet-LOWERING RSRC   because (I could not help) ...
> "I'm sorry, but, as I met him for the first time..."

In her statement, she uses a Lowering RSRC to refer to her own meeting with the person who is suspected of having very nearly gassed her husband to death. Her use of the RSRC does not seem to be typical, since the newspaper reporting this story had to give an explanation in parentheses to clarify that it was the suspect that she met for the first time (*The Asahi Shimbun*, 9 September 1997). Nevertheless, the usage was perceived to be perfectly acceptable and polite rather than impolite to my students. In my group discussion, none of my fifty-five informants felt that the wife wanted to regard the suspect as socially higher than her or that she wanted to respect him. Many students stated that she need not have chosen this honorific form but, rather, could have used the Neutral RSRC or even a stigmatized, insulting expression here, because she would have had every right to despise rather than respect him. Nevertheless, my informants stated, the wife's use of the honorific form was appropriate for the formal situation in the court and/or was impressive because she sounded dignified by her language use. This extreme but perfectly acceptable use of a Non-Neutral RSRC seems to illuminate that the semantic meaning such a form can convey (i.e. exalting or lowering of the referent) is one thing, while the meaning that the use of such a form takes on in a particular situation is another. I will discuss the relationship between these two types of meaning in Chapter 3.

Another point I would like to re-emphasize here is that the use of Non-Neutral RSRC is normally limited to a formal situation. It is normal that students, in conversation among themselves in a Personal setting, use Neutral forms to refer to an absent third party who might be referred to by an

Exalting RSRC in stiff speech where Formal SMs are used. See the following recorded conversation, where a student informant, K, does not use Exalting RSRCs but Neutral ones to refer to actions by one of her teachers, who is absent from the speech situation:

[Ex 9] End-of-semester exams are coming up and K and a friend, M, are having a discussion over lunch in a classroom. K failed to pass a required subject the previous year and has to take it again this year. However, the teacher does not require her to write the semester-end essay, but only to sit for the exam.)

K: *Soo,*   *Ishikawa-sensei.*   *Dakara-ne,*   *'kimi-wa*   *tesuto-ga*
     Right   Mr Ishikawa   And   'in your case   test-SUB

     waru-ku-te   *och-i-ta-n-da-kara,*   *repoopo-wa*
     bad because   fail since,   essay as for

     das-a-na-ku-te ii-des-u' tte i-tte-kur-e-te, ...
     produce-need not-FORMAL' said-NEUTRAL-PLAIN kindly ....

     'Tesuto-dake ganba-tte-nee'   *toka i-tte.*
     'Test only study hard for'   said-NEUTRAL-PLAIN

     "That's right, it's Mr Ishikawa's course. And he (who I'm **not** saying is socially higher than me) kindly said (with formality), 'Since the reason you failed last year was because you didn't do well in the exam, you don't need to write an essay this year' .... He (who I'm **not** saying is socially higher than me) said, 'Just study hard for the exam'."

In her speech, K uses Neutral forms, *i-tte-kur-e-te* ("said kindly") and *i-tte* ("said"), rather than the Exalting RSRC equivalents, *i-tte-kudas-a-tte* and *ossh-a-tte*, respectively, to refer to her teacher's actions.

In a small-group discussion where the recorded conversation was played and discussed, student informants claimed the use of Neutral RSRCs to refer to an absent teacher in conversations between students is perfectly normal and unmarked, although they admitted that, according to the prescriptive usage of honorific forms, one should use Exalting RSRC equivalents to refer to an absent teacher's

actions. They also stated that the use of Exalting RSRCs in this conversation, where Plain SMs are chosen, would be marked and could sound affected, as if being spoken by someone who was extremely highly-bred or from an exceptionally conservative family. One of the informants added that she could not help but change the speech level from Plain to Formal, if she really needed to use the RSRCs, as a Non-Neutral RSRC without a Formal SM ending would sound strange to her from a university student's mouth.

All the informants stated that they would use Exalting RSRCs to refer to the teacher's actions in an utterance to the teacher, and would use both Exalting RSRCs and Formal SMs in the conversation. However, as for the use of an Exalting RSRC to refer to the teacher's actions in a conversation with a friend, where the teacher is within hearing distance, while two out of eighteen informants stated they would use such an honorific form, fourteen informants stated they would use a Neutral RSRC. The remaining two reflected that they would avoid letting the teacher hear their use of a Neutral form, by substituting the part "he said" by something such as "I heard" and "it seems", by avoiding referring to the action, or by lowering the voice so that the teacher could not hear. It seems safe therefore to say that most of my informants do not use an Exalting RSRC to refer to a socially higher bystander in a conversation where Plain forms are used, and that the few who may use one often do so reluctantly.

In the discussion on the use of Non-Neutral RSRCs that is given in the following chapters, I focus on the use which seems to be prompted by the relationship between the speaker and the addressee rather than that between the speaker and a bystander. I do so partly because, as far as university students (on whose language use my observation will focus) are concerned, the use of Non-Neutral RSRCs seems mainly relevant to the speaker's consciousness about the addressee, and partly because I could simplify my discussions that way.

First, though, it is necessary to make a brief note concerning two cases in which Non-Neutral RSRCs can be used without Formal SMs. One of them involves older generation speakers. Compared to university students, it is more likely for older generation speakers to use an Exalting RSRC to refer to a bystander within hearing distance who is socially distant, even in conversation in which Plain SMs are

being chosen. For example, a colleague of mine, who regularly uses, in a personal chat with me, a

Neutral RSRC to refer to another colleague who is higher in rank, often uses an Exalting RSRC to refer

to the same colleague in our personal chat during the faculty meeting where the referent is within

hearing distance.

The other case in which a Non-Neutral RSRC can co-occur with a Plain SM is when the

speaker belongs to a certain category of social group, typically middle-class women in their forties or

older. For example, Tetsuko Kuroyanagi, the hostess of a long-running TV chat show *Tetsuko-no Heya*

(*lit.* Tetsuko's Room), sixty-odd years old, constantly chooses Plain SMs to talk to her guests, unless

s/he is considerably older than her, and uses Non-Neutral RSRCs (especially Exalting ones) without a

Formal SM ending to refer to the addressee and often to a third party.

The use of Non-Neutral RSRCs without a Formal SM ending is considerably less common in

male speech, even among middle-class men, and, if it occurs as it occasionally does in middle-aged or

older male speaker's speech, it is likely to be perceived as somewhat feminine and marked. Use of

Non-Neutral RSRC without a Formal SM ending is not normal among younger people of either sex,

and, if it occurred, it would be perceived as sounding like a middle-aged woman and marked.

2.4   Summary of this chapter

In this chapter I introduced grammatical properties of honorific components relevant to my following

discussions, and illustrated features determining both choice between use or non-use of honorific forms

and choice among different components of honorific forms in spoken interaction.

Despite of the semantic difference between SMs and RSRCs, certain commonality is found in

the use of the two types of honorific forms. Namely, the same social features, i.e. the nature of the setting

and the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee, determine choice between use and

non-use of both Non-Plain SMs and Non-Neutral RSRC, i.e. honorific forms. Honorific forms are

normally used in the three types of formal situations: Speaker-Audience setting, Seller-Client setting

and Personal setting with social distance.

My discussion in the following pages will exclusively deal with the use, rather than the grammatical properties, of honorific forms to probe politeness which is communicated by it. First of all, in Chapter 3, I will discuss the framework for my research of politeness communicated by use of such forms.

Chapter 3: Perspectives on linguistic politeness

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives on linguistic politeness that are relevant to my exploration

of the kinds of politeness that can be conveyed by the use of honorific forms (which I call **Honorific**

Politeness, for the sake of convenience). I first review main past approaches to linguistic politeness as well as

to honorific politeness, and then explain the framework in which I analyze Japanese honorific politeness.

As I have explained in Chapter 1, I choose to use the term "politeness" to refer to the meaning which

is communicated through linguistic behaviour that does not cause discomfiture. By "discomfiture", I refer not

only to the perception of "face-threatened" or "offended" feelings, but also both to feelings which might be

described as "shock" or "embarrassment" and to the recognition of inappropriateness or inadequacy. Thus, I

use the term "politeness" in a much broader sense than many other discussions of linguistic politeness, which

focus almost exclusively on politeness in relation to face-threatening acts. In discussing my framework,

therefore, I will first clarify the way in which the scope of my use of the term "politeness" is wider than that in

past literature, and discuss the reasons why I chose this wider scope. Then I will differentiate the grammatical,

semantic and pragmatic levels at which an analysis of politeness phenomena can be undertaken, identifying

the levels at which I will analyze honorific politeness.

3.2   Approaches to studying politeness

In this section, I review four major views of linguistic politeness. I base my discussion on Fraser's (1990)

classification of perspectives on politeness.

3.2.1   The Social-Norm View

The Social-Norm view is a prescriptive view of politeness typically reflected in Western etiquette books, such

as Locke's *Ladies' Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness*:

> Avoid topics which may be supposed to have any direct reference to events or
>
> circumstances which may be painful.

<div align="right">

Locke 1972, cited by Fraser 1990: 220

</div>

This view of politeness is prescriptive in that it evaluates certain kinds of behaviour positively or negatively,

in accordance with the acceptability norms of a given society. Obviously this view of politeness is closely

associated with the notion of "good manners", and it tends to focus on the linguistic behaviour which is

socially appropriate to perform in a formal setting, which is the area of social behaviour that the author of an

etiquette book tends to be most concerned with.

Few current researchers on linguistic politeness subscribe to this view, although some reveal the

same orientation:

> The nonstandard usage of "me and Mary are..." [is] more "reprehensible," though
>
> nonetheless common, if the offending pronoun also violates the rule of politeness which
>
> stipulates that 1st person pronouns should occur at the end of the coordinate construction...
>
> Another reason is that "Mary and I" is felt to be a polite sequence which can remain
>
> unchanged...

<div align="right">

Quirk et al. 1985: 38, cited by Fraser 1990

</div>

In contrast to the social-norm view, which is both prescriptive and places its main focus on appropriate

linguistic behaviour in formal settings, the following three views are descriptive and do not pay primary

attention to use of language in formal settings.

3.2.2   The Conversational-Maxim View

The Conversational-Maxim view assumes that there are general principles or guidelines that govern the polite

use of language. Such principles are seen as supplementary to the **Cooperative Principle (CP)** proposed by

Grice (1975) to explain conversationalists' linguistic behaviour. Grice (1975) argues that conversationalists

principally seek to convey their messages as efficiently as possible by observing the Cooperative Principle,

which guides them to: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it

occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice 1975: 45).

Grice proposes the following four **Conversational Maxims**:

Maxim of Quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current
                          purpose of the exchange).
                          Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxim of Quality: Do not say what you believe to be false.
                          Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner: Avoid obscurity of expression.
                          Avoid ambiguity.
                          Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
                          Be orderly.

By claiming that linguistic behaviour in which the speaker seems to fail to observe the CP often prompts the

other interlocutor to start a rational search for another meaning, Grice attempts to account for the mechanisms

by which interlocutors interpret conversational implicature, or non-explicit meaning.

Lakoff (1973) adapts Grice's approach to conversational behaviour in her discussion of linguistic

politeness, and proposes the following two rules of **Pragmatic Competence**:

1. Be clear (essentially Grice's maxims)

2. Be polite

She also proposes the following three sub-rules under the second rule of pragmatic competence:

Rule 1: Don't impose (used when formal/impersonal politeness is required)

Rule 2: Give options (used when informal politeness is required)

Rule 3: Make the hearer feel good (used when intimate politeness is required)

Leech (1983) also adapts Grice's framework, but his theory of politeness is considerably more

elaborate than Lakoff's. Claiming that "politeness is an important missing link between the CP and the problem of how to relate sense to force" (Leech 1983: 103), he views politeness as the other regularity complementary to CP, in that interpretation of illocutionary force is accounted for by both the CP and considerations of politeness. Leech distinguishes between illocutionary goals (e.g. to have the addressee lend money to the speaker) and social goals (such as to avoid offending the addressee), and argues that the compatibility or incompatibility between these two goals often constrains people's linguistic behaviour. He proposes two major sets of conversational (rhetorical) principles to govern the precise wording of the utterance - interpersonal rhetoric and textual rhetoric- and treats politeness, in the form of the **Politeness Principle (PP)**, as part of the domain of interpersonal rhetoric. The purpose of the PP is to "maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech 1983:82). Leech claims the PP consists of a number of maxims, and proposes the following six **Interpersonal Maxims**:

1. Tact Maxim: a. Minimize costs to other

                                    b. Maximize benefit to other

2. Generosity Maxim: a. Minimize benefit to self
                                    b. Maximize cost to self

3. Approbation Maxim: a. Minimize dispraise to other
                                    b. Maximize praise to other

4. Modesty Maxim: a. Minimize praise of self
                                    b. Maximize dispraise of self

5. Agreement Maxim: a. Minimize disagreement between self and other
                                    b. Maximize agreement between self and other

6. Sympathy Maxim: a. Minimize antipathy between self and other
                                    b. Maximize sympathy between self and other

                                                       Leech 1983: 132

Neither Lakoff (1973) nor Leech (1983) deal with use of honorific forms in their discussion of linguistic politeness.

3.2.3   The Face-Saving View

The Face-Saving view was elaborated by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), and has two main

characteristics. Firstly, in common with the Conversational-Maxim View, Brown and Levinson adopt

Grice's CP as the foundation of their theoretical framework for the analysis of linguistic politeness. Their

adoption of the CP can be clearly seen in their statement that:

> there is a working assumption by conversationalists of the rational and efficient nature of talk. It is
>
> against that assumption that polite ways of talking show up as deviations, requiring rational
>
> explanation on the part of the recipient, who finds in considerations of politeness reasons for the
>
> speaker's apparent irrationality or inefficiency.
>
> <div align="right">Brown and Levinson 1987: 4</div>

The other, more prominent characteristic of Brown and Levinson's view is that politeness is

regarded as making a linguistic choice to save **Face**. This notion, originally put forward by Goffman (1967),

is defined as the "public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself" (1987: 61),

and the desire to save face is seen as universal, although the particular ways in which this is achieved will

vary from culture to culture. Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) distinguish between two types of "face":

> 'Face' consists of two specific kinds of desires ('face-wants') attributed by interactants to
>
> one another, the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in
>
> some respects) to be approved of (positive face).
>
> <div align="right">Brown and Levinson 1987: 13</div>

Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) claim that face is something in which interactants emotionally invest,

which can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and which must be constantly attended to in interaction. Having

established this basic framework, Brown and Levinson introduce the notion of **Face Threatening Acts**

<div align="right">69</div>

(**FTAs**), arguing that some acts are intrinsically face-threatening and thus require softening, if the speaker wants to maintain the interactants' face. In their view, politeness is the softening that is required in the performance of an FTA (such as making a request), and manifests itself in the use of strategies which are culturally approved. Corresponding to the distinction between the two kinds of face, two kinds of politeness are also distinguished: negative politeness and positive politeness. The speaker can, according to the authors, choose one or another strategy from the following five superstrategies for performing FTAs, depending on the estimated degree of seriousness of the FTA, as illustrated in Fig.3.1.

1. Bald, without redress: The most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way of performing communicative acts.

2. Positive politeness: Strategies that orient towards the hearer's positive face wants.

3. Negative politeness: Strategies that orient towards the hearer's negative face wants.

4. Off-record: Off-record strategies that allow more than one justifiable interpretation of the act.

5. Avoidance: Abandonment of performing FTAs.

Thus, the face-saving view sees politeness essentially as the avoidance of giving offence in the performance of an FTA, and explains linguistic behaviour which seems to deviate from the CP. Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) deal with honorific forms, including Japanese ones, in their discussion. I will describe and review this aspect of their work, in 3.4.1.1.

Lesser

```
                                                    1. without redressive action, baldly
                              on record
                                                              2. positive
                                                                 politeness
          Do the FTA
                                           with redressive
                                           action
                                                              3. negative
                                                                 politeness
                              4. off record

     5. Don't do the FTA
```

Greater
(Estimation
of degree of
face threat)
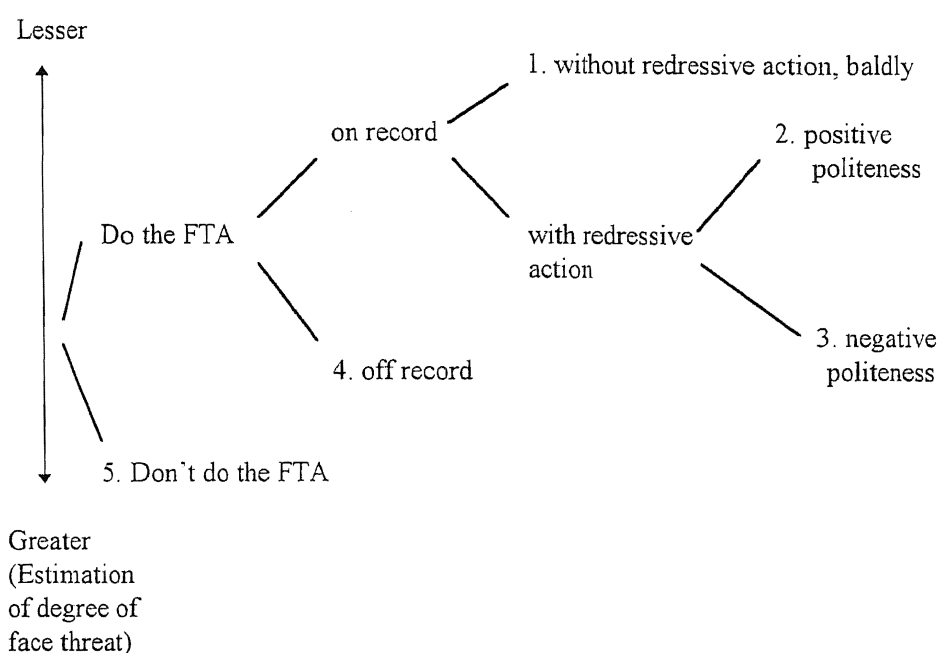
Fig. 3.1 Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) Superstategies for performing FTAs

3.2.4   The Conversational-Contract View

The Conversational-Contract view was presented by Fraser (1975) and Fraser and Nolen (1981), and then

elaborated by Fraser (1990). In this view, interactants are constrained by what Fraser (1990) terms

Conversational Contracts (CC), that is, the implicit understanding of conversational rights and obligations

which participants bring to an interaction. Fraser (1990) claims that although some of the terms of the

contract may be imposed through convention or social institutions, and are thus seldom negotiable, many

other terms of the contract are constantly being negotiated.

This view explicitly defines politeness: "being polite constitutes operating within the then-current

terms and condition of the CC" (Fraser 1990: 233). As is obvious in the following statement, this view also

regards politeness as something "negatively eventful" (Goffman 1963):

Politeness, on this view, is not a sometime thing. Rational participants are aware that they are to act

within the negotiated constraints and generally do so. When they do not, however, they are

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perceived as being impolite or rude.

Fraser 1990: 233

However, his account of the actual terms of the contract is very brief, and the details of the content of the terms are not made explicit beyond the fact that they include four dimensions: turn-taking, level of formality, conversational content and illocutionary force. No explicit mention is made of honorific forms by Fraser (1975, 1990) or by Fraser and Nolen (1981).

Thus, with the exception of Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), the main theoretical studies of linguistic politeness reviewed here take no account of politeness related to use of honorific forms. What framework will a study of politeness communicated by the use of Japanese honorific forms need? Will any of these theoretical perspectives suit my purpose?

3.3   The scope of politeness

In this section, I define my scope of politeness, and clarify my view of the relationship between politeness and discomfiture. I first review the scope of politeness discussed in the main studies of politeness, and propose a scope suitable for my research. I then explain my view of discomfiture, treating it as a result of a breach of politeness, and hypothesize different types of discomfiture.

3.3.1   Leech's and Brown and Levinson's scope of politeness

Leech (1983) defines politeness as something often called for in an utterance in which the illocutionary and social goals are either compatible or incompatible. In illocutions such as ordering, asking, demanding and begging, the illocutionary goal (e.g. getting someone to lend you money) is incompatible with the social goal and therefore essentially discourteous, and politeness "is required to mitigate the intrinsic discourtesy of the goal" (Leech 1983: 105). Leech calls this type of politeness "negative politeness". In the other category of illocutions such as offering, inviting, thanking and congratulating, the illocutionary goal is compatible with

the social goal and therefore intrinsically courteous. In such an illocution, politeness functions in a more

positive way and the PP decrees that, if one has an opportunity to make such an illocution, one should do so;

Leech calls this type of politeness "positive politeness". Thus, in Leech's (1983) view, politeness consists in

either mitigating the discourteous illocutionary force of an utterance, or not missing the chance to make an

utterance with a courteous illocutionary force. Taken together, these two aspects of politeness may be

characterized as **Management of Illocutionary Force** for the sake of convenience. In other words, what

constitutes politeness for Leech is the linguistic behaviour needed for the appropriate communication of

illocutionary force.

As for what constitutes politeness for Brown and Levinson (1978/ 1987), it seems that they are also

thinking, primarily, of the management of illocutionary force, when they define politeness as the softening of

an FTA. However, it is not totally clear what range of notion they refer to by the term "FTA". While the

great majority of the FTAs which they discuss consist of the communication of a courteous or

discourteous illocutionary force (e.g. orders and requests, offers, and expressions of disapproval), they

use the term "FTA" also to refer to a variety of other notions. For example, they use it to refer to certain

types of linguistic behaviour that are unrelated to illocutionary force; for example:

women treat some FTAs more cautiously than men; the vulnerability of women means

that more acts, and particular acts (such as talking to an unrelated male at all), are

defined as face-threatening, ...

Brown and Levinson 1987: 252

3.3.2   Matsumoto's scope of politeness

Matsumoto's (1988, 1989) use of the term "politeness" covers a wider range than that of Leech (1983). She

begins by claiming that "the speaker may, by choice of an inappropriate form, offend the audience and thus

embarrass him/herself" (Matsumoto 1989: 219). She then goes on to argue that a Japanese speaker must, if

s/he wants to avoid such offence or embarrassment, choose one from a variety of SMs, depending on the

sociolinguistic features of the situation, such as his/her social relationship with the addressee, the formality of the setting, and the medium (i.e. speech vs. writing). She emphasizes that making such a choice is obligatory even when the speaker makes a simple statement such as "Today is Saturday":

(1)   *Kyoo-wa*   *doyoobi-da.*
       Today-TOPIC   Saturday COPULA-PLAIN

(2)   *Kyoo-wa*   *doyoobi-des-u.*
       Today-TOPIC   Saturday COPULA-FORMAL

(3)   *Kyoo-wa*   *doyoobi-de-goza-i-mas-u.*
       Today-TOPIC   Saturday COPULA-SUPER FORMAL

> Adapted from Matsumoto 1988: 415: renumbered and my own terminology used in illustration of the structure

Thus, by including discomfiture resulting from inappropriate language use which is independent of the management of illocutionary force, Matsumoto extends the scope of politeness beyond the linguistic behaviour needed to convey illocutionary force appropriately.

3.3.3   Domains of politeness

Clearly politeness for Leech (1983) is not the same as that for Matsumoto (1988, 1989). For Leech, it is the management of illocutionary force; for Matsumoto it is another kind of behaviour. This implies that politeness is not of a single kind but of two or more kinds. A number of authors have noticed and discussed this phenomenon. For example, Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989) have distinguished between "volitional" and "discernment" types of politeness, and Kasper (1990) also argues that "strategic politeness" and "social indexing" (Ervin-Tripp 1990) are distinct kinds of politeness. Some other researchers also use other terms to refer specifically to the kind of politeness which Matsumoto (1988, 1989) deals with: e.g. "Social marker" (Brown and Fraser 1979) and "social warrants" (Kochman 1990, cited in Kasper 1990).

Further, Spencer-Oatey (personal communication in 1997) proposes various other kinds of politeness which operate while people verbally interact with one another, suggesting five interrelated domains

in which the management of rapport takes place. The **Illocutionary Force Domain** concerns the management of the face-threatening implications of the communication of illocutionary force, the domain primarily dealt with by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). The **Association Management Domain** concerns the social implications of using strategies that reflect and negotiate the relationship between the interlocutors (not necessarily in connection with any specific illocutionary force of an utterance). It includes the communication of deference and involvement. The **Participation Structure Domain** concerns the social implications of the procedural aspects of participation. It includes turn-taking and the use of hearer responses. The **Discourse Structure Domain** concerns the social implications of the discourse content, and includes aspects such as the choice and management of topics and the sequencing of information. Finally, the **Accommodation Behaviour Domain** is based on Giles' (1980) Accommodation Theory, and concerns the social implications of accommodation behaviour. This includes linguistic behaviour such as attending to the hearer's interpretive competence and the modification of speaker's language, such as in the case of foreigner talk.

My purpose in discussing these various domains of politeness is not to produce an exhaustive list. Rather, it is to illustrate that politeness can be related to a variety of different kinds of features of linguistic interaction, among which the proper management of either the courteous or discourteous nature of the illocutionary force belongs to only one such domain. Knowledge about all these various domains of politeness is necessary for language learners, if they want to avoid inadvertently causing discomfiture. It is therefore necessary for a study of politeness to deal with the whole range of politeness, if it is to provide a comprehensive basis for language teaching needs.

However, it would be impractical for my study, although obviously ideal, to include every domain of politeness, and I have therefore narrowed my scope and deal, in the main body of my discussion, only with two domains of politeness. The two domains of politeness fall into what I call the **Illocutionary (Domain of) Politeness** and the **Stylistic (Domain of) Politeness**. The illocutionary domain contains the politeness which Leech (1983) deals with, and which governs the management of illocutionary force. The stylistic domain, on the other hand, is that which governs linguistic behaviour appropriate to three different **Situational Features**,

i.e. the social relationship among participants, the formality of the setting[1] and the medium of communication.

To understand the distinction between illocutionary and stylistic norms, it is useful to note the difference between the two types of social features in accordance with which the two domains of politeness govern linguistic behaviour. The first, the nature of illocutionary force, is likely to change continuously during a round of conversation. The other features, i.e. the three social features mentioned above, on the other hand, tend to remain unchanged for the duration of the conversation. In other words, illocutionary politeness is likely to operate momentarily while a particular illocutionary force is being communicated at a certain stage of a conversation, whereas the stylistic politeness is likely to be operating for a longer period of time, in accordance with unchanging social features. In order to distinguish between the two types of circumstances which affect linguistic behaviour, I use **Context** to refer to a stage in which a particular illocutionary force is communicated, and **Situation** to refer to a circumstance in which a social feature remains unchanged. It is important to notice, however, that the illocutionary and stylistic domains of politeness differ from each other in terms of the features by which they operate. Illocutionary politeness governs people's linguistic behaviour in accordance with **both** the nature of the illocutionary force and situational features, while stylistic politeness, by contrast, operates in accordance **only** with the situational features, regardless of the nature of illocutionary force.

3.3.4   Politeness and discomfiture

As I have noted, politeness in my view is linguistic behaviour which does not cause discomfiture. As will soon be clear, discomfiture refers to a notion which plays a most important role in the framework for my study, and it is therefore useful to clarify several points concerning this notion here.

Firstly, a clear definition is needed of the scope of the term as it is used in my discussion. As I have already explained, I use the term to refer not only to the narrow range of more serious feelings which seem to attract many researchers of linguistic politeness, and which can be described as offensive, insulting and

---

[1] The nature of a setting seems to be determined by various factors some of which have been discussed by researchers, such as "ends" (Hymes 1972) and "topic" (Fishman 1972). See Brown and Fraser 1979.

upsetting, but to a considerably wider range of negative feelings, including those which can be described as irritating, embarrassing, shocking, strange and incongruous. In another sense, however, my use of "discomfiture" is narrower than in other people's usage: while the term can be used to refer either to "the act of discomfiting or state of being discomfited" (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English), I focus on the former notion, using "discomfiture" mainly to refer to the evaluation made by the addressee (or other participants) of the speaker on the basis of his/her linguistic behaviour, rather than the uncomfortable feelings which the addressee (or other participants) perceive in connection with the speaker's linguistic behaviour.

Secondly, it is also useful to clarify here the relationship between discomfiture, comfort, politeness and social norms. In the case of some types of discourteous illocutionary forces (e.g. making a small request), the discourteous nature of the illocutionary force can be completely erased by choosing an appropriate type of linguistic behaviour to communicate it. In the case of other types of illocutionary forces (e.g. making a criticism), it is not likely to be completely erased by the choice of any linguistic behaviour, but only softened. Even in the latter case, though, it is important that the behaviour should be softened to an appropriate extent, and thus be perceived as polite. The degree of softening that is needed to completely erase or to sufficiently mitigate the discourteous nature of a particular illocutionary force (so that the communication of the illocutionary force may be felt to be polite) is decreed by norms which every society has. Softening which exceeds or which falls short of the degree that the norm dictates can generate discomfiture, and be perceived as impolite. (According to Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), the acceptable degree of such mitigation is systematically explained by the seriousness of an FTA, which can be calculated by the measurement of the social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer, the Power (P) that the hearer has over the speaker, and the place in the ranking (R) of degree of imposition on the hearer that the particular FTA has in the culture in question.)

In the case of essentially courteous illocutionary forces (e.g. thanking), communication of the illocutionary force is similarly decreed by norms in each society, and failure to comply with the norm causes discomfiture. Thus, both appropriate softening of the discourtesy of a discourteous illocutionary force and appropriate communication of a courteous illocutionary force are kinds of linguistic behaviour which comply

with social norms, and the discomfiture which results from failure in either case stems from the failure to comply with those social norms. This implies that politeness, which is the meaning conveyed through the performance of behaviour which is not perceived as uncomfortable, is **the meaning communicated though linguistic behaviour that complies with various social norms.**

Finally, discomfiture, of course, is not necessarily the result of a failure to comply with a social norm, but may have a more idiosyncratic origin. For example, in the case of certain physical properties of the linguistic sounds in which utterances are produced. (e.g. the volume of the voice and the speed of speech), physiological constraints may exist which determine the range of acceptability. In the case of other properties (e.g. tone of voice, intonation and accents), each individual may have his/her own range of acceptability, according to which certain linguistic features are unacceptable and thus uncomfortable for him/her. However, this source of discomfiture is not normally a subject of discussion among teachers of second languages, and seems to be best accounted for in physiological or psychological terms, and is therefore excluded from my consideration.

3.3.5   Types of discomfiture

Leech's (1983) model (and perhaps Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) as well) is designed to deal only with the kind of discomfiture that stems from failure to comply with a social norm governing linguistic behaviour associated with particular illocutionary forces in utterances. However, in my research into politeness within the scope of the illocutionary and stylistic domains, I deal with discomfiture which can result from breaches of these two domains of politeness, which I call **Illocutionary Discomfiture** and **Stylistic Discomfiture**, respectively.

My instinctive assessment is that the two domains of discomfiture differ from each other in type, and I hypothesize that illocutionary discomfiture is perceived as a result of deliberate offensiveness, whereas stylistic discomfiture is not. For example, it appears intuitively likely that criticizing someone without sufficiently softening the discourteous nature of the illocutionary force is thought to be deliberate on the part of the speaker (and thus as reflecting malice on his/her part), whereas failing to use an honorific form such as

"perspire" instead of "sweat" to refer to the Queen in a TV interview is perceived as an unintentionally offensive choice (which results from the speaker's ignorance and/or lack of social training).

Further, I suggest that illocutionary and stylistic discomfiture each has two sub-domains which are distinguished on the basis of whether the discomfort is felt to be personally-offensive or not. For example, intuitively it seems likely that some criticism is perceived as personally-offensive (if it is directed at the addressee) whereas other criticism is perceived as non-personally-offensive (if it is directed towards an unrelated third party), and instead may just be embarrassing. In Japanese, the distinction between personally-offensive and non-personally-offensive discomfiture also seems to apply to stylistic discomfiture. For example, it seems intuitively likely that use of excessively informal language with an unfamiliar and socially senior addressee is felt to be personally-offensive by the addressee while the same language use is perceived as non-personally offensive by an unrelated bystander.

To differentiate between personally-offensive and non-personally-offensive types of discomfiture, I use the terms **Face-Threatening (FT) Discomfiture** and **Eyebrow-Raising (ER) Discomfiture**. Thus, the four types of discomfiture are hypothesized as illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Four types of discomfiture

	Illocutionary	Stylistic
Face-Threatening (FT)	Illocutionary Face-Threatening (IFT)	Stylistic Face-Threatening (SFT)
Eyebrow-Raising (ER)	Illocutionary Eyebrow-Raising (IER)	Stylistic Eyebrow-Raising (SER)

If discomfiture consists of these different types, it is logical to assume that politeness consists of different types. For example, one person's linguistic behaviour can be felt to be comfortable because it does not seem to be deliberately offensive, while another person's behaviour can also be felt to be comfortable because it does not sound ignorant or uncouth. The comfort that the two person's linguistic behaviour causes can thus obviously differ in type. So based on the distinctions between the four types of discomfiture, I propose a distinction between the following four types of politeness: **IFT-Politeness, SFT-Politeness, IER-**

Politeness, and **SER-Politeness.**

Thus, the range of linguistic behaviour covered by my definition of politeness is considerably wider than that of major researchers in the field, who mainly focus on IFT-politeness. (Ideally, of course, I would have liked to include types of politeness relating to the other domains, but it was impractical to try and cover too much.) Obviously, however, I do not argue that my definition is the only adequate one for a discussion of politeness or that there is an a priori superior definition for research into linguistic politeness. I have chosen my definition and classificatory system for the purpose of analyzing honorific politeness. Needless to say, the frameworks proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) and by Leech (1983) are perfectly adequate for other purposes, such as conducting a comparative analysis of English and Japanese IFT-politeness.

3.3.6   Terminology confusions

Politeness is often not clearly defined in theoretical discussions, especially in many writings about honorific politeness. Rather, it tends to be assumed that the range of linguistic phenomena which authors deal with in technical writing will be clear to readers merely through the use of the term "politeness" (See Wierzbicka 1985 and 1991 for discussions of the similar problem from a wider perspective). Similarly, in many cross-cultural discussions, the scope of politeness is not defined but rather assumed to be obvious through a term in another language which is supposed to be the equivalent of the English term.

One factor which appears to be behind the vagueness of these terms is that they are originally folk terms, which have the potential to convey an extremely broad notion, and they have been adopted by language specialists without defining their usage as technical terms. Therefore, I interpose here a discussion of the usage of the English term "politeness", and its Japanese equivalent, as folk and technical terms.

3.3.6.1   "Polite" as a folk term

Obviously, the term "polite", and its derivative, "politeness", can be used as non-technical terms to refer, vaguely and/or elastically, to a wider notion than that of IFT-politeness. In fact, the denotation of the folk term "polite" can be even wider than the addition of IFT-, IER-, SFT- and SER-politeness, as illustrated in a

simple, informal questionnaire which I conducted.

The questionnaire was intended to explore the range of behaviours which are regarded as breaches of politeness by native speakers of English[2]. Initial instructions on the questionnaire ("Please list as many examples as possible of behaviour which you would find to be rude") were revised, following advice from two native speakers of English who suggested that, to them, the term "rude" is essentially used in reference to nonverbal behaviour so might not be suitable, since my purpose was to obtain data on both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Sixteen copies of the questionnaire were sent to academic, administrative staff and graduate students at Oxford University and Lancaster University (none of whom was a politeness specialist) with the revised instruction: "In your culture what are the last things a 'polite person' would do? (as many as possible)". I received thirteen responses; twelve respondents were native speakers of English, of whom nine were native speakers of British English, two of American English and one of South African English.

The responses included both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The listed non-verbal behaviour clearly showed that breaches of "politeness", as a non-technical term, can refer to both FT- and ER-discomfiture. Examples of FT-discomfiture were "Letting doors swing to in my face" and "Pushing or shoving me," and those of ER-types of politeness were "Wearing running stockings", "Reading another person's diary (from an unrelated third-party's point of view)", "Blowing one's nose in a table napkin (in a restaurant)" and "Clapping or applauding between movements of a symphony".

The items of linguistic behaviour listed by respondents clearly included all four categories of discomfiture, as shown below:

IFT   "Failure to thank for anything given or assistance rendered"
        "Failure to apologize"
        "Boasting"

SFT   "Failure to show courtesy/respect to someone considerably older than oneself" (from the older
        person's point of view)
        "Being too casual in language with people who are formal" (from the formal person's point of
        view)

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[2] Thus, this questionnaire was intended to collect data on negatively-eventful politeness.

IER   "Gossiping"
          "Looking down on someone who is physically handicapped" (from a bystander's point of view)

SER   "Failure to show courtesy/respect to someone considerably older than oneself" (from a bystander's
          point of view)
          "Being too casual in language with people who are formal" (from a bystander's view)
          "Talking loudly in a street or a station"
          "Talking with one's mouth full"

Respondents included further items of linguistic behaviour which do not seem to fit into any of these four categories of discomfiture, but rather concerned discomfiture associated with other domains, the participation structure domain and the discourse structure domain. Examples of such items are "Not showing interest in the other's conversation", "Interrupting others", "Monopolizing the conversation" and "Talking openly about sex, death and excretion".

3.3.6.2   *Teinei* as a folk term

In some cross-cultural discussions of linguistic politeness in languages other than English, no explicit definition is provided for what is referred to as "politeness". What is provided instead, in some cases, is a folk term which the author assumes to be equivalent to the English term "politeness". For example, in a discussion in which "a critical comparison is made between western notions of face and politeness and their Chinese counterparts...", Gu states:

> The most approximate Chinese equivalent to the English word 'politeness' is
>
> *limao*...which morphemically means 'polite appearance'.

<div align="right">Gu 1990: 238</div>

Similarly, in claiming a difference in the characteristics of linguistic politeness between Western culture and that of the Igbo of Nigeria, Nwoye states:

> Brown and Levinson's view of politeness...does not seem to apply to the egalitarian Igbo
>
> society, in which concern for group interests rather than atomic individualism is the

expected norm of behaviour. It is against this background that politeness, which in Igbo is

called *ezigbo omune* (good behaviour), is to be examined.

<div align="right">Nwoye 1992: 310</div>

As far as I know, in the cross-cultural studies of Japanese honorific politeness written in English,

however, no author has provided either an explicit definition as to what is referred to by "politeness" or a term

which is supposed to be equivalent to "politeness". However, it is evident that *teinei* (including its pre-noun

adjectival form, *teinei-na*, its adverbial form, *teinei-ni*, and its nominal equivalent, *teinei-sa*) is regarded as

the equivalent to "polite"(and "politely" and "politeness"), as these are often employed as the key terms in

discussions of linguistic politeness written in Japanese, as in Kuno (1977), Ide et al. (1986), Minami (1987)

and Kitao and Kitao (1988).

 Teinei has also been useed as the equivalent to "politeness" in Japanese translations of books

dealing with politeness such as Bally (1935) (translated by Kobayashi, [1929, 1941] 1974), Rodriguez

(1604-1808) (translated by Doi, 1955), Leech (1983) (translated by Ikegami and Kawakami, 1987), and the

Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (translated by Yamazaki et al., 1988).

 It is therefore fair to consider *teinei* as the term which is often taken to be the equivalent of "polite"

in academic writings on linguistic politeness, and I examine it here as a folk term. As is the case with "polite",

teinei is used as a lay term to refer to a notably wider concept than it does as a technical term, as will be

shown below.

 The referential meaning of *teinei* as a folk term is not only vague but also varies depending on the

lexical item which follows it, as shown by my past unpublished investigation into the usage of this term by

university students. The investigation was intended to explore, by questionnaire, what notion is referred to by

teinei in the following four different usages:

  Teinei-na kotoba-zukai ("polite language use"),

  Teinei-ni tanomu ("to request politely"),

<div align="right">83</div>

Teinei-ni hanasu ("to talk/speak politely"), and

Teinei-na hito ("polite person")[3].

Thirty-four first- or second-year university students (all native speakers of Japanese) were instructed to give as many examples as they could think of within half an hour for each of the four given notions.

The results of the questionnaire showed that *teinei* tends to refer to stylistic politeness in the usage *teinei-na kotoba-zukai* ("polite language use"), to both stylistic and illocutionary politeness in *teinei-ni tanomu* ("to request politely"), and even wider domains of politeness in both *teinei-ni hanasu* ("to speak/talk politely") and *teinei-na hito* ("polite person").

Items given as examples of *teinei-na kotoba-zukai* ("polite language use") were those concerning exclusively stylistic choice as in: "(Speech using) honorific forms", "Use of formal language/words" and "Written (rather than spoken) style".

Items provided as examples of *teinei-ni tanomu* ("to request politely") included IFT-politeness as in "Making a request in an apologetic way, e.g., by using 'I'm sorry but' before the request", or "Not ordering or commanding", as well as stylistic politeness as in "Using honorific forms".

No item given as an example of *teinei-ni hanasu* ("to speak/talk politely") referred to illocutionary politeness but only to stylistic politeness and to kinds of politeness which are outside of the illocutionary and stylistic domains. It was found that *teinei* in *teinei-ni hanasu* can in fact refer to positively eventful politeness: i.e. behaviour which is perceived as comfortable when it is performed, while it is unnoticed when it is not performed. More precisely, some of the items mentioned behaviour relating to the accommodation behaviour and discourse structure domains, such as: "Monitoring the other person's understanding, while speaking", "Giving consideration to the hearer and the speed, pronunciation and organization of one's speech" and "Speaking in a well-organized way".

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[3] Thus, while my former questionnaire asked for behaviour which a polite behaviour which a polite person would not perform, this one asked for the type of behaviour that might referred to by the term *teinei*. It is important to bear in mind that my questionnaire on "politeness" asked for examples only of behaviour which is negatively-eventful, while this questionnaire on *teinei* asked for examples of behaviour which is both negatively- and positively-eventful.

Finally, the range of items given as examples of *teinei-na hito* ("polite person") covered illocutionary and positively eventful politeness but not stylistic politeness. These items included "Someone never failing to greet or thank appropriately", "Someone who is considerate and warm", and "A person who does things carefully so that s/he does not break or overlook anything".

On the basis of the results of the questionnaire, it seems safe to assume that the term *teinei* can be employed in non-technical communication to refer generally to a variety of types of carefulness which are found in people's behaviour. In other words, the denotation of *teinei* as a folk term seems to include an extremely wide range of politeness, covering not only illocutionary and stylistic politeness, but also other negatively eventful politeness as well as positively eventful politeness. However, it is not that the term refers to the full range in every use; rather, its reference to a particular aspect of the very broad general notion depends on which lexical item it is used with. Thus, the meaning of *teinei* as a folk term is not only wide but also elastic.

3.3.6.3 Equivalence of "polite" and *teinei* as technical terms

Despite the wide range of meanings that "politeness", as a folk term, can be used to refer to, as a technical term it has been employed by researchers such as Leech (1983) and Thomas (1995) to refer to a considerably narrower scope of concepts, i.e., solely to the area of IFT-politeness.

Teinei has also been used as a technical term in discussions on linguistic politeness in Japanese to refer to limited portions of the wide range of meanings that the folk term can convey. However, the area of politeness which *teinei*, as a technical term, has long been used to refer to is not the same as that which "politeness" has been employed to refer to in traditional Western study of linguistic politeness.

Teinei has been used in discussions of Japanese honorific forms to describe a semantic value of honorific forms. Such usage of the term seems to date from around 1906, when Yoshioka's (1906) *Nihon kogoho* (cited in Nishida 1987: 235) adopted it to name one semantic category of honorific forms, i.e. Non-Plain SMs, *teinei-go*. This traditional usage of *teinei* in academic writings continued after new sociolinguistic methods were introduced to the study of honorific forms at the time of the first wide-scale research conducted by the National Language Research Institute in 1953-4 (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1957) which

investigated uses of honorific forms and linguistic attitudes towards them.

Recently, the same term has acquired a new academic usage, and has been used to refer to illocutionary politeness (in English) in books and articles written from a TEFL perspective (e.g. Osugi (1982), Sakamoto and Naotsuka (1982), Tanaka (1988), and Tsuruta et al. (1988)). At the same time, in writings on Japanese linguistic politeness, *teinei* has been found to refer to both stylistic and illocutionary politeness in Japanese (e.g. Nakamichi et al. (1989), Masuoka and Takubo (1989) and Suzuki (1989)).

Both "politeness" and *teinei* originate as folk terms in the two languages, and both the folk terms potentially refer to a very broad notion. However, the terms are employed as technical ones to refer not to the whole range of concepts that they can refer to as folk terms but only to a small portion of them. Since the scope depends on the range of linguistic behaviour on which the researcher focuses his/her attention, both "politeness" and *teinei* may refer to various aspects of the notion in different discussions. Therefore, neither of these two technical terms is specific enough for an author to assume that readers will inevitably understand how s/he is interpreting the terms. To avoid unnecessary misunderstanding between an author and a reader, s/he needs to provide an explicit definition of her/his scope of politeness.

Apart from creating a communication problem for the reader, relying on the technical terms rather than on a clear definition of the scope of politeness can cause two types of confusion in a discussion of politeness, as it has in some discussions of honorific politeness. Firstly, by using the vague term, which potentially refers to a wide range of politeness, one can have a mistaken idea that one is attempting to deal with the entire scope of politeness, while in fact one is dealing only with a small part of it. Discussions which claim to discuss the whole (or the most important part of) Japanese politeness, while in fact attempting to analyze honorific politeness, seem to be based on this type of confusion. Secondly, in a comparative study of politeness, by referring to different domains of politeness by the same technical term, one can fail to realize that one is making a comparison between different domains of politeness in two (or more) languages. Thus, comparative studies of Japanese stylistic politeness and English illocutionary politeness which claim that Japanese politeness differs from English politeness seem to be based on this type of confusion.

3.4   An approach to the description of politeness

This section will discuss my framework for analyzing and describing linguistic politeness. Before I explain

my framework, however, it seems useful to make clear the level of politeness phenomenon that I am

analyzing. As I have mentioned, politeness in my view is not a property of a linguistic form which is utilized

for the communication of politeness (such as an honorific form or its usage), but instead relates to the social

effects that such a form can have when it is used in a particular context/situation. However, this view of

politeness has never (to my knowledge) been clearly taken in a theoretical study of Japanese linguistic

politeness in relation to honorific forms: studies seem to have either focused on the linguistic form (i.e.

honorific forms) or failed to distinguish between the form and the effect of its use. In 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, I review

two such approaches to honorific forms, in order to clarify what approach I need for my research.

3.4.1 Brown and Levinson's classification of "honorifics"

Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) deal with honorific politeness in their discussion of "Give deference", the

fifth strategy under their superstrategy, negative politeness. They explain the way in which using the strategy

"Give deference" can serve to satisfy the hearer's negative face as follows: by directly conveying the

perception of the high status of the hearer, deference serves to defuse potential FTAs by indicating that the

addressee's rights to relative immunity from imposition are recognized - and moreover that the speaker is

certainly not in a position to coerce the hearer's compliance in any way (Brown and Levinson 1987:178).

Furthermore, in their discussion of honorific politeness, Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) employ

the term "honorifics", stating:

By 'honorifics' in an extended sense we understand direct grammatical encoding of

relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things

referred to in the communicative event.

Brown and Levinson 1987: 179

Inspired by Comrie's attempt (1976) to analyze linguistic politeness, Levinson (1983) and Brown

and Levinson (1978/1987) propose the following four types of honorifics, providing examples for the first

three types:

Referent honorifics: those which convey respect to someone, and which cannot do this without
referring to him/her.
Eg.:Eurpopean T/V pronouns; Japanese RSRCs.

Addressee honorifics: those which convey respect to the addressee, without necessarily referring
to him/her.
Eg.: Japanese SMs; South Asian "speech levels".

Bystander honorifics: those which convey respect to participants in the audience role and to non-
participating bystanders.
Eg.: Dyirbal 'mother-in-law' language (a code used in the hearing of certain
'taboo' relatives).

Setting honorifics: those which convey respect for the setting of the interaction.

Among the distinctions between these, Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) place special emphasis on that

between referent and addressee honorifics:

> More surprisingly, Comrie points out that the familiar T/V pronouns alternation in
>
> European languages is in fact a case of referent honorifics, and not addressee honorifics as
>
> might be supposed. For in these European T/V systems...it is impossible to express respect
>
> to H [i.e. the hearer] without reference to him or her, in contrast to the South Asian 'speech
>
> levels'.   Brown and Levinson 1987: 180; notes in the square bracket is my own.

It is important here to consider the criteria on which their categorization is based. Two different

criteria are used together to categorize the four types of honorifics. The first two types (referent and addressee

honorifics) are not distinguished on the basis of who the recipient is, since the referent and the addressee are

not mually exclusive, but on the basis of whether or not the form refers to the recipient of the respect. Since

whether or not a form refers to a particular entity is a semantic property of the form, these two types of

honorifics are distinguished on a semantic level of criterion.

The other two types (bystander and setting honorifics), on the other hand, are distinguished on the bases of who/what the recipient of the respect is, regardless of whether s/he/it is referred to. The identity of the recipient of the respect which can be conveyed by the use of a form depends on the situation in which the use is made, and is therefore a pragmatic level of issue. Therefore, the latter two types of honorifics are distinguished on a pragmatic criterion.

Because of this inconsistency in the level at which a criterion is set up, their categorization fails in its purpose. This is because it does not categorize either the linguistic forms in terms of the semantic meaning it can convey or the politeness which its use can communicate in a particular situation. On the following pages, I will discuss the confusion which seems to be behind this categorization of honorifics proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). In doing so, I will use English examples for the convenience of readers who are not familiar with Japanese honorific forms.

It seems that some honorific forms cannot be categorized as one of the four types proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). As I reviewed in Chapter 2, Comrie (1976) suggested that "perspire" is an English honorific form, if regarded as the honorific counterpart of "sweat". He gave the example of two utterances which supposedly occur in a conversation between two of her majesty's loyal subjects when discussing the sudatory effect of hot weather during a royal parade:

(4)   The soldiers sweated.

(5)   The queen perspired.

Comrie's own examples. My numbering. 1976: Footnote 4

"Perspire" in (5) conveys respect to the queen by referring to her (i.e., the referent's) action, and therefore, Comrie categorizes the lexical form in a use such as (5) as a referent honorific. However, he categorizes the same form used in another situation as a bystander honorific. In (6), the queen's two loyal subjects are discussing the same matter, but where they think the queen is in the vicinity and likely to overhear them:

(6)   The soldiers were perspiring.

<div align="right">Comrie's own example. My numbering. 1976: Footnote 8</div>

Thus, the single honorific form "perspire" in contrast to "sweat" can be categorized into at least two of Brown and Levinson's types: referent and bystander honorifics. This may lead one to assume that Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987), and Comrie's (1976), categorizations are meant to classify not honorific *forms* on the basis of their semantic property but the politeness the use of such forms can convey in a situation.

However, it appears that their categorization is not adequate for the purpose of classifying the politeness communicated by the use of an honorific form, either. Consider example (7), supposedly said by one student to another in a conversation concerning one of their teachers, Colin Smith, and (8) said by the same student after Colin Smith comes within hearing distance:

(7)   Colin's coming here soon.

(8)   I've got something to discuss with Dr Smith.

How could one decide how the use of TLN (Title and Last Name) in contrast with FN (First Name) in utterance (8) should be correctly categorized? It could be a referent honorific, as it conveys respect to Colin Smith (i.e. the referent) while it refers to him. Or it could also be a bystander honorific, since the choice of the form is interpreted as prompted by the presence of a socially higher bystander, as Comrie interprets example (6). It seems to be impossible to decide either way. Thus, there are some cases in which the politeness conveyed by the use of honorific forms cannot be categorized into one of the four types. Hence, this categorization does not neatly categorize honorific forms nor the politeness their particular uses may communicate.

Thus, it seems that the inadequacy of Brown and Levinson's categorization stems from a confusion between the semantic characteristics of honorific forms and the pragmatic meaning which can be conveyed by a particular use of such a form. This confusion appears to be symbolically manifested in Brown and

Levinson's use of the term "honorific"; they apply it both to **honorific forms** (as in, e.g. "address forms and honorifics may..." (1987: 18)), and to the **use of an honorific form** (as in, e.g. "one kind of honorific, the use of plural pronouns ..." (1987: 179)), without distinction. To illustrate that honorific forms and their use belong to two distinct levels, and there is no necessary one-to-one relationship between them, I provide a more detailed analysis of Brown and Levinson's categorization.

In the case of the V version of T/V pronoun systems, which both Comrie (1976) and Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) emphatically claim to be an example of referent honorifics, their categorization seems to adequately classify the honorific forms both in terms of their semantic property and politeness they can convey in a particular use. However, this is rather accidental. It is one of the rare cases in which the semantic property of a form and the politeness its use conveys happen to match each other in a one-to-one fashion. With the V version of the pronoun, the verbally exalted referent of the form, which is a semantic entity, invariably coincides with both the addressee and the recipient of the respect, which are pragmatic entities. Such an isomorphic correspondence between the identity of semantic and pragmatic entities does not exist in most other honorific systems, of which TLN in contrast with FN as well as *o-hanash-i-ni-nar-u* ("speak gracefully"; Exalting RSRC), *o-hanash-i-suru* ("speak humbly"; Lowering RSRC) and *hanash-i-mas-u* ("speak-FORMAL"; Formal SM) in contrast with *hanas-u* ("speak"; Neutral and Plain component) are examples. With a TLN, "Dr Smith" for example, the exalted referent may or may not be the recipient of the respect, as the recipient of the respect may be the addressee, a bystander, an absent third party (who all may be the referent) or the setting (which cannot be the referent), depending on the use of the form. The similar is the case with a Japanese Non-Neutral RSRC. Moreover, the other category of Japanese honorific forms, a Non-Plain SM in contrast with a Plain SM, does not connote any fictionally higher or lower social rank about the referent, while it may convey respect to the addressee, a bystander or the setting in different utterances. The similar may be observed with the case of "he is going to" in contrast to "he's gonna". Thus, as is seen with many honorific forms, the identity of the recipient of the respect is basically independent from the identity of the referent of the form and from the semantic property of the form, i.e. whether it fictionally exalts/lowers its referent.

As a result of the independence between the semantic property of a form and the pragmatic meaning the form can convey in a particular utterance, honorific forms need to be categorized on the basis of a set of semantic criteria, while the pragmatic effects such forms can convey in different uses need to be categorized on the basis of pragmatic criteria. Thus, honorific forms ought to be categorized into two groups, those which fictionally exalt/lower the referent (i.e. my RSRCs) and those which do not (i.e. my SMs) according to the semantic criterion of whether or not they have such an expressive meaning. On the other hand, the pragmatic meanings, or politeness, that these forms may convey in particular uses should be categorized into four types by the pragmatic criterion of what/who is the recipient of the respect: the addressee, a bystander, an absent third party or the setting.

The independence of the semantic property of an honorific form and the pragmatic effects of its use implies another important point concerning the semantic meaning of a Non-Neutral RSRC and the politeness its use may communicate. While a Non-Neutral RSRC connotes a certain social relationship (i.e. fictionally higher or lower rank) between the speaker and the referent when it is used in a particular situation, the connoted social relationship has not necessarily anything to do with the relationship between the speaker and the recipient of the politeness, since the recipient may or may not coincide with the referent of the honorific verb. This shows that the social relationship between the speaker and the recipient of the politeness is expressed not directly but, rather, indirectly by both semantic and pragmatic steps. I will discuss these steps through which politeness is communicated, later in 3.4.6.

3.4.2 Ide's approach to Japanese honorific politeness

In a discussion of linguistic politeness conveyed by the use of Japanese honorific forms, Ide (1989) asserts that, in Japanese, it is socially obligatory to use an Exalting RSRC form to refer to the action of a person of a particular social status. She claims that, in Japanese society, the use of an Exalting RSRC to refer to a professor's action is therefore "the socio-pragmatic equivalent of grammatical concord" (1989: 227), stating that (10) is appropriate, but (9) is not:

(9) *Sensei-ga*   *hanas-u*
    Professor-SUB   speaks PLAIN-NEUTRAL
    "The professor speaks."

(10) *Sensei-ga*   *o-hanashi-ni-nar-u*
    Professor-SUB   speaks-gracefully-PLAIN-EXLTING
    "The professor (who is socially higher than me) speaks."

However, such a description is inaccurate. As is illustrated in my recorded data shown in 2.3.2.5, an utterance such as (9) is perfectly appropriate, while one like (10) can be inappropriate, in an informal situation. The choice between an Exalting, Lowering or Neutral RSRC is thus not "obligatory", but, rather, it is selective in that the choice is made in a formal situation but not in an informal situation, even if the speaker refers to an action performed by someone who is in a particular relationship to him/her[4].

To understand the confusion Ide's assertion seems to be based on, it may be helpful for readers who are not familiar with the uses of Japanese honorific forms to draw an analogy between observance of the norms governing the use of these forms and English table manners. A rule, for example, on how to apply salt to one's food, such as: "Do not sprinkle salt on the food but put it on the edge of the plate instead." is observed not obligatorily but selectively, i.e. only in certain situations (e.g. at a formal dinner party) and is ignored in other situations (e.g. at a private meal). Thus, there are two sets of norms simultaneously governing this aspect of English table manners. One set consists of a number of rules, including: "Put salt on the edge of the plate", and governs how one should actually behave (e.g. one should not apply salt on his/her food directly, while one could apply sugar to his/her coffee directly) in situations where one is supposed to comply with table manners. This set of rules can be seen as a protocol available for people to use in a particular category of situations, and can therefore be called **Protocols**. The other set of rules define the situations in which one may or may not follow specific table manners, or protocols, which I call **Situation Rules** (e.g. distinguishing a formal dinner from an informal meal).

Analogously, use of honorific forms is governed simultaneously but independently by two sets of

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[4] Ide's description of the choice of an Exalting RSRC is also inaccurate in another way. As I described in 2.3.3, the choice of the Exalting RSRC is not determined solely by whether the referent is someone socially higher than the speaker, but rather by whether s/he is part of the speaker's outgroup AND whether s/he is socially higher than the speaker (see Fig 2.3.)

rules. One set of rules is the **Honorific Version of a Protocol**, and governs people's actual language use

(e.g. one should not use a Neutral RSRC to refer to a socially higher outgroup, while s/he should use one to

refer to a socially lower ingroup) in situations where one is supposed to use honorific forms in speech. The

other set of rules is the **Honorific Version of Situation Rules**, which define the situations in which one

should or should not use honorific forms (e.g. distinguishing formal from informal speech situations).

Ide's (1989) statement that (9) is inappropriate in Japanese society can be compared to the statement

that direct application of salt to one's food is inappropriate in English society. It is notable that such a

statement may be discovered in an etiquette book on one version of table manners. Similarly, Ide's statement

can be found in a book on linguistic etiquette in Japanese. An etiquette book, whether it is on table manners or

on the use of honorific forms, is characteristically written for people who want to know how to behave in

formal situations, and therefore aims to provide the readers with knowledge about the relevant protocol of

behaviour appropriate for such a situation. Ide (1989), it seems, is providing the honorific version of a

protocol of the behaviour appropriate to a formal situation while ignoring behaviour appropriate to an

informal situation, when she makes her claim concerning the "appropriateness" of (9) and (10).

Politeness, which is something communicated as a social effect of the **use of** (i.e. the compliance

with) **the protocol** in an appropriate situation, is obviously different from the protocol itself. Politeness which

is conveyed by the use of the protocol of table manners (e.g. the behaviour of putting salt on the edge of one's

plate) may be the speaker's respect for the host/hostess or the main guest of the formal dinner or may be the

speaker's own dignity, depending on the situation. Similarly, the use of an Exalting RSRC in a formal speech

to refer to a professor's action may convey the speaker's respect for the addressee (who may or may not the

referent), a bystander (who may or may not the referent), the absent referent, or the speaker's own dignity,

depending on the situation in which it is used.

The independence of the honorific version of protocols, that of situation rules, and the use of such

rules, illuminates that the communication of politeness consists of two dimensions. One dimension is the rules

which define what is appropriate behaviour in what context/situation. The other dimension is the actual use of

such rules to communicate politeness. These two dimensions will be discussed as a fundamental feature of the

framework that I propose for analyzing linguistic politeness, and will be dealt with in detail in sections 3.4.4,

3.4.5 and 3.4.6.

At present, there does not seem to be an adequate framework for analyzing Japanese honorific

politeness rather than honorific forms. I therefore propose my own framework in the remainder of this

chapter.

3.4.3   Linguistic attitudes and mitigation of discomfiture

Any investigation of politeness, whether in a single language or in several languages as part of a cross-

cultural study, aims to discover regularities in the communication of politeness. When studying illocutionary

politeness, it is particularly important to identify regularities in the linguistic avoidance or mitigation of

discomfiture that native speakers show. Different terms have been used to refer to such regularities: for

example, "rules" (Lakoff, 1973), "strategies" (Brown and Levinson, 1978/1987), and "principles" and

"maxims" (Leech 1983).

However, characteristics of linguistic politeness can be found not only in how people avoid/mitigate

discomfiture but also in how they evaluate their language. As Cameron (1995) argues, normative

metalinguistic evaluation of language is part of the essential linguistic capacity of a native speaker, and an

account of language use for the communication of politeness may well be produced in a framework which

integrates this. As Cameron puts it,

Value judgements on language form part of every competent speaker's linguistic repertoire. One of

the things that people know how to do with words is to evaluate them, and I can see no principled

justification for neglecting or deriding this metalinguistic ability.

Cameron 1995: xi

Accepting her view of linguistic capacity, I set up a framework for the analysis of linguistic politeness in

which both the communication of politeness (i.e. the linguistic avoidance/mitigation of discomfiture) and the

evaluation of language performed by native speakers are integrated. It seems, however, that native speakers'

evaluative linguistic attitudes towards the language are often indistinguishable from those towards use of the

language, as a language system itself is often hard to distinguish from its use. Thus, I base my analysis of

linguistic politeness on observations both of native speakers' linguistic avoidance/mitigation of discomfiture

and of their evaluation of both language and language use. The exploration of both linguistic

avoidance/mitigation of discomfiture and evaluative linguistic attitudes can make our understanding of

linguistic politeness fuller than only observing the former. My estimation is that an account of Japanese

honorific politeness can only adequately inform JSL teaching when it is based on analysis of both of these

aspects.

3.4.4 Communication of politeness

As I have already noted, in my view, politeness is a type of meaning communicated by the performance of

linguistic behaviour which does not cause discomfiture for the other participants in the verbal event. I have

also pointed out, in my discussion of Leech's (1983) and Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) account of

linguistic politeness (see 3.3.4), that within the scope of illocutionary politeness, whether or not particular

linguistic behaviour is perceived as uncomfortable is governed by established social norms. In defining my

model of the scope of politeness (i.e. illocutionary and stylistic politeness), I adopt and elaborate this view of

the relationship between politeness-oriented linguistic behaviour and compliance with social norms.

In my model, the communication of politeness, i.e. a type of meaning conveyed by the performance

of a certain type of linguistic behaviour, operates in what is basically the same way as the communication of

illocutionary meaning. In other words, the communication of either type of meaning relies on two dimensions:

on the one hand, the rules (or social norms), which define people's polite linguistic behaviour, and, on the

other hand, the actual use of (or compliance with) such rules/norms by native speakers.

3.4.5 Politeness norms

One dimension of politeness communication concerns social norms, which I will call **Politeness Norms** for the sake of convenience. These govern polite linguistic behaviour by decreeing all or part of the following three interrelated aspects of polite linguistic behaviour:

a) social features which the speaker should pay attention to

b) goals for managing the social features

c) strategies for appropriately achieving the management goals

While some politeness norms decree all the three aspects, others decree only (a) and (c). It is therefore appropriate to regard each politeness norm as consisting either of the following three types of components or of two of them:

A) **Politeness Principle Norm (PPN)**: decreeing (a)

B) **Politeness Management Norm (PMN)**: decreeing (b)

C) **Politeness Enactment Norm (PEN)**: decreeing (c)

An example of an illocutionary PPN (**I-PPN**) specifies an illocutionary force with or without some social features to pay attention to, as formulated as follows:

I-PPN (1):
Pay attention to the cost you are imposing on the other person, if you are requesting a stranger to give you a lift at midnight

An example of stylistic PPN (**S-PPN**), on the other hand, specifies situational feature(s) to pay attention to as follows:

S-PPN (1):
Pay attention to the social distance between you and the other person, if you talk to someone you are socially distant from

An illocutionary and stylistic PMN (**I-PMN and S-PMN**, respectively) identifies appropriate goals for managing the social feature specified by the PPN. For example, the ones which correspond to the social

feature decreed in I-PPN (1) and S-PPN (1) may be formulated as follows:

I-PMN (1):
Be pessimistic about whether your request is accepted

S-PMN (1):
Show respect for the social distance

Finally, an illocutionary and stylistic PEN (**I-PEN** and **S-PEN**, respectively) specifies all linguistic devices

(as well as other types of linguistic features such as the choice of the conversation topic) that can be used to

appropriately achieve the goals for managing the social features. It is important to note the variety of linguistic

devices which can be specified by a PEN. In a model in which Grice's CP is adopted as the theoretical

foundation and illocutionary politeness is the entire scope of politeness, such as Leech's (1983), politeness is

enacted exclusively by means of conversational implicature generated by conveyance of propositional

meaning in the context. On the other hand, in my model, in which stylistic as well as illocutionary politeness

is included, politeness is enacted by a wider range of means, as stylistic politeness is not mainly

communicated by conversational implicature through propositional meaning but more by expressive meaning

conveyed by the choice of linguistic forms and prosodic features. Thus, in my model, PENs decree

appropriate propositional and expressive meaning conveyed by the choice of a grammatical form and/or a

prosodic feature. Thus, the PENs associated with I-PPN (1) and S-PPN (1), respectively, can be formulated

as follows:

I-PEN (1):
Use a prosodic device such as non-smooth rather than smooth utterance
Use a lexico-grammatical device such as "perhaps", "I don't suppose you could ...", ...
:

S-PEN (1):
Use a prosodic device such as articulate rather than sloppy pronunciation.
Use morphological device such as "I am" rather than "I'm", ...
Use a lexical device such as "perspire" rather than "sweat" to refer to someone's sweating, ...
:

As may be understood from the examples above, although a PMN and PEN are alike in that both govern

appropriate linguistic behaviour in a context/situation specified by the PPN, they differ in that whereas the

former decrees behaviour in its abstract sense and sets a goal, the latter decrees it in a concrete sense, and

identifies a strategy for achieving the goal. Further, as I have already noted, while every politeness norm contains a PEN, some do not contain a PMN. For example, a stylistic politeness norm may not have an S-PMN but consists of only an S-PPN and an S-PEN, as the following:

S-PPN (2):
Pay attention to the fact that you are a bride, when you are at your own wedding

S-PEN (2):
Use the second-person pronoun "thou" instead of "you"...
  :

Making the distinction between these three components of politeness norms in an analysis of linguistic politeness is useful in two ways. Firstly, the distinction makes it clear whether a politeness norm specifies all the three aspects of politeness (i.e. (a), (b) and (c)) or whether it specifies only two of them (i.e. (a) and (c)). As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 6, whether or not a politeness norm specifies appropriate management behaviour can constitute one of the very important properties of the norm.

Secondly, the distinction is necessary in a comparative study of linguistic politeness and is also useful for teaching the language as a second/foreign language. It is widely observed that different languages can be alike in what social features people should pay attention to (i.e. in terms of the PPN) and in what linguistic management they should conduct to deal with the social feature(s) for the sake of linguistic politeness (i.e. in terms of the PMN), while they differ from one another in terms of what linguistic device should be used in such a context/situation (i.e. in terms of the PEN). In other words, languages can share the same PPN and PMN, even if they do not the same PEN. For example, S-PPN (1) and S-PMN (1) seem to be found in many linguistic communities in the world (perhaps universally, as it is observed not only across many human communities but also in non-human primates; e.g. Seyarth and Cheney1984):

S-PPN (1):
Pay attention to the social distance between you and the other person, if you talk to someone you are socially distant from

S-PMN (1):
Show respect for the social distance

However, different languages have different PENs corresponding to it. Those found in French and Japanese can be formulated respectively as follows:

S-PEN (1-F):
Use a lexical device such as *vous* rather than *tu*, as well as ...

:

S-PEN (1-J):
Use lexico-morphological devices such as a Non-Plain rather than Plain SM, as well as ...

:

It seems also possible, though much less widely observed, that languages share only the same PPN while they do not share the same PMN nor PEN. Thomas (1995) suggests a possibility in which people could convey politeness only by expressing that they pay attention to a certain social feature of a context (and without conducting any management of it). She points to a circumstance in which a student arrives late at a seminar, and his/her simple utterance: "The buses are on strike" could count as an apology, if the hearer (i.e. the lecturer in this case) chose to accept it as such (Thomas 1995: 100). In this case, the politeness norm can be seen as consisting of only an I-PPN and an I-PEN:

I-PPN (2):
Pay attention to the context in which you have done a faux-pas, when you are late for a seminar

I-PEN (2):
Convey that you pay attention to it by using forms such as "But buses are on strike", "I'm late", ...

This English norm can meaningfully be compared to one in another language, if it shares I-PPN (2), even if the latter requires a corresponding I-PMN and I-PEN such as:

I-PMN (2):
Express that you regret what you have done

I-PEN (2):
Use an apologetic rather than assertive tone of voice
Use a lexical device such as "Sorry", "I'm sorry", ...

:

It is reasonable to compare politeness norms in two or more languages, if they share the same PPN at least. In a comparative study of politeness, the distinction between the three components is essential, since it enables one to check if the languages/cultural groups share a PPN (or a PPN and PMN). For a similar reason, the distinction is also useful for an educationally-oriented attempt to understand politeness norms. It is helpful for

both learners and teachers to know whether the target language and the learners' native language share the same PPN, the same PMN as well as the same PPN, or none of them, since it can be predicted that the greater the correspondence between the components of a politeness norm in the target language and in the learner's native language, the easier it will be for him/her to acquire it (for a related discussion, see Thomas 1983).

As is illustrated by the examples of PENs above, within a language, various types of linguistic devices can be appropriate to use in the context/situation which the PPN specifies. It is also important to note that, one particular type of linguistic device is not necessarily uniquely responsible for the enactment of a particular PPN. To give an English example, the honorific verb, "perspire", which is identified by S-PEN (1) as suitable for use in the situation specified by S-PPN (1), is also identified as suitable for use in another situation which is specified by another S-PPN:

S-PPN (3):
Pay attention to the social distance between you and the bystander, when it is significantly large

For example, in a patient's utterance: "Doctor, I perspire a lot", the use of *perspire* is regarded as expressing respect for the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, as specified by S-PPN (1). However, as Comrie (1976) shows in his example ((6)), the use of the same verb can also express respect for the social distance between the speaker and a bystander.

Such one-to-many and many-to-one correspondences between PPNs and linguistic devices appropriate to the context/feature they decree are evidence that the system by which politeness is coded in the norms is highly ambivalent and therefore uncertain. Thus, it is important that PPNs, PMNs and PENs simply exist in a language for language users. The actual communication of politeness between the participants in a verbal interaction can only be achieved through the use of these norms and linguistic devices in a certain context/situation.

3.4.6 Use of politeness norms

The other dimension of the communication of politeness, the use of politeness norms, involves two parties, i.e.

the sending and the receiving parties. The sending party (i.e. the speaker, in the case in which the politeness is conveyed by an utterance) uses the norms in encoding politeness, while the receiving party (the addressee or other participants) uses them in decoding it. The speaker, if s/he is able, and intends, to obey the PPN and the PMN (if applicable), encodes politeness (i.e. compliance with the PPN and PMN) by choosing a linguistic device which the PEN decrees. The other party interprets the speaker's behaviour (i.e. the choice of the particular device), with reference to the knowledge of the politeness norms that s/he shares as a native speaker of the language.

Here I need to explain what I mean by "choose" and "choice" in my model of communication of politeness. When I describe the speaker as "choosing to comply with a norm", it does not necessarily mean that s/he is consciously aware of her/his choice. Instead, I use it to express my awareness of the fact that, regardless of whether or not s/he is conscious of it, the speaker is making a choice, when s/he complies with a politeness norm, as there is always the other alternative of not complying with it. In general, a norm is able to function as a norm only because it identifies one of many alternatives. A norm, by definition, identifies one out of several possible ways of carrying out a certain thing. Doing something in the only possible way cannot be a norm. For example, while eating three meals a day can be and is a norm in some human societies, eating food cannot be a norm, because taking no food at all is not an alternative for any society to choose for biological reasons. Similarly, in the communication of politeness, a politeness norm can function as a norm only because of its selectivity. My use of "choose" and "choice" in the description of a speaker's behaviour when s/he complies with a politeness norm is intended to signify this particular aspect of a norm.

The process by which the receiving party interprets the politeness that the speaker encodes in his/her choice of a device can be either a two-step or one-step operation, depending on whether the politeness norm includes a PMN. In the case of a norm including a PMN, the first step is **Semantic Interpretation**, and the second step is **Pragmatic Interpretation**. These two steps occur simultaneously, and identifying them as two different steps is based on the fact that the latter is dependent on the former. Semantic interpretation refers to the interpretation of what is conveyed whenever a particular linguistic device is used, regardless of the context/situation of the use (i.e. the semantic meaning conveyed by use of the linguistic device). Pragmatic

interpretation, on the other hand, refers to the interpretation of what is conveyed when the device is used in a particular context/situation (i.e. the meaning which can be inferred from the fact that the linguistic device is chosen in that context/situation).

To illustrate how these steps operate, let us take an example of the decoding of illocutionary politeness. Suppose the choice of the form "I don't suppose that you could ...?" is made in a context where the speaker makes a request of an addressee s/he is distant from. The speaker's utterance prompts the receiving party to interpret the semantic meaning that the speaker is adopting a pessimistic attitude, assuming that the addressee is unable to do the thing in question. S/he thus knows that the speaker is conveying the meaning specified by I-PMN (1), but not yet why s/he is being pessimistic at this stage. However, the fact that the conveyance of this semantic meaning is made in this particular context, in which the speaker is making a request, prompts the receiving party to make another step of interpretation. Thus, the recipient successfully understands that the speaker is communicating the semantic meaning in order to express that s/he pays attention to the cost s/he is imposing by making this request. In other words, the recipient understands the speaker is following both I-PPN (1): "Pay attention to the cost you are imposing on the other person, if you are requesting" and I-PMN (1): "Be pessimistic about whether your request is accepted".

In this example, the pragmatic interpretation is the interpretation of the conversational implicature generated by the choice of the conveyance of a propositional meaning in the particular context. However, in other cases, it may be based on the interpretation of expressive meaning conveyed by the use of a grammatical form as well as by the use of a prosodic feature. A speaker's use of the form "perspire" instead of "sweat" or "I am" instead of "I'm", for example, prompts the recipient to interpret the meaning that the speaker is adopting a formal attitude. However, the fact that such forms are used in the situation where a bystander who is significantly socially higher than the speaker prompts the recipient to seek for a pragmatic interpretation. Thus, s/he successfully understands that the speaker is expressing respect for the distance between the bystander and him/herself, and that, in doing so, s/he is paying attention to the social distance. In other words, the recipient interprets the speaker as observing both S-PPN (1): "Pay attention to the social difference between you and the bystander" and S-PMN (1): "Respect for the social difference".

Thus, in the case of a politeness norm which consists of three components including a PMN, the speaker's compliance with a politeness norm is conveyed to the receiving party by the combination of semantic and pragmatic interpretations, rather than by relying only on the semantic one. It is also notable that a pragmatic interpretation requires knowledge of a PEN, PMN and PPN, while a semantic interpretation requires no reference to a politeness norm.

In the case of a norm without a PMN, on the other hand, the interpretation of the politeness may not include a semantic step but may all be pragmatic. The speaker's use of "thou" in a situation where she is a bride prompts the receiving party to interpret the speaker as being able, and intending, to observe S-PPN (2): "Pay attention to the fact that you are a bride, when you are at your own wedding"[5].

3.4.7 Discovery of characteristics of the communication of politeness

An attempt to provide a description of the communication of politeness in a given language can be fulfilled by describing the politeness norms of that language. A politeness norm can be sought and identified through observing the process by which a native speaking addressee activates his/her knowledge of the norms, and seeks a pragmatic interpretation of the sender's linguistic behaviour. A researcher can conduct two types of observation, depending on the type of politeness s/he is interested in. If her/his concern is in positively eventful politeness, s/he can focus on an appropriate language choice. S/he can probe the process by which a native speaker makes a pragmatic interpretation of the comfortable use of a linguistic device in a particular context/situation, and its relation to a politeness norm. On the other hand, if a researcher is interested in negatively eventful politeness, as I am, s/he can focus on inappropriate language choice. S/he can explore the process by which a native speaker makes a pragmatic interpretation of **uncomfortable** use of a particular linguistic device in a particular context/situation and thus **breaches** a politeness norm. Thus, in my research into Japanese linguistic politeness, the major method used to discover the politeness norms and the meaning communicated by their use will be a close examination of discomfiture and native speakers' interpretation of

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[5] In the case of a politeness norm which includes no PMN, the interpretation may or may not involve a semantic step of interpretation. For example, in the case of I-PEN (2), the interpretation inevitably involves the interpretation of the semantic meaning of the utterance: "The buses are on strike."

it.

3.5   Summary of this chapter

None of the elaborated theoretical perspectives on linguistic politeness has a scope of politeness that is

sufficiently wide for an analysis of Japanese honorific politeness. I therefore study Japanese honorific

politeness by adopting a scope that includes both illocutionary and stylistic politeness.

Researchers interested in Japanese honorific forms have not conducted a sufficient exploration of

the characteristics of honorific politeness, although many efforts have been made to study the grammatical

properties of such forms. My research attempts to explore and describe the characteristics of honorific

politeness rather than of the linguistic devices *per se*. A description of politeness can be provided by

identifying politeness norms, which, in my model, are discovered through analyzing the discomfiture that

results from inappropriate linguistic choices. In order to make my description of Japanese honorific politeness

fuller, I also base it on native speakers' evaluative behaviour with respect to language and language use.

In the next two chapters, I will describe and analyze the data that I obtained.

Chapter 4: Studies 1 and 2

4.1 Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 report my research into honorific politeness: the kind of politeness which can be communicated by the use of Japanese honorific forms.

My research had the following aims:

- to investigate native speakers' evaluations of the use of honorific forms, and to compare them with their evaluations of other types of linguistic behaviour;

- to explore the discomfiture resulting from failure to use honorific forms appropriately, and to compare it with the discomfiture resulting from other types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour;

- to explore the association between people's evaluations of the use of honorific forms and the discomfiture which results from a failure to use such forms.

Three studies were conducted to pursue these aims. **Study 1** attempted to probe native speakers' evaluations of the relative importance of different types of linguistic behaviour for the communication of politeness. **Study 2** attempted to probe the relative strength of discomfiture resulting from various types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour. And a comparison of the results from **Studies 1 and 2** allowed an exploration of the degree of correspondence between the two sets of evaluations; in other words, whether types of linguistic behaviour that were judged to be important for the communication of politeness were also associated with discomfiture judgements when such behaviour was missing.

Study 3 explored variations in types of discomfiture. It sought to discover whether or not various types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour, including failure to use an honorific form appropriately, causes different types of discomfiture, and if so, how.

Studies 1 and 2 share a general purpose as well as a number of methodological and procedural

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commonalities, while Study 3 adopts a considerably different approach from that of Studies 1 and 2. Therefore, Studies 1 and 2 are reported together in this chapter, while Study 3 is reported separately in Chapter 5. (However, as will become clear in Chapter 5, Studies 2 and 3 were also related to each other, the latter being procedurally dependent on the former.)

4.2 General remarks on Studies 1 and 2

Before reporting the details of Studies 1 and 2, I discuss general points which apply to the methodology and procedure of both studies.

4.2.1 Methods

To gather data concerning people's assessment of their own and other people's use of spoken language, two types of methods were used in Studies 1 and 2: a large-scale questionnaire and some small-scale in-depth interviews.

In order to obtain a base for determining methodological and procedural details, a pilot study (**PS**) was conducted for each study. Each PS consisted of a pilot questionnaire (**PQ**) and post-questionnaire discussions (**PQD**) by the informants of the PQ. Informants for the PQ were seventy-nine university students who had been participating for four months in the JSL Teaching Methodology programme. Although they were probably more interested in the language than ordinary native speakers, they had not received any training in making introspective observations of their own linguistic instincts.

4.2.2 Administration of the questionnaire and the interviews

In planning my sample for the main questionnaire for Studies 1 and 2, I treated homogeneity of generation and educational, socio-economic and dialectal background as the most important variables, since people's language use, including their use of honorific forms, and their linguistic attitudes, can vary depending on these variables (see, for example, Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1957). For my main

sample, I selected university students, as Japanese university students are reasonably regarded as a considerably homogeneous group in terms of socio-economic and, obviously, educational level as well as in terms of age. I chose undergraduate students at universities in the Greater Tokyo Area (GTA: the area including Tokyo Metropolis and three surrounding prefectures, i.e. Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa) who had spent most of the first fifteen years of their life in the GTA (and therefore can be regarded as native speakers of the language variety spoken in the area, i.e. *kyootsuu-go*, the common language). I distributed the questionnaire to and received responses from 419 university students at four universities in the GTA. Among these, 355 responses were accepted as those from native-speaking university students.

In order to check whether the findings from the students' responses are applicable to other native speakers, I also gathered data from a smaller sample of non-student native speakers. I distributed 220 copies of the same questionnaire to relatives of some of the university students as well as other members of the university community, and received 188 responses. Among these, 167 responses were accepted as those from non-students who had spent most of their first fifteen years and the past ten years in the GTA. The details of the distribution among the subjects of the two samples are as follows:

University-student sample

SEX	male:	209
	female:	146
PLACE OF BIRTH	GTA:	240
	other:	112
	no information given:	3
OVERSEAS RESIDENCE	experienced:	28
	non-experienced:	327
AGE RANGE	18 to 28 (average: 21.8)	

Non-student sample

| SEX | male: | 60 |
| | female: | 107 |

PLACE OF BIRTH	GTA:	104
	other:	61
	no information given:	3
OVERSEAS RESIDENCE	experienced:	18
	non-experienced:	149
AGE RANGE	25 to 85 (average: 53.6)	

The questions for Studies 1 and 2 were printed on a single sheet, and distributed to the students at the four universities, and to non-students either via the students or by mail, both within a period of six weeks.

Interviews were conducted for two purposes. One was to obtain qualitative data for deeper understanding of the quantitative results concerning native speakers' assessment of different linguistic behaviour. The other was to explore JSL teachers' attitudes towards politeness and perception of discomfiture in relation to the teaching of Japanese politeness to learners, which were not explored in the questionnaire. Ten JSL teachers were interviewed. (Eight had spent most of their first fifteen years and the past ten years in the area, and two were born in other parts of the country, having lived in the GTA for less than ten years (eight and five years), but were equally fluent speakers of the GTA variety.) The background of the interviewees were as follows:

Interviewees

| SEX | male: | 1 |
| | female: | 9 |

| JSL TEACHING EXPERIENCE RANGE | 3 months to 4 years (average: 22 months) | |

| AGE RANGE | 23 to 68 (average: 34.5) | |

| PLACE OF BIRTH | GTA: | 7 |
| | other: | 3 |

| JSL TEACHER TRAINING | experienced: | 9 |
| | non-experienced: | 1 |

4.3   Study 1: Language use native speakers think they are careful about

To probe native speakers' evaluation of the relative importance of different types of linguistic behaviour in Japanese, Study 1 attempted to gather data about the extent to which native speakers think (at the conscious level) they are careful about different types of language use.

4.3.1   Methodology for Study 1

4.3.1.1 Pilot study

A pilot study, **PS-1** was conducted to obtain information concerning the validity of the methodology and terminology employed in the questionnaire. In a pilot questionnaire, **PQ-1**, informants were assigned two tasks. The first was to provide as many examples as possible of the following: (a) circumstances in which informants thought they were careful about their own language use, and (b) aspects of language use they thought they were careful about (**BE CAREFUL: WHEN** and **BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT**, respectively, henceforth). The second was to comment on the terminology which had been selected as potential key terms to use in the main questionnaire. After PQ-1, a post-questionnaire discussion, **PQD-1**, took place, where informants were encouraged to comment on the adequacy of the questions in PQ-1, and also to study examples provided by other informants taking part in PQ-1, comparing them with their own examples, and commenting on them.

4.3.1.2 Format of the questionnaire

As for the method for the Study 1 questionnaire 1, four types of format seemed to be possible:

(a) A multiple-choice format: subjects choose one or more from presented alternatives to indicate the type of language use they think they are careful about.

(b) A rank ordering format: subjects rank a series of examples of language use to indicate the relative degrees to which they think they are careful about them.

(c) A Likert-type rating scale format: subjects rate the degree to which they think they are careful about each of a series of examples of language use.

(d) An open-ended format: subjects provide examples of language use which they think they are careful about.

With regard to the selection of a format for the questionnaire, PQ-1 and PQD-1 identified a significant point concerning native speakers' perception of politeness and the language use which they associate with it. Comments provided in PQD-1 revealed a gap between the types of language use which native speakers recognize that they are careful about and those which they recall and provide in a response to a questionnaire. Being instructed to list examples of BE CAREFUL:WHEN and BE CAREFUL:WHICH ASPECT, respondents to PQ-1 listed, within three minutes, a range of one to three examples which referred to a relatively small scope of circumstances and aspects of language use. However, PQD-1 showed that, although different informants had come up with different types of examples in the three minutes, they in fact did not differ significantly from one another in terms of when and which aspect of language use they subsequently admitted they are careful about. In PQD-1, the great majority of the various examples provided in the responses to PQ-1 were later accepted by every informant as examples of BE CAREFUL: WHEN and BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT.

Many informants who had listed a narrower range of examples reported, retrospectively, that at the time they had not thought of the examples they had not included in their responses. Many of such informants stated that they found the examples they actually listed in their responses came more readily to mind.

These findings indicated that people do not actively recall all types of language use which they recognize as those they are careful about. Rather, they remember a particular part of them, when they are asked about when and what aspect of language use they are careful about. So it is reasonable to assume that people will recall most easily the language use that they regard as the most important, and will recall less easily the language use that they regard as less important.

This implies that formats in which various examples of language use are presented to subjects may not be suitable for the questionnaire for Study 1. This is because subjects would be reminded of language use which they might not recall otherwise, and the results from such a questionnaire format would reflect language use beyond what the informants think (at the conscious level) they are careful about and, therefore, beyond the range of language use which they regard as most important. For this reason, formats (a-c) were

excluded, and format (a) was adopted for Study 1.

4.3.1.3 Terminology for the questionnaire

Obviously, the reliability of the data obtained from the questionnaire depends on how accurately the researcher's meaning is understood by the subjects. In this case, investigation was necessary to determine what would be the most appropriate Japanese expression to use to refer to the notion of "language use" in the question which asked ordinary native speakers to describe the language use they think they are most careful about.

In asking native speakers about language use, the terms *hanashi-kata* (way of speaking; *lit.* speaking-way/style) and *kotoba-zukai* (use of language/words; *lit.* language/words use) seemed to be the two most commonly used. Both expressions are widely used in writings for general audiences on linguistic etiquette and skills and on sociolinguistics (for example, Hirai, ed. 1965; Uno 1985; Inoue 1989; Bunkacho 1985, 1990). However, neither *hanashi-kata* nor *kotoba-zukai* seemed to accurately refer to the scope of language use that I intended to focus on.

In my own usage, the term *hanashi-kata* (way of speaking) refers to too wide a range of linguistic behaviour, and includes not only the choice of a linguistic device but also the choice of discourse structure, topic and even physiological characteristics of speech. For example, in an adult education class, a course entitled *Hanashi-kata Kooza* (Course for better way of speaking) may offer students general training in tone and volume of voice in order to teach them to prepare and present a public speech. The broad range of the notion referred to by the term *hanashi-kata* also seems to be evident in its use in a linguistic journal. Only two out of twenty-nine articles collected in a special issue of *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kansho*, featuring "Scientific approach to the way of speaking today" (*Gendai-Hanashi-kata-no kagaku*) (Hirai, ed. 1965) deal with the choice of linguistic devices. The other articles in the collection are discussions either on the phonetic, discoursal, cognitive and psychological aspects of speech, or on how to train oneself in specific verbal skills such as interviewing, chairing a meeting, sales talk, public speech, debates and speaking skills for adolescents. It is therefore

possible that the use of this term in my questionnaire may mislead my subjects.

On the other hand, the alternative Japanese term for language use, *kotoba-zukai* (use of language/words"), also seemed to be inappropriate for use in my question, but for the opposite reason. My own conception of *kotoba-zukai* is that it is mainly used to refer to language use for the communication of stylistic politeness. It would therefore be possible that my subjects, when faced with my question about *kotoba-zukai*, might believe that they were asked to focus their introspection only on the choice of linguistic devices for the communication of stylistic politeness, which was obviously not my intention.

The expression which seemed most suitable for my purpose was *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* (how to express one's meanings; *lit.* how to use one's mouth). To discover how acceptable my perception was, the seventy-one informants for PQ-1 were asked to describe any semantic differences between *kotoba-zukai* and *kuchi-no-kiki-kata*.

The results seemed to provide general support for my intuition. The majority (55) felt that there were differences in meaning between the two expressions. Two of the 55 stated that they could not elaborate on the difference. According to the largest group (22), the difference was that they felt *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* had a larger semantic field than *kotoba-zukai*. To them, the former expression refers to more general indicators of the speaker's emotional state and attitudes (including the tone of voice and the speed as well as choice of words), while the latter refers only to choice of words.

Some of the 55 informants referred to further aspects of difference, mentioning the stronger association they feel *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* has with discomfiture. Seven informants noted *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* is exclusively heard in an utterance of criticism or a scolding comment, whereas *kotoba-zukai* can be used in both criticizing and praising utterances. According to their comments, the former expression is often used by a speaker of a socially-higher party towards a socially-lower one, and therefore always co-occurs with negative words such as "bad" (*warui*) and "improper" (*natte-nai*), as in:

> *Kuchi-no-kiki-kata-ga natte-nai*
> "(Someone is) not adequate in terms of the way in which s/he expresses his/her meaning".

Another six informants explained their perception of the difference between the two expressions by referring to the difference in what is communicated when someone criticizes another's verbal behaviour using the two expressions. According to their statements, if someone criticizes another for "bad *kuchi-no-kiki-kata*", it is likely to sound as if the speaker criticizes his/her aggressive, inconsiderate or arrogant attitude, and further the speaker believes that the aggression, the lack of consideration and the arrogance is deliberate. On the other hand, if someone criticizes another for "bad *kotoba-zukai*", it is more likely to sound as though s/he is pointing out the person's ignorance rather than intention.

One difference identified by another two of the informants seemed to be close to mine. Both stated *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* is normally used to refer to utterances perceived to be uncomfortable because of their **content**, whereas *kotoba-zukai* is used to refer to a more **superficial** property, i.e. the grammatical correctness of a sentence and the appropriateness of the utterance in terms of the level of formality. One of the two stated that somebody using honorific forms impeccably, which might be regarded as appropriate in terms of his/her *kotoba-zukai*, could be criticized for his/her improper *kuchi-no-kiki-kata*, if the content of his/her utterance were not socially proper.

Thus, *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* seemed to be a sufficiently appropriate term to use in my questionnaire, as it appeared to refer to the choice of linguistic device not only for stylistic politeness but also for illocutionary politeness. However, in Study 1, I chose to use *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* in combination with *kotoba-zukai*, because of another interesting comment made by three informants from PQ-1. They pointed to a stylistic difference between the two expressions, which I appreciate: *Kuchi-no-kiki-kata*, is more colloquial and emotional an expression. As the informants described correctly, the term is typically used in a rough speech in a heated quarrel together with stigmatized expressions and perhaps accompanied by physical violence, and more often by men than by women. It was therefore possible that by using *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* alone without any support from *kotoba-zukai*, my question might seem incongruous, lacking the seriousness that it should have, and possibly misleading subjects into think that I was joking.

4.3.1.4 The presentation of the question

Finally, PQ-1 also suggested certain points concerning the ways in which the question should be presented. Some respondents to PQ-1provided no example of BE CAREFUL: WHEN but only an example of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT, such as "when I use honorific forms". This indicated that it was necessary to make explicit the need for respondents to provide examples both of circumstances and of aspects of language use which they are careful about. Therefore, I decided to provide two separate spaces in the main questionnaire for each of the two types of examples (one for examples of BE CAREFUL: WHEN, and the other for examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT), as illustrated in Fig. 4.1, rather than one large space for both, as I had in PQ-1.

Give examples of (1) circumstances in which you are most careful about your own
language use, and (2) the aspects of the language use which you are most careful about.
(1) Circumstances:
.
.
.
(2) Aspects of the language use:
.
.
.

Figure 4.1 Presentation of the question for Study 1

By deciding to present my question for Study 1 in this way, I decided to treat the responses concerning BE-CAREFUL: WHEN and those concerning BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT as two independent groups of data, rather than as two separate parts of the same group of data.

However, it was unfortunate that I did not realize, at the time I was planning the questionnaire, that I could have instructed subjects to give the two types of examples as separate but still related, so that the results could include information about the circumstances in which native speakers think they

are careful about a particular type of language use. This would have enabled me to gather information about the relationship between examples of BE CAREFUL: WHEN and BE CAREFUL: ASPECT. The data collected by such an instruction would have provided a considerably larger amount of information, which could have made my interpretation of the results from Study 1 (in 4.3.2.2) significantly more straightforward and my argument concerning the scope of honorific politeness (in 6.2.1) considerably more definite.

To compensate for this insufficiency in the information provided by the questionnaire, I attempted in the interviews to obtain information concerning the type of circumstances in which native speakers think they are careful about a particular type of language use.

4.3.1.5 Qualitative data collection

Since an open-ended format was selected for the questionnaire for Study 1, subjects' responses to the questionnaire included qualitative as well as quantitative data. Significant qualitative data concerning native speakers' knowledge about different types of language use were obtained from careful observation of the descriptions given in the responses to the questionnaire.

The interviews attempted to gather two types of data. The first was qualitative data to enrich the quantitative data from the questionnaire, and thus to obtain a deeper understanding of native speakers' conceptions of the relative degree of importance of different types of politeness. Interviewees were asked about their own conceptions of language use they think they are careful about, and why they think they are careful about it. They were also asked to indicate the type of circumstances in which they think they are careful about particular types of language use. The second type of information sought in the interviews was qualitative data concerning native-speaking JSL teachers' conceptions of the importance of honorific politeness for JSL learners.

4.3.2 Results

The examples of BE CAREFUL: WHEN and of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT that were given by

the subjects were first coded, and then analysed quantitatively. The coding of the examples reflects my

aim in conducting the questionnaire, namely to compare honorific politeness with other types of

politeness in Japanese.

Responses to the questions for Study 1 revealed a significant diversity between subjects in

terms of the range of variety of the examples and the number of examples they provided. In other words,

a subject who thought s/he would be careful about one specific type of language use might provide a

large number of examples of that particular type, while another who thought s/he would be careful about

many different types of language use might provide only one example of each. This means that a large

number of examples of a particular type, which might in fact be provided by a small number of subjects,

cannot necessarily be interpreted as indicative of a large number of subjects thinking they are careful

about that type of language use. Therefore, for a safer interpretation, both the number of subjects who

provided an example (or examples) of a type and the frequency were counted.

4.3.2.1 Circumstances in which people think they are careful about language use

Types of examples

A total of 350 university students provided 716 examples (166 non-students provided 323 examples) of

BE CAREFUL: WHEN, and these were coded into the following three types on the basis of whether or

not they unambiguously referred to an illocutionary force and/or situational feature:

Illocutionary examples: Examples which unambiguously refer to the **illocutionary force** of an
utterance made by the subject, with or without additional mentioning of a
co-occurring situational feature.

Situational examples: Examples which unambiguously and exclusively refer to a **situational
feature**.

Indeterminate examples:Examples which were **indeterminate** in terms of whether they refer to
an illocutionary force, a situational feature or another type of feature of a
context/situation.

Illocutionary examples included "When I need to thank someone", "When I have to say something which the other person may feel annoyed by", "When I make a request to someone I am not very close to", etc. *Situational* and *Indeterminate* examples, on the other hand, were further divided into four subtypes, as illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Types of examples of BE CAREFUL:WHEN

Illocutionary	
Situational	S-Senior
	S-Stranger
	S-Audience
	S-Ceremony
Indeterminate	Ind-Business
	Ind-Telephone
	Ind-ParAd
	Ind-PsyAd

Definitions for the subtypes of *Situational* examples were as follows:

S-Senior examples: Examples which refer to the **vertical social distance** between the
                       speaker and the addressee in a situation.
                       E.g.: "In conversation with a senior", "When talking to my
                       teacher/professor", and "When talking to my boss (at my part-time job)".

S-Stranger examples: Examples which mention the **horizontal social distance** between the
                       speaker and the addressee in a situation.
                       E.g.: "When talking to someone I meet for the first time" or "In conversation
                       with someone I do not know well".

S-Audience examples: Examples which refer to an occasion where the addressee is more like an
                       audience than an individual interactant.
                       E.g.: "when talking in front of a large number of people" and "When giving
                       a presentation in a class".

S-Ceremony examples: Examples which refer to a **ceremonial** setting.
                       E.g.: "At a formal party" or "When speaking at a large meeting for
                       discussion".

Indeterminate examples were coded into the following four subtypes:

Ind-Business examples: Examples which describe the type of situation in which the verbal interaction is normally of a **service/business**-nature.
E.g.: "In a job interview" and "When I discuss with a boss at my part-time work place". In such examples, it was difficult to determine whether the subject was referring to a situational feature, such as the social relationship between him/her and the interviewer, to the nature of the illocutionary force of an utterance occurring in such a situation, or to another feature such as the organization of her/his discourse.

Ind-Telephone examples: Examples which describe **telephone conversations**.
E.g.: "When I talk to someone over the telephone and cannot see his/her face". In such examples, it was also difficult to ascertain which features within the situation the subject was concerned with.

The other two subtypes of indeterminate examples describe the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee, with which it was impossible to decide whether they refer to the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, to the illocutionary force communicated or to some other type of feature present in the situation.

Ind-ParAd examples: Examples which refer to verbal interaction with a **particular** social category of addressee AND do not explicitly mention the illocutionary force of the interaction.
E.g.: "Talking to my children", "When I talk to my father", "When I speak to a foreigner" and "In conversation with a woman". (Examples which explicitly refer to the illocutionary force of an utterance as well as to a particular social relationship with the addressee, such as "When I scold my daughter", were coded as *Illocutionary* examples, following the definition.)

Ind-PsyAd examples: Examples which refer to an interaction with someone with whom the subject has a psychologically special relationship, AND do not explicitly mention the illocutionary force of the interaction.
E.g.: "When I talk to someone I don't like", "When talking to someone I'm in love with" and "While I'm talking to someone who is suspicious and likely to misconstrue what I say".

Results from university students' responses

The number of university student subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of BE CAREFUL: WHEN and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Features of contexts/situations in which university students think they are careful about their own language use

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary	31 (8.9%)	38 (5.3%)
Situational	315 (90.0%)*	496 (69.3%)
S-Senior	286 (81.7%)	305 (42.6%)
S-Stranger	131 (37.4%)	134 (18.7%)
S-Audience	57 (16.3%)	57 (8.0%)
S-Ceremony	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Indeterminate	158 (45.1%)**	182 (25.4%)
Ind-Business	73 (20.9%)	77 (10.7%)
Ind-Telephone	32 (9.1%)	32 (4.5%)
Ind-ParAd	49 (14.0%)	52 (7.3%)
Ind-PsyAd	18 (5.1%)	21 (2.9%)
TOTAL	350	716

 * These figures indicate the total number of subjects who provided at least one *Situational* example and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.
** These figures indicate the total number of subjects who provided at least one *Indeterminate* example and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.

These responses from university subjects concerning BE CAREFUL: WHEN indicate the following

points:

1. The great majority of university students think they are careful about their own language use when a

particular situational feature exists (90.0% of the subjects provided *Situational* examples, and

Situational examples comprised 69.3% of all the examples given), whereas only a small proportion

think they are careful about their own language when they communicate a particular illocutionary force

(8.9% provided *Illocutionary* examples, and *Illocutionary* examples comprised only 5.3% of the total).

A considerable proportion of subjects (45.1%) provided a large number of *Indeterminate*

examples (25.4% of the total). However, neither the number of subjects who provided them nor the

frequency of such examples was large enough to possibly reverse the pattern described above. Even if

all the *Indeterminate* example turned out to refer to an *Illocutionary* feature, the amended frequency of

Illocutionary examples would still be smaller than that of *Situational* examples (5.3% + 25.4% = 30.7%

< 69.3%)). Further, in this case, even if none of these subjects also provided an *Illocutionary* example

(i.e. even if there was no overlap between the 8.9% who provided *Illocutionary* examples and the

45.1% who provided *Indeterminate* examples), the amended number of subjects who provided

Illocutionary examples would still be far smaller than the number who provided *Situational* examples

(8.9% + 45.1% = 54.0% < 90.0%).

2. Among university students who think they are careful about their own language use when a certain

situational feature exists, the largest proportion think they are careful about it when a significant vertical

distance exists between the addressee and themselves. (Among the 315 subjects who provided

Situational examples, 286 provided *S-Senior* examples.)

    University students do not tend to think they are careful about their own language in a

ceremonial setting. (No subjects provided an *S-Ceremony* examples.)

**In summary, university students are likely to think they are most careful about their own
language use in a situation where a significant vertical distance exists between the addressee and
themselves.**

Results from non-students' responses

The number of non-student subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of BE

CAREFUL: WHEN and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.3. The responses

from non-student subjects concerning BE CAREFUL: WHEN indicate the following points:

1. Similar to students, the majority of non-students think they are careful about their own language use

when a particular situational feature exists (76.5% of subjects provided *Situational* examples, and these

Situational examples comprised 61.6% of the total), whereas only a small proportion think they are

careful about their own language use when they communicate a particular illocutionary force (10.8%

provided *Illocutionary* examples, and these examples comprised 8.6% of the total).

Table 4.3 Features of contexts/situations in which non-students think they are careful about their language use

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary	18 (10.8%)	26 (8.0%)
Situational	127 (76.5%)*	199 (61.6%)
S-Senior	89 (53.6%)	96 (29.7%)
S-Stranger	55 (33.1%)	55 (17.0%)
S-Audience	32 (19.3%)	33 (10.2%)
S-Ceremony	12 (7.2%)	15 (4.6%)
Indeterminate	88 (53.0%)**	98 (30.3%)
Ind-Business	26 (15.7%)	27 (8.4%)
Ind-Telephone	17 (10.2%)	18 (5.6%)
Ind-ParAd	34 (20.5%)	38 (11.8%)
Ind-PsyAd	15 (9.0%)	15 (4.6%)
TOTAL	166	323

* These figures indicate the total number of subjects who provided at least one *Situational* example and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.
** These figures indicate the total number of subjects who provided at least one *Indeterminate* example and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.

However, the difference between the number of subjects who think they are careful when a particular situational feature exists and those who think they are careful when they communicate a particular illocutionary force is not as obvious as with university students (university students: 90.0% vs 8.9%; non-students: 76.5% vs 10.8%).

Nevertheless, the difference between the frequency of *Situational* and *Illocutionary* examples was sufficiently large that even if all the *Indeterminate* examples turned out to refer to an *Illocutionary* feature, the amended frequency of *Illocutionary* examples would still be smaller than the frequency of *Situational* examples (8.0% + 30.3% = 38.3% < 61.6%)). Further, in this case, even if none of subjects who provided *Indeterminate* examples also provided *Illocutionary* examples, the amended number of subjects who provided *Illocutionary* examples would still be smaller than the number who provided

Situational examples (10.8% + 53.0% = 63.8% < 76.5%).

2. Similar to the case with university students, among non-students who think they are careful about their own language use when a certain situational feature exists, the largest proportion think they are careful about it when a significant vertical distance exists between the addressee and themselves. (Among the 127 subjects who provided *Situational* examples, 89 provided *S-Senior* examples.)

However, unlike university students, some non-students (7.2%) think they are careful about their own language in a ceremonial setting.

In summary, non-students are also likely to think they are most careful about their own language use in a situation where a significant vertical distance exists between the addressee and themselves, but the pattern is less conspicuous than in the students' case.

4.3.2.2 Aspects of language use people think they are careful about

Types of examples

A total of 350 university students provided 546 examples (166 non-students provided 239 examples) of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT. Two types of examples were identified. The first were a small number of examples (31 [5.7% of the total examples] in the case of university students; and 28 [11.7%] in the case of non-students) which referred to language use related to the efficiency or precision of communication of propositional meaning rather than to communication of politeness. Examples included: "To speak efficiently and unambiguously" and "Trying to use a precise rather than ambiguous/vague word". The other type was another small group of examples (73 [13.4%] in the case of university students; and 43 [18.0%] in the case of non-students) in which it was difficult to determine whether or not they were referring to language use for politeness. These examples included: "To use Japanese well/skillfully" and "To speak well", as well as examples where the meaning was not clear, such as as "Trying to use words with eternal values" and "Using words which have vitality". Both types of examples (109 [19.1%] in the case of university students; and 71 [29.8%] in the case of non-students)

were separated from the others before my coding, and, accordingly, excluded from my later discussions. (However, they were not excluded from the total number of examples. See notes for Tables 4.5 and 4.6.)

The remaining examples, which clearly referred to language use for certain domains of politeness, were divided into two types: **Specific** and **General/Indeterminate**. *Specific* examples refer specifically to language use for communication of a particular domain of politeness, such as "To try to use honorific forms properly" and "To try to express that I am hesitantly requesting". On the other hand, *General/Indeterminate* examples either refer to language use for communication of politeness in general or were vague in terms of the scope of politeness communicated. Many *General/Indeterminate* examples contained the vague Japanese adjective *teinei* (polite), which I discussed in Chapter 3, such as "Trying to use *teinei-na* language" and "To speak *teinei-ni*", while others referred to the avoidance of discomfiture, such as "To try not to be rude/impolite" and "To speak in a way in which I don't sound impolite".

Table 4.4 Types of examples of BE CAREFUL:WHICH ASPECT

Specific	Illocutionary-Honorific/New	
	Illocutionary	
	Honorific/New	Honorific
		New
	Other domain	
General/Indeterminate		

It was discovered with *Specific* examples that, in many cases, the description of an aspect of language use was made in either one or the other of two distinct modes. One was the mode in which subjects described the observance of an illocutionary PPN (politeness principle norm) or an

illocutionary PMN (politeness management norm)that they thought they were careful to communicate, such as "Trying not to criticize the other" or "To try to express that I am hesitantly requesting". (No *Specific* examples referred to the observance of a stylistic PPN or a stylistic PMN, although some *General/Indeterminate* examples such as "Trying to be polite" might refer to one.) The other was the mode in which subjects referred to particular categories of linguistic forms which they thought they should or should not use in particular types of situations. One kind of linguistic forms referred to was honorific forms, and the other was what I term **New Forms**. (No examples referred to the use of linguistic forms other than these two kinds, although some *Specific* examples described prosodic features such as "To speak slowly so as the other person can understand what I say".)

The term "new form" refers to grammatical (i.e. lexical or morphological) forms as well as other linguistic features such as intonation and rhythm which have emerged recently in the language use among younger generation and which have often been called by older generation as *ryuukoo-go* (new expressions; *lit.* prevailing words) or *wakamono-kotoba* (young people's language). Such forms may be new grammatically, prosodically, semantically or sociolinguistically. One example of prosodically new form is a new trend in which heavy phonetic stress is placed at the end of every grammatical unit of a sentence, which has come to be called *gobi-nobashi* (*lit.* prolonging the final syllable of a phrase). This feature used not to be commonly observed before 1960's. An example of semantically new forms may be some adjectival expressions which can be compared to English cases such as "wicked" and "cool" (meaning 'really good/lovely'). Cases of sociolinguistically new forms are some expressions which were formerly used exclusively by men but now by both sexes. Another example of this category of new forms is certain honorific components which have recently been used in an untraditional (or "wrong") way (see 6.3 for further discussion of such changes in the use of honorific components). It is important to note, in relation to the present discussion, that new forms generally co-occur with informal forms, and the use of such forms in a formal setting is likely to be criticized.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the observance of a PPN or a PMN, such as the mitigation of a

discourteous illocutionary force, is a linguistic choice made on one level, while the use (or avoidance of

use) of a particular linguistic device is a choice on another, and there is no mandatory one-to-one

correspondence between the two levels of linguistic choice. It follows that a description of an aspect of

language use made in the mode in which the observance of a PPN or a PMN was referred to and one in

which the use of a particular linguistic device was mentioned dealt with two independent levels of

linguistic choice. Therefore, one criterion for coding a *Specific* example found in descriptions made in

one mode (e.g. whether an example referred to an illocutionary force) should not be assumed to

correspond to another criterion found in descriptions made in the second mode (e.g. whether an example

referred to an honorific and/or new forms). Instead, the two criteria should be treated as belonging to

two different dimensions. Thus, *Specific* examples were coded as four different subtypes, by combining

the two criteria, i.e. whether or not they referred to the mitigation of a discourteous illocutionary force,

on the one hand, and whether or not they referred to the use of honorific forms or avoidance of new

forms, which I shall refer to as **Choice of Honorific/New Forms** for convenience, on the other.

Definitions for the four subtypes of *Specific* examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT

were as follows:

Illocutionary-Honorific/New examples:
   Examples which refer to the mitigation of a discourteous **illocutionary force**, AND refer to
   the choice of **honorific/new forms**.
   E.g.: "To try to use an honorific form to express that I am hesitantly requesting" would be an
   example of this type. (But see below for the results)

Illocutionary examples:
   Examples which refer to the mitigation of a discourteous **illocutionary force**, AND do not
   refer to the choice of **honorific/new forms**.
   E.g.: "To try to express that I am hesitantly requesting", "To try to avoid hurting the other
   person"

Honorific/New examples:
   Examples which do not refer to the mitigation of a discourteous illocutionary force, BUT do
   refer to the choice of **honorific/new forms**.
   (Instances will be given below.)

Other Domain examples:
   Examples which do not refer to the mitigation of discourteous illocutionary force, NOR refer
   to the choice of honorific/new forms.

Other Domain examples included descriptions of language use for the communication of aspects of politeness other than Illocutionary or Stylistic. They seemed to concern observance of participation structure norms and accommodation behaviour norms. These included examples such as "Trying not to monopolize the conversation", "Careful not to keep talking about myself", "Try to check if the other person is interested in what I am talking about", "Monitoring if the other person is following what I say", "Listening to the other person patiently" and "To speak slowly so as the other person can understand what I say".

Honorific/New examples were further subdivided into two subtypes, **Honorific** and **New** examples, depending on whether the example referred to the use of honorific forms or the avoidance of new forms.

Honorific examples: Examples which (do not refer to the mitigation of discourteous illocutionary force BUT) refer to the use of **honorific forms**,
E.g. "To try to use an honorific form",

New examples: Examples which (do not refer to the mitigation of discourteous illocutionary force BUT) refer to the avoidance of **new forms**
E.g.: "To be careful not to use an abbreviated expression"

Results from university students' responses

The number of university-student subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.5. The responses from university-student subjects concerning BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT indicate the following points:

1. The majority of university students think they are careful about their choice of honorific/new forms (56.0% of subjects provided *Honorific/New* examples, and these examples comprised 41.2% of the total), whereas only a small proportion think they are careful about their use of other forms for the communication of illocutionary politeness or politeness other than illocutionary and stylistic domains (8.9% of subjects provided *Illocutionary* examples and these examples comprised 7.0% of the total, and 3.7% provided *Other Domain* examples, comprising 2.6% of the total.).

Table 4.5 Aspects of language use that university students think they are careful about

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary-Honorific/New	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Illocutionary	31 (8.9%)	38 (7.0%)

Honorific/New
    Honorific
    New
	196 (56.0%)*
	185 (52.9%)
	21 (6.2%)
		225 (41.2%)
		203 (37.2%)
		22 (4.0%)

Other Domain	13 (3.7%)	14 (2.6%)
General/Indeterminate	147 (42.0%)	165 (30.2%)
TOTAL	350	546**

* These figures indicate the number of the subjects who provided at least one *Honorific/New* example and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.
** This figure indicates the total number of the examples provided in responses to the question, including the two types of examples which were first separated from the five types of examples illustrated in this table (i.e. examples which referred to the efficiency or precision of communication and those in which it was difficult to decipher whether or not they referred to language use for politeness). These two types of examples represent 19.1% of the total examples (See 4.3.2.1).

A considerable proportion (42.0%) gave a large number of *General/Indeterminate* examples (30.0% of the total). However, even if all *General/Indeterminate* examples turned out to refer to *Illocutionary* or *Other Domain* examples, respectively, the amended frequency of *Illocutionary* or *Other Domain* examples would not exceed the frequency of *Honorific/New* examples. (7.0% + 30.2% = 37.2% < 41.2%, 2.6% + 30.2% = 32.8% < 41.2%, respectively.) Further, in this case, even if none of the subjects who provided *General/Indeterminate* examples also provided either an *Illocutionary* or *Other Domain* example, the amended number of the former subjects would not exceed that of subjects who provided *Honorific/New* examples (8.9% + 42.0% = 50.9% <56.0%, 3.7% +42.0% = 45.7% <56.0%, respectively.)

2. Among students who think they are careful about their choice of honorific/new forms, the majority think they are careful about their use of honorific forms. (Among the 196 subjects who provided *Honorific/New* examples, 185 provided *Honorific* examples, whereas only 21 provided *New* examples.)

In fact, *Honorific* examples represent the largest proportion both in terms of the number of subjects who provided them and in terms of the frequency of type of examples.

3. University students do not tend to think they are careful about choice of honorific/new forms for the communication of illocutionary politeness (No subjects provided an *Illocutionary-Honorific/New* example).

In summary, university students are likely to think they are most careful about the use of honorific forms.

Results from non-students' responses

The number of non-university subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of BE CAREFUL: WHICHASPECT and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.6. The responses from non-student subjects concerning BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT indicate the following points:

1. A larger proportion of non-students think they are careful about their choice of honorific/new forms than about the use of other forms for the communication of illocutionary politeness or politeness other than illocutionary and stylistic domains. (31.9% of subjects provided *Honorific/New* examples [24.7% of the total], whereas only 15.7% provided *Illocutionary* examples [10.9% of the total] and 6.0% provided *General/Indeterminate* examples [4.2% of the total].)

However, the difference between the number of subjects who provided *Honorific/New* examples and those who provided *Illocutionary* examples or *Other Domain* examples was smaller than in the case of university students (*Honorific/New*: 31.9% vs 56.0% ; *Illocutionary*: 8.9% vs 15.7%; *Other domain*: 3.7% vs 4.2%). Furthermore, a significant proportion provided *General/Indeterminate*

examples. Therefore, unlike the case of university students, if many of the subjects who provided

General/Indeterminate examples turned out to refer to *Illocutionary* or *Other Domain* examples, the

frequency of *Illocutionary* or *Other Domain* could exceed that of *Honorific/New*. Thus, the result is a

tentative one, depending on what type of language use is in fact referred to by *General/Indeterminate*

examples.

Table 4.6 Aspects of language use non-students think they are careful about

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary-Honorific/New	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Illocutionary	26 (15.7%)	26 (10.9%)
Honorific/New Honorific New	53 (31.9%)* 52 (31.3%) 2 (1.2%)	59 (24.7%) 57 (23.8%) 2 (0.8%)
Other Domain	10 (	10 (4.2%)
General/Indeterminate	66 (39.8%)	73 (30.5%)
TOTAL	166	239**

* These figures indicate the number of the subjects who provided at least one *Honorific/New* example
and the percentage it represents of the total subjects.
** This figure indicates the total number of the examples provided in responses to the question,
including the two types of examples which were first separated from the five types of examples
illustrated in this table (i.e. examples which referred to the efficiency or precision of communication and
those in which it was difficult to decipher whether or not they referred to language use for politeness).
These two types of examples represent 29.6% of the total examples (See 4.3.2.1).

2. As with university students, among non-students who think they are careful about their choice of

honorific/new forms, the largest proportion think that they are careful about their use of honorific forms.

(Among the 53 subjects who provided *Honorific/New* examples, 52 provided *Honorific* examples,

whereas only 2 provided a *New* example.)

However, unlike the case of university students, *Honorific* examples do not represent the largest proportion both in terms of the subjects and in terms of the frequency.

3. As with university students, non-students do not tend to think they are careful about their choice of honorific/new forms for the communication of illocutionary politeness (No subjects provided an *Illocutionary-Honorific/New* example).

In summary, non-students are also likely to think they are most careful about the use of honorific forms, but the pattern is considerably less obvious than in the students' case.

4.3.2.3 Qualitative data results from the questionnaire

Examination of the examples of BE CAREFUL: WHEN and BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT given by subjects revealed a particular pattern in the way native speakers refer to different features of the context/situation and different types of language use. This seems to provide significant information relevant to native speakers' knowledge about different types of language use, which may influence the of native speakers' awareness of various types of language use. I shall discuss people's linguistic awareness and factors which seem to be behind them in 6.3.

It seems that people tend to use particular types of terms to refer to situational features and to types of honorific components, whereas they tend to use a variety of expressions to refer to an illocutionary force and to an illocutionary politeness norm. For example, to refer to the notion of a vertically distant addressee, the term *meue* (socially higher; *lit.* above one's eye) was frequently used by many subjects (both university-student and non-students). Similarly, to refer to types of honorific components, technical terms such as *teinei-go, sonkei-go* and *kenjoo-go* (Non-Plain SMs, Exalting RSRCs and Lowering RSRCs, respectively) were used by a large number of subjects, while concrete examples of such components were also provided in a few responses such as "To use *irasshai-mas-u* instead of *i-ru*". In contrast, no term was used in an equally dominant manner. To refer to the illocutionary act of requesting, for example, various terms were employed by different subjects:

tanomu, tanomi-goto, irai-suru, o-negai, yatte-morau, with no single term taking priority over all others.

4.3.2.4 Qualitative data results from the interviews

Interviews provided three types of information: 1) details about people's conceptions of the language use they feel they are careful about; 2) information about people's conceptions of what constitutes honorific politeness; and 3) information regarding language use which JSL teachers think learners need to learn for the sake of politeness. (In my report of interviewees' comments, I use my own terminology to refer to certain notions such as a category of honorific components, for the sake of simplicity. My own terminology will appear in square brackets. I also add an explanation of certain things referred to in interviewee's comments, where it seems useful. My explanation will also appear in square brackets.)

1) About people's conceptions of the language use which they feel they are careful about

Eight of the ten interviewees stated that they are careful about the use of honorific forms and/or the avoidance of new forms. One of them was very prompt to state she thought she was most careful about this aspect of her own language use:

> Oh, it's *kotoba-zukai,* definitely, [to the interviewer's instruction to explain what she meant by *kotoba-zukai*] I mean how to use honorific forms, err, and also to restrict myself not to use a [new forms].

Other interviewees referred to the choice of honorific/new forms as an example of language use they think they are careful about in various types of situations:

> In telephone conversation, where you can't see the other person's facial expressions, I'd be careful to use honorific forms more than in face-to-face conversation.

> In a conversation with the representative of a company client of the language school I teach Japanese at, I feel tense and try to use honorific forms properly, because the other person is our customer. They pay and we sell, right?

> I become most careful about my language use in a formal situation, for example, at a party, when I attend a university meeting as a host-family of an exchange student, or at my children's school meetings. In such a situation, I need to talk formally, using honorific forms properly.

> Meeting with my in-laws exhausts me, because I have to be with people who belong to a higher

society on such an occasion. So, I need to speak much more slowly than now, using much more elaborate honorific forms as well as other properly formal expressions, and avoiding those informal expressions I normally use in conversation with my friends. I even have to try to keep quiet in movement in general.

Some interviewees explained why they are careful about the use of honorific forms:

> To be honest, I don't care for honorific forms, partly because I never feel confident about the usage of such forms. But I cannot avoid using them, because it would be rude, if I didn't, so I need to be careful about it.

> Being able to speak properly using honorific forms appropriately and never inserting a new word, I could be regarded as a fine, sophisticated and professional person, which is an image I would want other people to have of me.

> I think I'm on the good side in terms of the proper use of honorific forms for a 26-year-old person. I think I wouldn't have been able to learn how to use honorific forms, if I hadn't gone to [a prestigious private girls' high school], and particularly if I hadn't been a member of the tennis circle of the school. The use of a [Formal SM] to a senior member of the circle was part of my usual language use in my school life. So, I don't think I'm careful about use of honorific forms because I'm not confident about it, but rather because I automatically pay attention not to offend my senior. I think I still do this now, long time after leaving the circle and my high school. I don't think it's only me nor only my high school. People in an athletic circle in a school/university are often very sensitive about the senior/junior relationship between the members, because they are expected to comply rigidly to the norm for the use of honorific forms according to the relationship. I also think that people who are in such a circle tend to get annoyed easily by a language use deviating from the norm.

Only one of the ten interviewees mentioned the mitigation of the discourteous illocutionary force of an utterance:

> I'm most careful to try not to say what's likely to hurt the other person, for example, when I have to mention the other person's fault. I myself would like others to say such a thing as directly as possible, and I get annoyed if someone doesn't do so. But my mother has always told me that I say things too directly, and I'm trying not to.

Two interviewees referred to two points which were related to politeness of a domain outside illocutionary and stylistic politeness. The examples were: "To organize discourse neatly so that it is easy for the other person to understand" and "To pay careful attention to whether the other person or audience has been following what has been talked about".

2) About people's conception of what constitutes honorific politeness

Comments provided by interviewees indicated that native speakers of Japanese are not likely to regard the choice of honorific/new forms as a means of managing the illocutionary force of an utterance. All eight interviewees who stated they thought they are careful about the choice of honorific/new forms strongly denied that they referred to the choice of honorific/new forms as a means for the communication of illocutionary politeness:

> I meant that I'll be careful to use honorific forms and to avoid using [new forms] properly regardless of the content of the conversation.

> Oh, no, I don't mean that I only try to use honorific forms when I make a request or apologize, no. When I talk to a stranger, I keep feeling constrained to try to speak properly using honorific forms from the beginning to the end of the conversation.

Further, to my question if they would possibly be more careful about the choice of honorific/new forms in thanking, apologizing, requesting, asking for permission, and criticizing than in other types of utterance, all the ten interviewees clearly denied the possibility. Two of them first did not understand my question, and expressed surprise, when I told them that some people switch from Plain SM to Formal SM in the context of thanking, apologizing, requesting, asking for permission, or quarreling.

However, these comments do not necessarily mean that they never use honorific forms as a means to mitigate a discourteous illocutionary force. When I asked about their own use of honorific forms, three interviewees stated that they might actually switch from Plain to Formal SM in some of such utterances, although they never thought about it:

> Well, yes, when I apologize to a friend to whom I normally talk to with a [Plain SM], I might use *mooshiwake-ari-masen-deshita* [i.e. a Formal expression for apology], with a deep bow, although I might say it half jokingly.

> Oh. Yes, you're right. I could say *kure-masen-ka* [i.e. a formal version of request form], when I ask a close friend, to whom I normally talk to with [a Plain SM], for something difficult.

> Well, when I quarrel with my husband, I actually do use *-te-mo-ii-desu-ka* [i.e. a Formal expression for asking for permission] instead of the usual *-te-mo-ii?* [i.e. a Plain version of the expression].

The other seven interviewees, on the other hand, stated that they would not use an honorific form in order to mitigate a discourteous illocutionary force:

> No, I wouldn't. I couldn't use a [Formal SM] exactly because of the nature of what I am saying. I don't think the use of a [Formal SM] could serve to soften the rudeness of the content of my speech.

Three of the seven stated that they would feel uncomfortable if a close friend who normally uses a [Plain SM] to talk to them switched to a [Formal SM] to soften the illocutionary force of an utterance. According to them, such use of an honorific form would indicate unreasonable and unnecessary social distance between the person and themselves and/or sound sarcastic. One of them pointed to the effect of the use of one in an utterance in which a criticism is made:

> If a friend uses a [Formal SM] in pointing to a fault on my part, I would feel that s/he really wants to criticize me, and I'd be scared.

3) About the language use which JSL teachers think learners need to be careful about

One interviewee remembered that she was careful about her own use of honorific forms in a JSL classroom:

> In a JSL class, I needed to be careful not to use my ordinary language, I mean informal, conversational expressions such as [examples of new forms]but proper [Formal SMs]. It was very hard for me, especially when I was first teaching as a JSL trainee.

Others expressed their opinions concerning the importance of teaching the use of honorific forms to learners:

> Speech with honorific forms is beautiful, and I want JSL learners as well as young Japanese to use them, at least to a certain extent in their speech.

> Japanese people can find a foreign speaker to be impolite, as I sometimes do, if s/he does not use a [Formal SM] towards someone s/he is not close to, so I think a learner should be taught how to use honorific forms, at least when to use a [Formal SM].

> I think teaching the usage of honorific forms is one of the essential parts of an elementary JSL syllabus, for learners need to know that one has to make a proper choice between [Plain and Formal SMs] in Japanese.

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Obviously, within such a small group, it would be unreasonable to suggest their statements are representative of JSL teachers, let alone of the majority of native speakers. Nevertheless, the qualitative data do seem to reinforce the quantitative data, suggesting that native speakers think they are more careful about the use of honorific forms than about any other type of language use for the communication of politeness. The data would also seem to provide a certain basis on which to interpret the quantitative data, indicating that native speakers think they are careful about the use of honorific forms as a means of communication of stylistic politeness.

4.3.2.5 Summary of results from Study 1

Quantitative and qualitative data obtained from Study 1 indicate that university students are likely:

- to think that they are most careful about their own language use for politeness in a situation where vertical social distance exists between the speaker and the addressee, and

- to think that they are more careful about the use of honorific forms than any other type of language use for the communication of politeness.

These data indicate that the same pattern is also observed, although less conspicuously, with non-students.

Further, qualitative data results suggest that when native speakers think they are careful about the use of honorific forms, they regard such language use as a means of communicating stylistic politeness. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative results from Study 1 suggest that native speakers are likely:

- to think that they are most careful about the communication of stylistic politeness through the use of honorific forms, particularly in situations where vertical social distance exists between the speaker and the addressee.

4.4 Study 2: Language use that native speakers find uncomfortable

Study 2 attempted to explore the extent to which different types of inappropriate language use are perceived to be uncomfortable by native speakers. And by comparing the results with Study 1, it also

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attempted to find out whether native speakers' evaluations of the importance of paying attention to a certain aspect of politeness correspond to their judgements of degree of discomfiture resulting from failure to communicate that particular type of politeness (henceforth, **Importance/Discomfiture Association**).

4.4.1 Methodology for the questionnaire and the interviews

4.4.1.1 Pilot study

A pilot study, **PS-2**, was conducted to obtain information concerning the validity of the methodology to be used in the questionnaire for Study 2. In a pilot questionnaire, **PQ-2**, informants were instructed to provide as many examples as possible of language use performed by other native speakers which they find uncomfortable (henceforth, **FIND UNCOMFORTABLE**). In a post-questionnaire discussion, **PQD-2**, informants were assigned two types of tasks. The first was to study examples provided by other informants to PQ-2, comparing them with their own examples, and comment on them. The second was to give opinions on the adequacy of the question and terminology employed in PQ-2.

4.4.1.2 Format of the questionnaire

Similar to the methodological issues for Study 1, four format options seemed to be possible for Study 2:

(a) A multiple-choice format: subjects choose one or more from presented alternatives to indicate the type of language use they find uncomfortable.

(b) A rank ordering format: subjects rank a series of examples of language use to indicate the relative degree to which they find uncomfortable.

(c) A Likert-type rating scale format: subjects rate the degree to which they feel uncomforable with each of a series of examples of language use.

(d) An open-ended format: subjects provide examples of language use which they find uncomfortable.

In relation to the selection of format for the questionnaire, PQ-2 and PQD-2 revealed two significant points. The first point relates to a discrepancy found between the examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE that informants had come up with and provided in their responses to PQ-2, and

those that they agreed were examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE in PQD-2. As in PQ-1 and PQD-1, most of the examples provided by all of the informants were accepted as examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE, although different informants had provided different types of language use as examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE. Further, the majority of informants in PQ-2 stated that they found the examples they provided in their own responses were more uncomfortable than those they accepted as examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE in the discussion.

This point suggested that format (a) was inappropriate for the Study 2 questionnaire, which was designed to explore the relative degrees of discomfiture resulting from different types of language use. This format might present examples of language use which can cause various strength of discomfiture, and have subjects indicate which ones of them they would perceive discomfiture with, but not the strength of the discomfiture. Therefore, the questionnaire in this format would have distinguished language use which causes discomfiture (of any strength) from that which does not, but failed to distinguish language use which causes stronger discomfiture from that which causes less strong discomfiture.

The second point concerned the types of discomfiture. PQD-2 indicated that discomfiture resulting from some types of inappropriate language differs in type from that resulting from other types of linguistic behaviour, and therefore it is not possible to compare the strength of the discomfiture between them. When asked to compare their own examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE and other informants' examples, in PQD-2, informants were able to tell relative degrees of uncomfortableness with some pairs of examples, while they were unable to do this with other pairs of examples. According to discussants, the behaviour of speaking loud in a public place and that of failing to thank a friend appropriately, for example, are both uncomfortable, but in different ways, and it is impossible to say which is more uncomfortable than the other.

This point revealed by PQD-2 precludes the possibility of adopting format (b) for the questionnaire for Study 2. Format (b) is a method which presupposes that it is possible for all subjects to

rank all the presented examples as higher or lower degrees of one single property (i.e. one single type of discomfiture). However, as indicated by the informants' comments, it cannot be assumed that all types of inappropriate behaviour generate the same type of discomfiture, nor that native speakers are able to compare the strength of the overall discomfiture between different types of discomfiture resulting from various types of inappropriate language use.

Further, the same point suggested that format (c) was also inappropriate as the method for Study 2. A Likert-type questionnaire which required subjects to rate the strength of discomfiture associated with various different types of items might confuse or mislead subjects. In other words, while being asked to evaluate a range of items, subjects might perceive different types of discomfiture, and so might either wonder which type they should focus on, or believe that they were expected to focus on a particular type of discomfiture, ignoring other types. One possible result would therefore be that some respondents might give up responding to the questionnaire. Another possibility would be that some subjects might rate the degree of only one particular type of discomfiture, and rate certain examples of language behaviour as "zero", when it could cause quite a strong degree of discomfiture of another type. Both would have been deviations from my purpose in conducting the questionnaire, which aimed to compare the overall strength of discomfiture which can result from different types of linguistic behaviour.

For these reasons, formats (a-c) were excluded, and format (d), in which subjects were asked to provide examples of inappropriate language which they thought of first (which were assumed to reflect language use with which people perceive the strongest discomfiture, regardless of the type of discomfiture) was selected as the best method for the questionnaire for Study 2.

4.4.1.3 Terminology for the questionnaire

Concerning the term which should be used in PQ-2 as an equivalent to "uncomfortable" in the questionnaire for Study 2, PS-2 provided information. In PQ-1, I chose to use the adjective *fukai-na* which is commonly employed by language specialists in technical writings (e.g. in Endo 1989 and

Tateoka 1993) to refer to the discomfiture generated by inappropriate linguistic behaviour. While PQ-2 was being conducted, however, an informant asked me for an explanation, stating that she was not certain exactly what I meant by the term. Further, in PQD-2, some discussants stated that they had felt as if they had been asked about the physical pleasantness they might feel. Subsequent discussion in PQD-2 suggested that no single folk term could cover the range of illocutionary and stylistic discomfiture of both FT and ER nature. Finally, the use of *fuyukai-na* (uncomfortable) together with a semantically stronger term, *hara-ga-tatsu* (angry) in the questionnaire was recommended. For "language use", as in the questionnaire for Study 1, *kotoba-zukai* together with *kuchi-no-kiki-kata* were used.

4.4.1.4 The question for Study 2

The question for Study 2 was finally phrased and presented as Fig. 4.2:

Please give examples of occasions on which you feel uncomfortable and/or angry about other people's language use.

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Figure 4.2 Presentation of the question for Study 2

It was unfortunate that I failed to realize at the time I was planning the questionnaire, similar to Study 1, that the precise wording of the question could have been improved. If I had worded the question to ensure that I obtained information about the context/situation in which a particular type of language use is likely to cause discomfiture, it could have made my interpretation of the results from Study 2 (in 4.4.2.1) significantly more straightforward and my argument concerning the scope of honorific politeness (in 6.2.1) considerably more definite.

4.4.1.5 Qualitative data collection

Interviews for Study 2 were conducted to gather two types of data. The first was qualitative data to enrich the quantitative data from the questionnaire and thus to obtain a deeper understanding of the relative degrees of discomfiture resulting from different types of inappropriate language use. Interviewees were therefore asked about their own perception of uncomfortable language use. The second was information concerning the importance/discomfiture association. Interviewees were encouraged to comment on their own reactions to the questions about BE CAREFUL:WHEN, BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT and FIND UNCOMFORTABLE.

4.4.2   Results

4.4.2.1 Types of examples

As in Study 1, examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE given by subjects were first coded, and then analyzed quantitatively.

A total of 355 university students provided 597 examples (167 non-students provided 299 examples) of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE, which were first divided into two types: **Specific** and

Table 4.7 Types of examples of **FIND UNCOMFORTABLE**

	Illocutionary-Honorific/New	
Specific		Il-Criticism
		Il-Over-decisiveness
		Il-Immodesty
	Illocutionary	Il-Cost/Benefit
		Il-Discrimination
		Il-Gossiping
		Il-Irony
	Honorific/New	Honorific
		New
	Other Domains	
General/Indeterminate		

General/Indeterminate types. *Specific* examples, which referred specifically to breaches of a particular domain of politeness, were coded with the same labels used in Study 1 for examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT. *General/Indeterminate* examples, on the other hand, either referred to breaches of politeness in general or were indeterminate as to whether or not the example referred to a breach of politeness in general or to a breach of a specific domain of politeness. The latter examples included ones such as "Speech made in an uncomfortable/rude way", "A comedian's rude speech (seen in a TV programme)", "Speech that lacks sufficient respect towards the addressee", "Speech showing that the speaker does not understand the relationship between his/her position" and "Insensitive manner of speech".

It was discovered that with *Specific* examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE, similar to *Specific* examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT, many subjects referred to a type of uncomfortable language use in one or the other of two modes. In the first mode, subjects referred to the failure to observe a politeness principle norm. In the other mode, they referred to a failure in choice of an honorific/new form. Therefore, to similar to *Specific* examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT, *Specific* examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE were coded into four types by combining two criteria: whether or not they referred to a failure in the management of illocutionary force, and whether or not they referred to a failure in choice of an honorific/new form.

The four types of *Specific* examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE are defined as follows:

Illocutionary-Honorific/New examples:
>Examples which refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force AND refer to failure in choice of an honorific/new forms.
>E.g.: "Not using an honorific form when he asks me to do something for him", "Using a slang while apologizing" would be an example of this type. (But see below for the results.)

Illocutionary examples:
>Examples which refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force AND do not refer to failure in choice of an honorific/new forms. (Instances will be given below.)

Honorific/New examples:
>Examples which do not refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force BUT do refer to failure in choice of an honorific/new forms. (Instances will be given below.)

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Other Domain examples:
> Examples which do not refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force NOR to failure in choice of an honorific/new forms.

> *Other Domain* examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE included descriptions of failure to observe participation structure norms and discourse structure norms, such as "Talking solely about what the speaker wants to talk about", "Talking about sexual/obscene matters", "Redundant or circular speech", and "Ill-organized speech". Also included were examples of the physical properties of speech such as "Loud voice", "Talking loud and giggling in a group on a train" and para-linguistic behaviours such as "Having no eye contact during conversation".

As was the case with *Honorific/New* examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT,

Honorific/New examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE were further subdivided into two groups:

Honorific and **New** examples, depending on whether the description referred to failure to use an

honorific form or failure to avoid a new form.

Honorific Examples:
> Examples which do not refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force BUT do refer to failure to use an **honorific** form.
> E.g.: "When a junior member of the circle talks to me without using a *Des-Mas*-Style [i.e. Formal SMs]" and "When a shop assistant talks me as if to a close friend, without using an honorific form."

New examples:
> Examples which do not refer to failure in the management of illocutionary force BUT do refer to failure to avoid using a **new** form.
> E.g.: "Using dirty slang", "When I hear young people talking with lots of *ryuukoo-go* [i.e. new expressions]", and "school girls talking to each other without using women's language".

Furthermore, unlike *Illocutionary* examples of BE CAREFUL: WHICH ASPECT, *Illocutionary*

examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE were divided into the following seven subtypes:

Il-Criticism examples:
> Examples which refer to an utterance in which the speaker **criticizes, insults, opposes, attacks** and/or **looks down** on the addressee.
> E.g.: "Talking about a mistake which I have made without any hesitance", "Utterance in which someone says something which hurts to my face", and "When someone opposes me, not using gentle/hesitant language".

Il-Over-decisiveness examples:
> Examples which refer to a **self-righteous** judgement, **over-decisive** statement, or **presumptuous** statement in which the speaker dictates what the addressee should do.
> E.g.: "Giving me advice which I never asked for", "When discussing a meeting among circle

members, someone speaks as if she has the right to decide everything" and "People imposing their values on me."

Il-Immodesty examples:

Examples which refer to an **arrogant/boasting** statement, in which the speaker talks as if s/he is better educated and more qualified to teach the addressee.
E.g.: "Talking about oneself proudly", "Someone speaking as if he knows everything while everyone else knows nothing."

Il-Cost/Benefit examples:

Examples which refer to an utterance in which the speaker **misconceives the cost/benefit relation** of the context.
E.g.: "Utterances sounding as if the speaker has done a favour for the addressee",
"Condescending remarks sounding as if the addressee should feel grateful towards the speaker
(when the addressee perceives the opposite to be the case)", "Not thanking when needed", "Ungrateful remarks".

Il-Discrimination examples:

Examples which refer to **discriminatory** remarks, against physically/mentally handicapped people, women, and foreign countries/nationalities, and **verbal sexual harassment**, which might be towards the addressee or a third party (not distinguishable in most responses).
E.g.: "An utterance in which someone insults a foreign person and his/her country", "Men's remarks which insult women".

Il-Gossiping examples:

Examples which refer to **gossiping** and **speaking ill** of a third party.
E.g.: "People who speak ill of someone behind his/her back", "Talking about a rumour about someone who is not there".

Il-Irony examples:

Examples which refer to the **sarcastic/acid/cutting/obsequious** effect generated by communicating discourteous illocutionary force in a formal style (including use of an honorific form).
E.g.: "Saying something nasty using honorific forms", "Obsequious remarks" and "People sounding polite but actually saying very mean to me".

It is important to note that examples included in this subtype do not refer to the **mitigation** of the discourteous illocutionary force communicated by the utterance, but do refer to a discourteous illocutionary force. For this reason, these examples were not coded as *Illocutionary-Honorific/New*.

The coding of *Illocutionary* examples into these seven subtypes was far from clear-cut. Some examples were written with ambiguous wording. In particular, it was difficult to distinguish whether a considerable number of *Il-Discrimination* examples referred to discrimination towards the subject or to a third party. If they referred to the former, such examples should be included in *Il-Criticism*. Ambiguity

was not the only cause of the difficulty in the sub-coding. These subtypes were intrinsically continuous, gradually shifting from one to another. For example, it was difficult to identify a clear border between *Il-Over-decisive* and *Il-Cost/Benefit* examples. An example such as "An order-like request", for instance, seemed to fall into either of the two subtypes. To a certain extent, the sub-coding of *Illocutionary* examples was based on my personal judgement, subjective at best. However, the purpose was to provide a rough illustration of the components of *Illocutionary* examples, rather than to make a detailed quantitative comparison among the subtypes.

4.4.2.2 Quantitative data results from the questionnaire

As with the quantitative data results from Study 1, both the number of subjects who provided examples of each type (and subtype) and the frequency of types of examples were counted.

University students' results

The number of university-student subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.8. The university students' responses in Study 2 indicate the following points:

1. The majority of university students find failure in the management of illocutionary force to be uncomfortable (51.1% of subjects provided *Illocutionary* examples, and these examples comprised 39.2% of the total number of examples), whereas a smaller proportion find failure in the choice of an honorific/new form or failure to comply with other domains of politeness norms to be uncomfortable (46.2% and 33.2% provided *Honorific/New* and *Other Domain* examples which comprised 29.3% and 23.5% of the total, respectively).

A considerable proportion (13.5%) provided *General/Indeterminate* examples (8.9% of the total). However, even if all *General/Indeterminate* examples turned out to refer either to *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples, the amended frequency of *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples would still be smaller than the frequency of *Illocutionary* examples. (29.3% + 8.0% = 37.3% < 39.2%; 23.5% + 8.0% = 31.5% < 39.2%). Further, in this case, even if none of these

subjects also provided *Other Domain* examples (i.e. even if there was no overlap between the 33.2%

who provided *Other Domain* examples and the 13.5% who provided *General/Indeterminate*

examples), the amended number of subjects who provided *Other Domain* examples would still be

smaller than that of subjects who provided *Illocutionary* examples (33.2% + 13.5% = 46.7% < 51.5%).

However, the amended number of subjects who provided *Honorific/New* examples could exceed that of

those who provided *Illocutionary* examples (46.2% + 13.5% = 59.7% > 51.5%).

Table 4.8 Language use that university students find uncomfortable

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary-Honorific/New	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Illocutionary	183 (51.5%)*	234 (39.2%)
Il-Criticism	82 (23.1%)	83 (13.9%)
Il-Over-decisive	55 (16.1%)	55 (9.2%)
Il-Immodesty	49 (14.6%)	49 (8.2%)
Il-Cost/Benefit	19 (7.0%)	20 (3.4%)
Il-Discrimination	8 (3.7%)	8 (1.3%)
Il-Gossiping	8 (3.7%)	8 (1.3%)
Il-Irony	11 (4.8%)	11 (1.8%)
Honorific/New	164 (46.2%)**	175 (29.3%)
Honorific	95 (26.8%)	97 (16.2%)
New	69 (19.4%)	78 (13.1%)
Other Domain	118 (33.2%)	140 (23.5%)
General/Indeterminate	48 (13.5%)	48 (8.0%)
TOTAL	355	597

  * These figures indicate the number of subjects who provided at least one *Illocutionary* example and
the percentage it represents of the total.
** These figures indicate the number of subjects who provided at least one *honorific/New* example and
the percentage it represents of the total.

2. Among university students who find failure in the management of illocutionary force to be uncomfortable, no particularly large proportion find such a failure in a particular subtype of context.

Among those who find failure in the choice of honorific/new forms uncomfortable, a larger proportion find failure in use of an honorific form uncomfortable.

3. University students do not tend to find failure in the choice of honorific/new forms for communication of illocutionary politeness to be uncomfortable. (No subjects provided an *Illocutionary-Honorific/New* example).

In summary, university students are likely to find failure in the management of the illocutionary force more uncomfortable than failure to use honorific forms.

Non-students' results

The number of non-student subjects who mentioned at least one example of each type and subtype of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE and the frequency of each type and subtype are shown in Table 4.9. The non-students' responses in Study 2 indicate the following points:

1. Similar to the university students, the majority of non-students find failure in the management of illocutionary force to be uncomfortable (51.1% of subjects provided *Illocutionary* examples and these examples comprised 41.5% of the total), whereas a proportion (which is smaller than in the students' case) find failure in the choice of an honorific/new form or failure to comply other domains of politeness norms uncomfortable (36.5% provided *Honorific/New* examples which comprise 25.1% of the total, and 29.3% provided *Other Domain* examples which comprise 20.4% of the total).

Compared to the university students' results, a still larger proportion (23.4%) provided *General/Indeterminate* examples (13.0% of the total). However, even if all *General/Indeterminate* examples turned out to refer either to *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples, the amended frequency of *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples would still be smaller than the frequency of *Illocutionary* examples. (25.1% + 13.0% = 38.1% < 41.5%; 20.4% + 13.0% = 33.4% < 41.5%, respectively). If a few of these subjects also provided *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples,

however, the amended number of subjects who provided *Honorific/New* or *Other Domain* examples could exceed that of those who provided *Honorific/New* examples or those who provided *Other Domain* examples (36.5% + 23.4% = 59.9% > 51.5%, 23.9% + 23.4% = 52.7% >51.5%).

Table 4.9 Language use that non-students find uncomfortable

TYPES OF EXAMPLES	NO. OF SUBJECTS (%)	FREQUENCY (%)
Illocutionary-Honorific/New	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Illocutionary	86 (51.5%)*	124 (41.5%)
Il-Criticism	32 (19.2%)	34 (11.4%)
Il-Over-decisive	44 (26.3%)	46 (15.4%)
Il-Immodesty	11 (6.6%)	13 (4.3%)
Il-Cost/Benefit	14 (8.4%)	14 (4.7%)
Il-Discrimination	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.3%)
Il-Gossiping	3 (1.8%)	3 (1.0%)
Il-Irony	12 (7.2%)	13 (4.3%)
Honorific/New	61 (36.5%)**	75 (25.1%)
Honorific	36 (21.6%)	38 (12.7%)
New	32 (19.2%)	37 (12.4%)
Other Domain	49 (29.3%)	61 (20.4%)
General/Indeterminate	39 (23.4%)	39 (13.0%)
TOTAL	167	299

* These figures indicate the number of subjects who provided at least one *Illocutionary* example and the percentage it represents of the total.
** These figures indicate the number of subjects who provided at least one *Honorific/New* example and the percentage it represents of the total.

2. As with university students, among non-students who find failure in the management of illocutionary force to be uncomfortable, no particularly large proportion find such a failure in a particular subtype of context uncomfortable.

However, unlike university students, among those who find failure in the choice of

honorific/new forms uncomfortable, similar proportions find the choice of honorific forms and that of new forms uncomfortable.

3. As in the case with university students, non-students do not tend to find failure in the choice of honorific/new forms for the communication of illocutionary politeness to be uncomfortable. (No subjects provided an *Illocutionary-Honorific/New* example).

In summary, non-students are also likely to find failure in the management of the illocutionary force to be more uncomfortable than failure to use honorific forms, and the pattern is more conspicuous than in the case of university students.

4.4.2.3 Comparison between quantitative data results from Studies 1 and 2

Quantitative data results from Study 2 indicate that university students are likely to perceive failure in the management of illocutionary force to be more uncomfortable than either failure in the choice of honorific forms or failure to communicate politeness other than illocutionary and stylistic politeness. The same pattern is found with non-student native speakers in a more conspicuous manner.

These findings exhibit a sharp contrast to those of Study 1, which show that university students are likely to think that, in their own speech, they are more careful about proper choice of honorific forms than the management of illocutionary force. A similar tendency is observed in the non-student native speakers' evaluations, but in a less obvious manner.

This contrast between the results from the two studies indicate two significant points concerning the importance/discomfiture interrelation and people's perception of honorific politeness. The first point is that university students are likely to think they are more careful about the appropriate use of honorific forms than the management of illocutionary force, while they tend to perceive failure in the proper use of honorific forms to be considerably less uncomfortable than failure in the management of illocutionary force. The same pattern is applicable to non-students native speakers but in a less sharp contrast. The second point is that, compared to non-students, university students are more likely both to be careful about the appropriate choice of honorific forms and to find failure in the choice of such forms uncomfortable.

4.4.2.4 Qualitative data results from the interviews

The interviews provided three types of information: 1) further information about language use which people find uncomfortable, 2) information regarding people's conceptions of what constitutes the discomfiture which results from failure to use an honorific form, and 3) people's conceptions of the importance/discomfiture association.

1) About language use which people find uncomfortable

Three interviewees mentioned discourteous illocutionary force:

> I was once criticized by the representative of a firm, when I couldn't give a clear explanation to him about our plan of a JSL seminar, and the extremely accusatory way in which the person criticized me made me angry, although I understood it was my fault that I could not give a better explanation.

> Some JSL students say everything directly rather than indirectly. Obviously that's partly because they haven't learned indirect expressions in Japanese yet, but I sometimes find it unbearable.

> One JSL student was famous for his strong assertion of his rights, rights as a student to ask as many questions as he liked in a class, rights to take a class he wanted regardless of the teacher's assessment of his proficiency level.

> I have had a bad experience with a bureaucrat. When we applied for a grant for a project for the local foreign residents, they turned it down, and that in an unbearably annoying manner.

Another three mentioned failure to communicate a courteous illocutionary force:

> One of my colleagues never responds to my greeting. It's not only me but some other people complain the same about him. I've got used to it by now, but I used to be annoyed by it.

> One of the things I can never understand with young people these days is why they don't thank properly. When I have done something for them, they may just marginally nod but more often do nothing, which makes me wonder whether I might have disturbed rather than helped them by doing something unwanted. But, as I often find, they actually do find what I have done helpful and nice!

> I've found that JSL students from some countries do not apologize as much as it's expected, and, even though I know it is because of the difference between their culture and ours, I cannot help getting annoyed.

Yet another three referred to failure to use of honorific forms:

> I was offended, when I met a colleague teacher for the first time on her first day in the office. She, who is younger than me talked to me with [Plain SMs].

When I phoned a JSL student at his home, a friend who was another young foreigner answered, and said that my student was out, using a [Plain SM], which I found impolite. He should have used a [Formal SM], since I was older and a stranger to him.

Some JSL students who have picked up the language in the street tend to speak with [Plain SMs] regardless of who they are talking to. I find it offensive if a student who is younger than me does this to me.

Comments also referred to a younger person's "wrong" use of honorific forms to a third party, the use of new forms in a formal speech and a shop-assistant's use of a regional dialect to a customer:

A junior at my work, who is two years younger than me, does not know how to use honorific forms properly. She's really embarrassing. She talks to a client with [Plain SMs] while she switches to [Formal SM] to me or to another senior teacher.

I find it uncomfortable, when a young person uses a [new form]. I also feel irritated when I hear young ones using a [new form] in a TV chat show.

When I went home to Okayama [i.e. a western prefecture] after I had lived in Tokyo for about six years, I realized for the first time that a shop assistant in a department store there uses the dialect to a customer, and I found it strange and unnatural.

One interviewee referred to the use of an honorific form by someone s/he regards as a close friend in her speech to her:

One of my colleagues, who is two years younger than me, just keeps using honorific forms in her speech to me. We have been working together a long time and I have come to see her as a friend rather than a junior, and I find her insistent use of honorific forms to me a bit strange. I don't feel offended or annoyed, though, because I think that's her style.

As examples of uncomfortable language use, five of the ten interviewees mentioned seven examples which seemed to fall outside illocutionary and stylistic discomfiture. Three of them referred to the inadequate choice of topic:

I find it dreadful, if I have to keep listening to my male colleagues complaining about their wives.

I hate the type of JSL students who regularly make a statement which they think is an amusing joke but in fact is boring, and, if I don't appreciate it, start complaining that Japanese people do not understand a joke.

I was offended, when a JSL student suddenly asked me if I had a boyfriend.

Another respondent referred to a failure to observe a participation structure norm:

I don't mind having an argument with a young person, but what annoys me is that young people these days don't want to discuss things with us until a solution or conclusion is found and thus both parties feel happy. Their giving up argument, saying something like "Oh, never mind, it's OK", "It's not important", and "OK, don't worry. You're right", makes me suspect that I may not be worth discussing something serious with.

Yet another referred to an indirect statement as an example of uncomfortable language use:

I don't like people who say things in an indirect way. I want them to say directly, when they request, refuse my request, criticizes me, etc.

Further, one interviewee referred to a prosodic feature and another to grammatical inaccuracy in speech

by JSL learners as examples of uncomfortable linguistic behaviour.

2) About people's conception of what constitutes the discomfiture resulting from failure to use an honorific form

It was explicitly confirmed that none of the interviewees would find it uncomfortable if a speaker did not

switch to use an honorific form in a context where the mitigation of a discourteous illocutionary force is

necessary. All the interviewees who mentioned a failure in the choice of honorific/new forms clarified

that they meant a failure to comply with a stylistic norm. Further, all the ten interviewees clearly denied

the possibility that they would find it uncomfortable if someone fails either to choose an honorific form

or to avoid using a new form for the purpose of the mitigation of the illocutionary force of an utterance.

When I asked them if they would find it particularly uncomfortable if someone did not switch from Plain

to Formal SM in a context of requesting, apologizing and criticizing, they responded:

No, not particularly.

No, I won't. The discomfiture caused by non-use of an honorific form has nothing to do with the content of the conversation.

3) About people's conception of importance/discomfiture association.

Two interviewees referred exclusively to failure in management of an illocutionary force, as examples

of uncomfortable language use, while they referred exclusively to the use of honorific forms for stylistic politeness, as examples of language use they thought they are careful about. (In contrast, no interviewee referred exclusively to failure to use an honorific form, as examples of uncomfortable language use, while referring to the management of an illocutionary force, as examples of language use they thought they were careful about.) The two interviewees were encouraged to comment on their own reactions to my two questions: one about language use they find uncomfortable, and the other about language use they think they are careful about.

Resulting comments indicate that their conception of the language use they are careful about has nothing to do with the seriousness of discomfiture that a failure to perform the language use is likely to generate. One stated that, when she was asked to give an example of language use she would be careful about, she immediately thought of the enhancement and maintenance of the image others may have of her:

Oh, yes, (laughter) funny wasn't I, having mentioned something as an example of uncomfortable language use, and never mentioned it as an example of what I'm careful about? I never thought about it, though. How interesting! (After contemplation) Well, I think, when I was asked about language use that I would be careful about, I first thought of my self image in which I should be a proper adult professional. So I thought of the aspect of language in which a fault would damage my own professional career, as it would reveal my lack of professional experience. Only as a secondary point, I thought of the aspect in which a fault might hurt the other person. It may be because I'm suffering from the difficulty in using honorific forms properly at the moment that I mentioned proper use of honorific forms as the aspect that I feel I need to be careful about.

The other referred to her own conception of the meaning of "being careful about one's own language use":

I thought of nothing else than proper use of honorific forms, when I was asked to talk about what I was careful about. Perhaps I'm in a special situation now, but I think I would mention honorific forms as what I am careful about. I would have thought of something else, if you asked when and how I would be considerate (*ki-o-kubaru*) towards the other person. [This interviewee had been employed at a language school for two months as a section chief directing a group of teachers and secretaries. Most of them were older than herself.]

Again, results from interviews with only ten respondents cannot be regarded as

representative of the majority of native speakers. Nevertheless, the qualitative data, as a whole, seems to reinforce the quantitative data results from Studies 1 and 2. It suggests that native speakers are not as likely to find failure in the choice of honorific/new forms to be as uncomfortable as they are to think they are careful about it. It also suggests that native speakers are not as likely to think they are careful about the management of illocutionary force as they are to find failure in it to be uncomfortable.

The qualitative data suggest that native speakers do not tend to regard the use of honorific forms as a means of communicating illocutionary politeness but exclusively of communicating stylisic politeness.

With regard to native speakers' own conceptions of the importance/discomfiture association, qualitative data from the interviews suggests that there is no interrelation between the two, and that native speakers' high evaluation of the importance of honorific politeness comes from a factor unrelated to the discomfiture caused by a failure in the use of such forms.

4.5   Conclusion of Studies 1 and 2

Studies 1 and 2 were conducted to explore the association between how important native speakers evaluate honorific politeness and how strong discomfiture they feel when someone fails to adequately communicate it. Quantitative and qualitative data results from these studies indicate that university students are likely to think they are most careful about the communication of honorific politeness, while they do not tend to find a breach of this type of politeness as particularly uncomfortable. It is also shown that a similar but less conspicuous tendency is observed with non-students.

The studies also suggest a difference between university students and non-students in the perception of the importance of honorific politeness: university students seem more likely than non-students both to be careful about its communication and to find failure to communicate it uncomfortable.

Further, qualitative data results from the studies suggest that native speakers tend to regard the use of honorific forms as a means of exclusively communicating stylistic politeness.

Finally, qualitative data from Study 2 suggest that native speakers are likely to believe that the importance of conveying honorific politeness has nothing to do with the degree to which failure to communicate honorific politeness is perceived to be uncomfortable. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative results from Studies 1 and 2 suggest native speakers are likely to think they are most careful about the communication of stylistic politeness through the use of honorific forms, while they do not tend to find a breach of this type of politeness to be particularly uncomfortable.

Chapter 5: STUDY 3

5.1   Introduction

In a similar way to Study 2, Study 3 attempted to explore the issue of discomfiture resulting from a breach of linguistic politeness. However, unlike Study 2, which investigated degree of discomfiture, Study 3 focused on the types (or nature) of such discomfiture. When one type of inappropriate linguistic behaviour is found to be more uncomfortable than another, two explanations are theoretically possible. One possibility is that the first kind of behaviour causes discomfiture which is stronger in degree but the same in type as the discomfiture caused by the other kind of behaviour. The other possibility is that it causes discomfiture which is stronger in degree and different in type from that caused by the other behaviour. More generally, discomfiture resulting from inappropriate linguistic behaviour could be ranked on a single scale with "extremely comfortable" and "extremely uncomfortable" at the two ends. Or, it could differ both in degree and in type, and, therefore, there could be several different axes of discomfiture on which the discomfiture caused by various types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour could be ranked.

Comments by informants for PQD-2 in the pilot study for Study 2 suggest that the latter possibility is the case, since some informants indicated that the discomfiture caused by some types of inappropriate language use can vary in terms of type of discomfiture and that therefore they found it impossible to judge which was more uncomfortable (see 4.4.1.2). Study 3 was an attempt to discover whether the claim made in these comments can be verified and, if so, how these types of discomfiture differ from one another. The results from Study 3 were expected to reveal whether and how the discomfiture resulting from breaches of honorific politeness differs in nature from that resulting from breaches of other types of politeness.

5.2   Methodology for Study 3

5.2.1   Methods for Study 3

To explore whether and how inappropriate linguistic behaviour causes different types of discomfiture, Study 3 gathered statistical data about whether and how native speakers use different **Evaluative Expressions** to describe the discomfiture they perceive when confronted with different types of inappropriate language use. In other words, it attempted to classify discomfiture by examining the evaluative expressions people are likely to employ to refer to uncomfortable feelings.

The main means of data collection in Study 3 was a questionnaire in which subjects were asked to indicate whether or not they would use a particular evaluative expression to refer to the uncomfortable feeling resulting from examples of inappropriate linguistic behaviour. These responses were then statistically processed. To supplement the statistical data from the questionnaire, a small amount of qualitative data were collected by means of semi-structured interviews. I used university students (as my main sample) and non-students (as my supplementary sample) as subjects for the questionnaire, and JSL teachers for the interviews for Study 3, for the same reasons as in Studies 1 and 2.

Since there had been no previous attempt (to my knowledge) to classify discomfiture by type, a pilot study was necessary to check the validity of the methods as well as to obtain information necessary for designing the questionnaire.

5.2.2   Pilot study

The pilot study for Study 3, PS-3, was conducted with the same seventy-nine university-student informants that I used for PS-1 and PS-2, and was designed to obtain information about the following three points. Firstly, it was obviously necessary to examine the validity of the assumptions that there is diversity in the types of discomfiture caused by inappropriate linguistic behaviour, and that native speakers employ different evaluative expressions to differentiate among different types of discomfiture.

The second aim of PS-3 was to identify suitable evaluative expressions; this was necessary because there had been no similar attempts in the study of linguistic politeness (as far as I know), and therefore there are no sets of evaluative expressions which I could use for my questionnaire without an examination of their validity. A careful investigation was essential, especially into what lexis the generation of native speakers to which the subjects belong would actually use in their everyday life to refer to the possibly different types of feeling, so that expressions they use productively (rather than simply recognize passively) could be selected for use in the questionnaire. Otherwise, the results from the questionnaire could be of little validity, as knowledge of passive vocabulary is normally much vaguer than that of active vocabulary, and thus the informants' reactions to the passive words would provide only a vague reflection of their perceptions.

Finally, the items of inappropriate linguistic behaviour to be presented in the questionnaire needed to be as realistic and familiar to the subjects and as concrete as possible, so that they could easily recall an actual experience that would be very similar to them.

Thus, PS-3 was conducted in order both to test the validity of the basic idea of the questionnaire and to obtain data on which evaluative expressions and items of uncomfortable behaviour should be selected. The whole procedure of PS-3 was fundamentally an attempt to conduct a manual simulation of the classification that was intended to be done by a computerized system in the actual questionnaire.

PS-3 consisted of three stages of group activities conducted by the informants, which may be called **PS-3a**, **PS-3b** and **PS-3c**. PS-3a made use of the data obtained by my previous pilot questionnaire, PQ-2. A sheet, **PS-3a Sheet**, was prepared which showed all the different examples of uncomfortable linguistic behaviour provided by informants in PQ-2. Informants were divided into four groups, and each group was asked to discuss and classify the examples on the PS-3a sheet into a smaller number of classes based on similarities and differences in terms of the nature of the uncomfortable feelings they produce.

Based on results from PS-3a, another sheet, **PS-3b Sheet**, was prepared. It presented eighteen

examples of inappropriate behaviour, which were the ones I selected as the representatives of each of the eighteen classes of uncomfortable behaviour obtained in PS-3a. All informants were given a copy of PS-3b sheet, and instructed to discuss in the four groups what would be a suitable word/expression or words/expressions to specifically refer to the uncomfortable feeling they would perceive with each of the eighteen items of behaviour.

For PS-3c, five out of the seventy-nine informants were selected, based on my assessment of their ability to introspect their own language use. They were asked to classify the words and expressions provided in PS-3b into a smaller number of classes, based on similarities and differences among them in their meaning as they perceive them. Informants were also consulted about the familiarity of certain examples of uncomfortable linguistic behaviour and about wording to refer to them.

I found it most difficult to get my informants to understand the purpose of task PS-3a. Despite repeated explanations of the basis on which I wished the informants to classify the presented examples of behaviour, a considerable number of them kept deviating from my goal. They repeatedly tried to classify behaviour according to criteria such as the identity of the actor of the behaviour, or whether it was verbal or nonverbal behaviour. Further, the few who did try to classify them according to the criteria I gave became more and more confused in the process. It seemed impossible for the informants to come up in the group discussions in PS-3a with a single classification of uncomfortable behaviour with which every one of the informants was perfectly happy. It seemed that the longer they discussed the more confused and indecisive they became.

However, it was clear from the statements made during the discussions in PS-3a that the informants shared a common presupposition that the uncomfortable feelings caused by the different examples of linguistic behaviour are of several different types rather than one single type. Finally, one of the four discussion groups managed to produce a classification of the examples of behaviour based on the nature of the resulting discomfiture, and eighteen classes were obtained.

The discussion in PS-3b showed diversity among the informants in terms of the expressions

they wished to use to refer to the discomfiture resulting from the presented examples of inappropriate behaviour. However, an examination of the words/expressions provided on the PS-3b sheets showed that some words/expressions are unambiguously distinct from others in that they are used to refer exclusively to the uncomfortable effect resulting from particular types of inappropriate behaviour.

Thus, careful study of the informants' performance during PS-3a and PS-3b indicated that, although they were hardly aware of it, native speakers perceive diversity in the types of discomfiture which are caused by different types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour, and also that they distinguish among types of discomfiture and that they use different evaluative expressions to refer to them.

In PS-3c, it seemed hard for the informants to find a selection of evaluative expression every member agreed upon as most suitable for the discomfiture caused by each of the eighteen examples of inappropriate behaviour. However, discussions among them provided sufficient information concerning their generation's perception of the evaluative expressions provided in PS-3b. Further, the informants provided their opinions about the suitability of the eighteen examples of inappropriate behaviour that I had selected and presented in PS-3b, based on their judgement of the familiarity of the mentioned behaviour to university students.

5.2.3   Questionnaire design

The questionnaire, together with the subsequent statistical treatment, was basically an attempt to identify which evaluative expressions can be used to describe the discomfiture caused by various examples of inappropriate linguistic behaviour. In the questionnaire, items of inappropriate behaviour and a number of evaluative expressions were presented to subjects, and subjects were asked to indicate whether or not they thought each of the evaluative expressions was applicable to describe the discomfiture caused by each of the items of linguistic behaviour. On the questionnaire sheet, a grid was shown with evaluative expressions given in the top row and different items of linguistic behaviour listed in the left column: subjects were asked to fill in a circle in the cells of the grid where an item of

behaviour crosses an applicable expression (or an applicable set of expressions) for it.

The grid in the first version of the questionnaire sheet contained twenty-five items of inappropriate behaviour and eleven evaluative expressions. Of the twenty-five examples of behaviour, eighteen were those which represented each of the eighteen classes obtained from PS-3a and which I judged to be suitable according to some comments provided in PS-3c. The rest were seven examples of impolite verbal and nonverbal behaviour which I selected from those provided in my former questionnaire used in Oxford and Lancaster (which I discussed in 3.3.6.1). I chose to include nonverbal as well as verbal items of inappropriate behaviour, because I expected thereby to be able to explore whether, and how, verbal and nonverbal inappropriate behaviour could produce similar types of discomfiture.

The evaluative expressions were selected by me based on the observation of the responses to PS-3b sheets and the discussions which the informants conducted while they attempted to produce their responses, as well as on the comments the informants provided on their perception of these expressions in PS-3c. For some types of inappropriate behaviour, it seemed that different people use different expressions to refer to the discomfiture resulting from it, even though they seemed to me to perceive the same type of discomfiture. In such a case, I selected several terms rather than a single one as a set of evaluative expressions to refer to the discomfiture.

After two trials of timing and monitoring, and based on three informants' comments on fatigue, difficulty and amount, the number of items and expressions was reduced: seventeen items of inappropriate behaviour and eight sets of evaluative expressions (including "not uncomfortable" and "others") were finally selected (see below for the final list).

It is important to note that the selection both of items of behaviour and of evaluative expressions was made on the basis of university students' perception of them, and that therefore both of them could be interpreted by non-students in different ways to the university students. In fact, I found my own usage of one of these evaluative expressions (the one labelled (f) in the following list) to be

different from university students' usage of it[1]. It was therefore possible that the results obtained by using the same questionnaire with university students and non-students might not be reliably comparable. However, preparing another version of the questionnaire in which items of uncomfortable language use and evaluative expressions were selected according to non-students' perceptions would have caused an equally difficult problem, since the results from such a questionnaire would also not be reliably comparable with those from the original questionnaire. Thus, the same questionnaire was used for both samples, and this limitation must be borne in mind when making any comparisons between the two sets of results.

Items of inappropriate linguistic behaviour

The items of linguistic behaviour finally presented in the questionnaire were as follows:

Failure in choice of honorific/new forms (5 items):

 3) Someone younger than you talking to you without using Formal SMs at the first meeting

 7) Referring to a teacher's action in a presentation in front of 100 people without using an RSRC

 4) Using new forms indiscriminately regardless of who the other person is

 11) Habitually using slang in speech

 12) Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases

(Apart from these five, Item (15) may also involve failure in choice of an honorific form.)

Failure in management of illocutionary force (8 items):

 5) Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back

 9) Saying "You don't understand such a simple thing? You're not very intelligent," to a person that you are not on close terms with

 2) Using a discriminatory word to refer to a blind person

 15) Saying "Give me water" or "Water!" at a Little-Chef type restaurant

 1) Not apologizing, having broken a borrowed camera

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[1] I myself use the term to mean "brazen" but not "impertinent".

14) Not thanking someone who has helped them

8) Not replying to your greeting, "Good morning"

6) Not answering a question, saying "You won't understand it anyway"

Other types of failure including nonverbal behaviour (4 items):

10) A shop assistant attending to a customer reluctantly

13) Speaking or laughing loudly in the train or on the street

17) Someone yawning while you are talking to him/her

16) In a conversation with four other people, talking for half an hour about something which one of the people knows nothing about

Unfortunately, the descriptions in some of the items were ambiguous in that they did not specify from whose point of view the inappropriate behaviour was to be observed. For example, in Item (5), "Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back", it was not clear whether subjects were asked to describe the discomfiture from the viewpoint of the addressee of the described utterance or from that of the person who was spoken ill of. And in Item (16), "In a conversation with four other people, talking for half an hour about something which one of the participants knows nothing about", it is unclear whether subjects were expected to describe the discomfiture from the point of view of the participant who knows nothing about the matter being discussed, or from the point of view of one of the other addressees (see 5.3.1 for related discussion).

It is likely that linguistic behaviour is perceived differently depending on the point of view from which the discomfiture is observed. However, I did not realize this when I was designing the questionnaire, and so this lack of clarity may have affected the results obtained.

Evaluative expressions

The evaluative expressions (or sets of evaluative expressions) presented in the questionnaire were as follows. Note that the parenthesized translations are the English lexical items which seem to be closest

to the meaning university students described as their perception of the Japanese terms. In the case of (f), no single English expression seems to be equivalent to the expression, since it covers (in the university students' conception of it) both of the notions referred to by the two English terms.

a)   *Mushinkei, donkan* (insensitive)

b)   *Tsumetai, omoiyari-ga nai* (cold, inconsiderate)

c)   *Muchi, osanai, kyooyoo-ga nai* (ignorant, immature, untutored)

d)   *Gehin, sodachi-ga warui* (vulgar, ill-bred)

e)   *Erasoo* (boasting, arrogant)

f)   *Zuuzuushii* (brazen, impertinent)

g)   *Fukai-de-wa nai* (not uncomfortable)

h)   *Sono ta* (other)

5.2.4   Qualitative data collection

While the aim of the questionnaire was to obtain statistical data about a wide range of types of

discomfiture, the interviews attempted to collect qualitative data which would provide a deeper

understanding of the types of discomfiture. Interviewees were asked to provide two kinds of information.

One was further information about the different types of discomfiture felt in relation to various types of

inappropriate behaviour. They were asked to give examples of uncomfortable language use, and to

compare the kinds of discomfiture they perceived in these various situations. The second kind of

information obtained from the interviews was directly related to a main purpose of my research: to

investigate honorific politeness. Interviewees were asked specifically about the types of discomfiture

they felt in relation to inappropriate use of different types of honorific components. They were asked to

compare the discomfiture they might perceive following a failure to use a Formal SM and a Non-Neutral

RSRC in three hypothetical situations, which were selected as examples of the three types of formal

situations where the use of Formal SM and Non-Neutral RSRC is appropriate:

(A) An example of Speaker-Audience setting.

At a JSL conference with an audience of 100, in which the interviewee is participating as a member of the audience, the speaker fails to use a Formal SM and Non-Neutral RSRC to refer to an eminent researcher in JSL teaching (who is not present at the lecture).

(B) An example of Seller-Client setting.

During a business discussion between a travel agent and a customer (i.e. the interviewee) in a travel agency, the agent fails to use a Formal SM and Non-Neutral RSRC to refer to the customer's past travelling experience.

(C) An example of Personal setting with horizontal and vertical social distance between the speaker and the addressee (i.e. the interviewee).

During a conversation between the interviewee and a high school student whom s/he does not know, the student fails to use a Formal SM and Non-Neutral RSRC while asking for the interviewee's opinion about JSL teaching materials.

5.2.5   Administration of the questionnaire and interviews

I conducted Study 3 simultaneously with Studies 1 and 2, and I used the same main samples as for the earlier studies.[2] The details of the distribution among the subjects of the two samples for Study 3 are as follows:

University-student sample

SEX	male:	209
	female:	146
PLACE OF BIRTH	GTA:	240
	other:	112
	no information given:	3
OVERSEAS RESIDENCE	experienced:	28
	non-experienced:	327
AGE RANGE	18 to 28 (average: 21.8)	

Non-student sample

SEX	male:	48
	female:	70

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[2] The number of non-student subjects for Study 3 is lower than for Studies 1 and 2, because 49 of the 167 non-student respondents who completed Studies 1 and 2 did so before I had finalized the wording of Study 3, and were not available when I administered the three studies simultaneously to the rest of my sample.

PLACE OF BIRTH	GTA:	73
	other:	45
OVERSEAS RESIDENCE	experienced:	19
	non-experienced:	99
AGE RANGE	29 to 79 (average: 55.1)	

For the interviews for Study 3, I used the same ten interviewees that I used for the interviews for Studies 1 and 2:

Interviewees

SEX	male:	1
	female:	9
JSL TEACHING EXPERIENCE RANGE	3 months to 4 years (average: 22 months)	
AGE RANGE	23 to 68 (average: 34.5)	
PLACEOF BIRTH	GTA:	7
	other:	3
JSL TEACHER TRAINING	experienced:	9
	non-experienced:	1

5.2.6 Statistical analysis of data

Both the variables in my questionnaire (the items of behaviour and the evaluative expressions) were qualitative rather than quantitative, and could only be expressed on nominal scales. The method which is most commonly selected for the analysis of results from a questionnaire whose variables are nominal is Cluster Analysis. However, this method was unsuitable for my questionnaire because of the design I needed to use. To obtain data which can be analyzed by cluster analysis method, similarity/dissimilarity between variables needs to be indicated. To obtain such correlations among variables, subjects would have had to indicate the degree to which they perceived the evaluative expressions to be applicable to the discomfiture caused by the behaviour for each of the 136 (= 17 multiplied by 8) combinations of the two variables. It would obviously have been impractical, and a method which does not require such

information between variables but analyzes data indicated by qualitative variables was clearly more suitable.

For this reason, I used a computerized multivariate analysis called Chikio Hayashi's Quantitative Theory Type III (Hayashi III, hereafter, following the usual convention) for the statistical analysis of my data from the questionnaire for Study 3. It is a method essentially the same as Correspondence Analysis devised by J.P. Benzecri, which is widely used in Europe, Africa and Central America (Hayashi 1993). The method has been used in many studies which analyze nominal (non-numerical) variables in linguistics (e.g. Inoue 1979, 1985, 1986, 1989 and Mizutani 1980, 1981), as well as in other surveys such as social psychological ones (e.g. Hayashi and Hayashi 1990, Tan 1991, Iwakuma and Makita 1991).

In its original version, Hayashi III calculates the relative closeness/distance among the objects (the categories chosen in the questionnaire) and that among the subjects (the responders to the questionnaire) simultaneously on the basis of their similarity/difference. It assesses the relative closeness/distance among the objects in such a way that those which are chosen by similar subjects are regarded as closer together than those which are not, and at the same time subjects who choose similar objects are regarded as closer together than the ones who do not. (A more detailed introduction of Hayashi III is given in Hayashi 1993.)

However, simultaneous classification of the objects and subjects of a questionnaire is not the only function that Hayashi III can perform. An applicational version of Hayashi III, which has recently come to be called Quantification of Matrices on Bivariate Relationship, was used to analyze the data of my present research. It calculates the relative closeness/distance among the two sets of variables shown in the grid in the questionnaire (instead of the objects and subjects) simultaneously on the basis of their similarity/difference. (For an example of the use of Quantification of Matrices on Bivariate Relationship on linguistic data, see Inoue 1979.) Thus, this applicational version of Hayashi III was used in the analysis of the data to classify the items of uncomfortable behaviour and the evaluative

expressions given in the grid.

Two types of interpretation of the statistical results from the analysis of data by Hayashi III are usually attempted. One is to interpret the relative closeness/distance among the variables in question, thereby classifying them into an appropriate number of clusters. The other is to interpret the notions which may be signified by the dimensions on which the closeness/distance is calculated. In the analysis of the data from the questionnaire for Study 3, both types of interpretation were attempted.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Statistical results

The statistical analyses of the matchings between the items of behaviour and the evaluative expressions generated seven dimensions of results. For my analysis, I used the two dimensions which had the highest and the second highest coefficient scores. These scores measure the cumulative variance explained by the total number of dimensions extracted. For the university students' results they were 47.404 and 23.086 respectively, and for the non-students' results they were 43.132 and 22.592 respectively. The items of inappropriate behaviour and the evaluative expressions were both plotted onto these two dimensions, as values on the x- and y-axes respectively.

University students' results

354 university students responded to the questionnaire for Study 3. The relative closeness/distance among the items of linguistic behaviour and the evaluative expressions are illustrated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, respectively. The following four distinctive clusters were identified, on the basis of my judgement, among the kinds of the discomfiture caused by the items of inappropriate behaviour. The characteristics of each cluster of discomfiture were interpreted by referring to the corresponding evaluative expressions.

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Figure 5.1

(3)Using no Formal SMs to a vertically and horizontally distant addressee

(4)Using new forms indiscriminately

(7)Using no Exalting RSRCs to refer to a teacher in front of 100 people

(11) Habitually using slang

(12) Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases

(13)Speaking/laughing loudly in public

(17)Yawning

(5)Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back

CLUSTER1

CLUSTER2

CLUSTER3

CLUSTER4

(15)"Give me water"/"Water!" at a Little Chef

(14) Not thanking

(1)Not apologizing

(10)A reluctant shop assistant

(9)"You're not very intelligent"

(6)"You won't understand it anyway"

(8)Not replying to "Good morning"

(2)Using a discriminatory word

(16)Talking about something a participant knows nothing about

Figure 5.1 Relative distance among items of inappropriate behaviour, as perceived by university students

Figure 5.2

BRAZEN/IMPERTINENT

VULGAR/ILL-BRED

ARROGANT

IGNORANT/IMMATURE/ UNTUTORED

COLD/INCONSIDERATE

(NOT UNCOMFORTABLE)

(OTHER)

INSENSITIVE
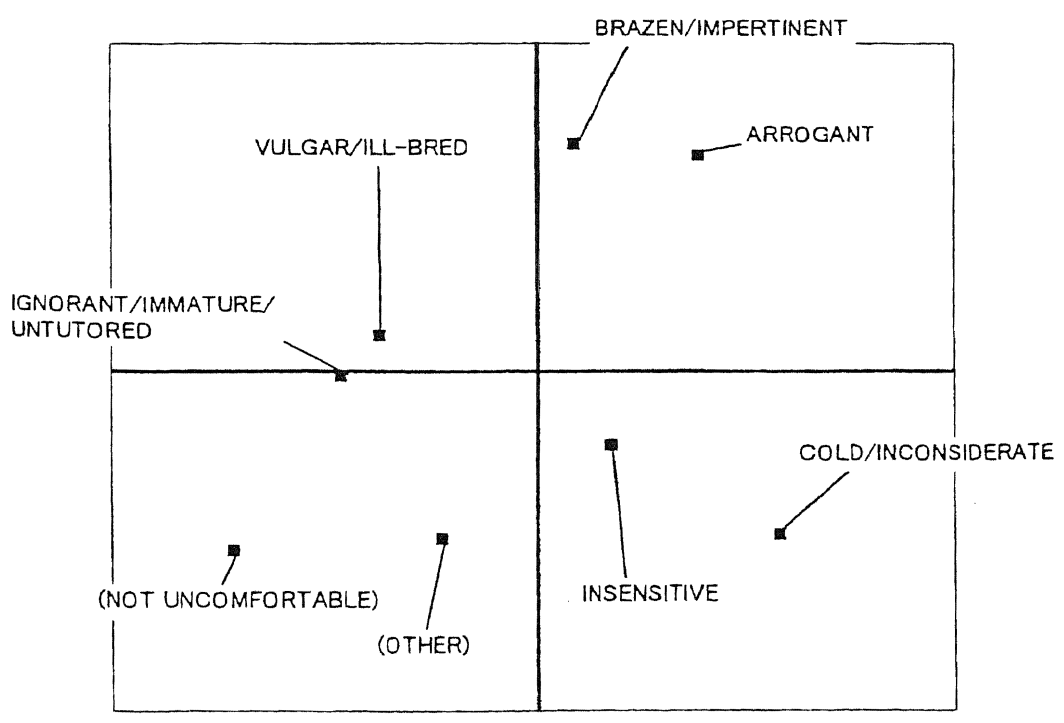
Figure 5.2 Relative distance among evaluative expressions, as perceived by university students

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Cluster 1:

12) Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases
11) Habitually using slang in speech
7) Referring to a teacher's action without using a RSRC in a class presentation in front of 100 people
4) Using new forms indiscriminately regardless who the other person is

Discomfiture resulting from this cluster of behaviour consists of feelings close to "vulgar, ill-bred" and "ignorant, immature, untutored", which are feelings significantly close to one another, but are also closer to "not uncomfortable" than any other cluster of discomfiture.

Cluster 2:

3) Someone younger than you talking to you without using a Formal SM at the first meeting
15) Saying "Give me water" or "Water!" at a Little-Chef type restaurant

Discomfiture resulting from this cluster of behaviour is a mixture of the feelings "brazen, impertinent" with an element of "vulgar, ill-bred".

Cluster 3:

17) Someone yawning while you are talking to him/her
5) Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back
2) Using a discriminatory word to refer to a blind person

Discomfiture resulting from this cluster of behaviour consists of feelings close to "insensitive" with some other element and also fairly close to "not uncomfortable".

Cluster 4:

14) Not thanking when being helped
1) Not apologizing, having broken a borrowed camera
10) A shop assistant attending a customer reluctantly
8) Not replying to your greeting, "Good morning"
9) Saying "You don't understand such a simple thing? You're not very intelligent" to a person that you are not on close terms with
6) Not answering a question, saying "You wouldn't understand it anyway"

Discomfiture resulting from this cluster of behaviour is a mixture of the feelings "arrogant", "brazen, impertinent" and "insensitive", and is furthest from "not uncomfortable".

(The following two items did not seem to have another member close enough to form a cluster.)

13) Speaking or laughing loudly in the train or on the street
16) In a conversation with four other people, talking for half an hour about something which one of the people knows nothing about

Interpretation of the significance of the first and second dimensions (which are reflected in the values on the *x*-axis and *y*-axis, respectively) provided further information about the differences

between the various kinds of discomfiture resulting from different clusters of inappropriate behaviour. The x-axis arranges evaluative expressions such as "ignorant, immature, untutored" and "vulgar, ill-bred" towards one end and expressions such as "cold, inconsiderate" and "arrogant" at the other. Therefore, the first dimension, which is reflected by the x-axis, can be interpreted as signifying whether the discomfiture is related to carelessness and lack of training or to an intentional malice, and therefore may be called the **Intentionality Axis**. Further, the x-axis arranges "not uncomfortable" at the most unintentional end, and this implies that the axis also signifies the degree of seriousness of discomfiture.

The y-axis, on the other hand, arranges "cold, inconsiderate" at one end and "brazen, impertinent" and "arrogant" at the other. This does not seem to provide an obvious interpretation of the meaning of the y-axis. However, a close examination of how this axis arranges the examples of inappropriate behaviour appears to suggest one. Items arranged towards the bottom end along this axis are:

16) In a conversation with four other people, talking about something which one of the people knows nothing about
17) Someone yawning while you are talking to him/her
2) Using a discriminatory word to refer to a blind person
5) Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back

Those arranged towards the top end of this axis are:

15) Saying "Give me water" or "Water!" at a Little-Chef type restaurant
3) Someone younger than you talking to you without using a Formal SM at the first meeting
1) Not apologizing, having broken a borrowed camera
10) A shop assistant attending a customer reluctantly

It seems that the following distinctions can be made between the latter and former groups of behaviour. In the case of the latter behaviour, it is reasonable to assume that the behaviour is likely to cause personal offence, and the offence is aimed at the addressee (or all addressees). In Items (15), (3), (1) and (10), the behaviour is likely to cause personal offence, and it is most likely to be the addressee of the utterance(s) (i.e. the waiter/waitress, a subject to the questionnaire, the person (or all persons) who would be apologized to and a customer (or all customers) the shop assistant is reluctantly serving,

respectively), rather than any other participant, who feels the offence personally.

In the case of the former behaviour, on the other hand, the behaviour does not necessarily cause personal offence to any participant (as, for example, in the case of Item (17)). If it does cause personal offence, it is not necessarily all addressees but only some of them (as in Item (16)), and it is not necessarily the addressee but may be a third party who feels the personal offence (as in the case of Item (5)). Similarly, in Item (2), the behaviour is likely to offend someone personally, but the person who perceives the personal offence is not necessarily the addressee but may be a third party.

The question I need to address now is why the behaviour arranged towards the top end of the y-axis is indicated as generating discomfiture close to "brazen, impertinent" while that arranged at the bottom end is shown to generate discomfiture closer to "cold, inconsiderate", even though both sets of behaviour can cause personal offence. As I discussed in 5.2.3, descriptions of linguistic behaviour in some items including (1), (10), (16), (17), (2) and (5) are ambiguous in terms of the point of view from which the behaviour should be evaluated, and it is not clear whose perception of the discomfiture is reflected in the statistical results concerning the behaviour referred to in such descriptions. However, assuming that subjects described discomfiture resulting from behaviour described in all items from the viewpoint of the addressee, and thus assuming that the statistical results reflect the addressee's perception of discomfiture in all cases, this seems to provide an explanation for the difference between the perception of discomfiture resulting from the two groups of behaviour.

If discomfiture is described from the addressee's point of view in all cases, it seems intuitively natural that behaviour which is likely to cause personal offence towards the addressee and that which is likely to cause personal offence to other participants are distinguished in terms of the degree of personal offensiveness. Since the arrangement of the behaviour along the y-axis corresponds to this distinction, it seems reasonable to assume that the statistical data reflects the addressee's perception of the discomfiture caused by the items of behaviour. Based on this assumption, I interpret the y-axis as indicating personal offensiveness, and therefore might be labelled **Personal-offensiveness Axis**.

Obviously, this is a tentative interpretation of this axis, and it is necessary to verify that behaviour which can be personally-offensive to a particular participant is not perceived by other participants as personally offensive, before I could confirm my interpretation of the y-axis.

The y-axis also arranges "not uncomfortable" at the least personally-offensive end, and this implies that this axis also signifies the degree of seriousness of discomfiture.

Close examination of the arrangement along the two axes provides further information about the types of discomfiture. Along the intentionality axis, items of language use which fail in the choice of new and honorific forms (Items (12) (11) (7) and (4)) appear at the most unintentional end and those which fail to mitigate the discourteous impact of the illocutionary force (Item (6)) at the most intentional end. Therefore intentionality can be interpreted as corresponding to the cline from the stylistic to the illocutionary type of discomfiture. On the other hand, the personal-offensiveness axis by definition corresponds to the cline from the ER (Eyebrow-Raising) type (which is the less personally-offensive type) to the FT (Face-Threatening) type of discomfiture (which is the more personally-offensive type).

Based on these interpretations of the meaning of the two dimensions, the difference between the discomfiture caused by the four clusters of inappropriate linguistic behaviour can be interpreted as corresponding to the difference between my four categories of discomfiture. Namely, Cluster 1 seems to correspond to SER-discomfiture, Cluster 2 to SFT-discomfiture, Cluster 3 to IER-discomfiture, and Cluster 4 to IFT-discomfiture. This in turn provides the following information about the relationship between the nature of the four types of discomfiture, as perceived by university students:

1. Stylistic and illocutionary discomfiture are not separate types with a fixed borderline between them. Instead, they constitute a gradation from more stylistic types to more illocutionary types of discomfiture. Similarly, FT-discomfiture and ER-discomfiture also constitute a continuum from more FT to more ER types of discomfiture.

2. Stylistic discomfiture is related more to ignorance, whereas illocutionary discomfiture is associated

more with intentionality. Since the intentionality axis corresponds to the strength of discomfiture, the more illocutionary the discomfiture is, the more serious it is.

3. SFT- and SER-discomfiture are alike in that both are less intentional than IFT- and IER-discomfiture, but they differ in that SFT- discomfiture is both more intentional and more personally-offensive than SER-discomfiture.

4. IFT- and IER-discomfiture are alike in that both are generally more intentional than SFT- and SER-discomfiture, but they differ in that IFT-discomfiture is more personally-offensive than IER-discomfiture.

5. Some non-verbal behaviour can generate discomfiture which is similar or close in type to stylistic and illocutionary discomfiture.

Finally, concerning the type of discomfiture resulting from breaches of honorific politeness, the results of the multivariate analysis of the university students' responses indicate that failure in the use of honorific forms can cause more than one type of discomfiture. For example, Item (7) is shown as causing SER- discomfiture, while Items (3) and (15) are shown as generating SFT-discomfiture.

Non-students' results

118 non-students responded to the questionnaire for Study 3. The relative closeness/distance among the items of linguistic behaviour and among the evaluative expressions is shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4 respectively. The following four clusters (which I call **N-S-Clusters** in order to distinguish them from the university students' clusters) were identified among the items of inappropriate behaviour, on the basis of my own subjective judgement.

N-S-Cluster 1
12) Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases
11) Habitually using slang in speech
 7) Referring to a teacher's action without using a RSRC in a class presentation in front of 100 people
 4) Using new forms indiscriminately regardless who the other person is
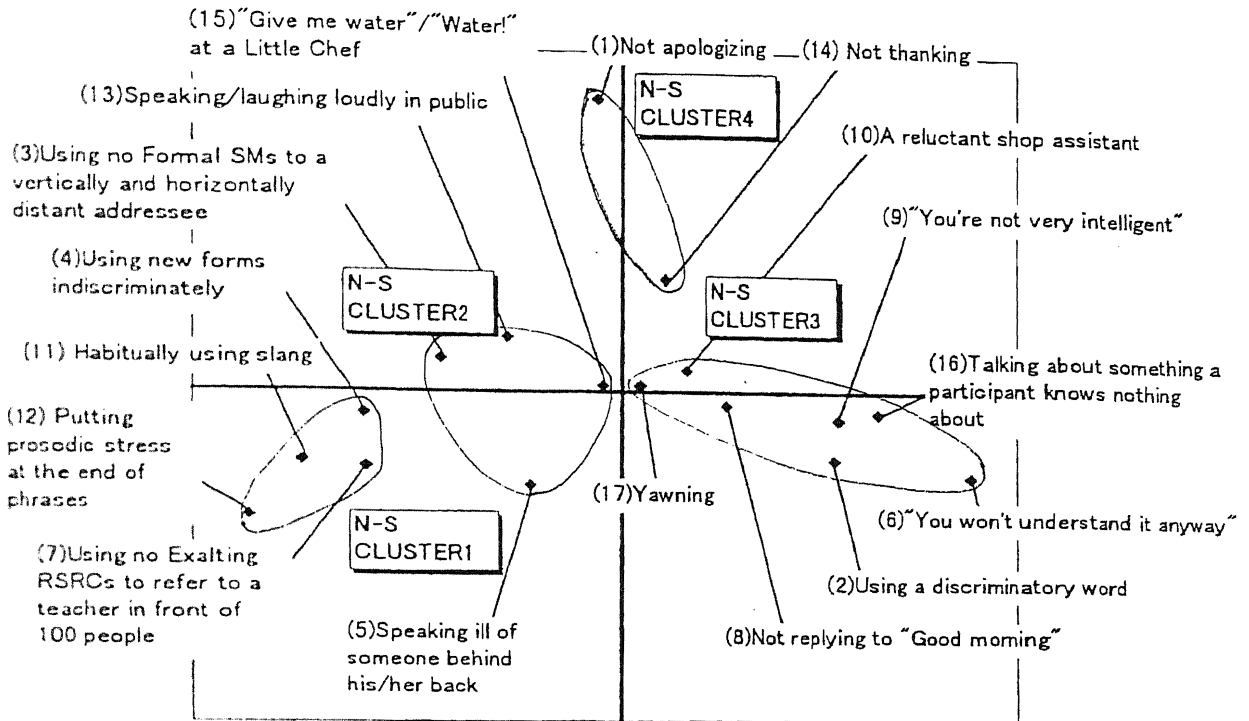
Figure 5.3 Relative distance among items of inappropriate behaviour, as perceived by non-students

The labels in Figure 5.3 are:

(15)"Give me water"/"Water!" at a Little Chef
(13)Speaking/laughing loudly in public
(3)Using no Formal SMs to a vertically and horizontally distant addressee
(4)Using new forms indiscriminately
(11) Habitually using slang
(12) Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases
(7)Using no Exalting RSRCs to refer to a teacher in front of 100 people
(5)Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back
(1)Not apologizing
(14) Not thanking
(10)A reluctant shop assistant
(9)"You're not very intelligent"
(16)Talking about something a participant knows nothing about
(17)Yawning
(6)"You won't understand it anyway"
(2)Using a discriminatory word
(8)Not replying to "Good morning"

N-S CLUSTER4
N-S CLUSTER2
N-S CLUSTER3
N-S CLUSTER1

Figure 5.4 Relative distance among evaluative expressions, as perceived by non-students

The labels in Figure 5.4 are:

BRAZEN/IMPERTINENT
INSENSITIVE
ARROGANT
VULGAR/ILL-BRED
(NOT UNCOMFORTABLE)
COLD/INCONSIDERATE
IGNORANT/IMMATURE/UNTUTORED
(OTHER)

N-S-Cluster 2:

3) Someone younger than you talking to you without using a Formal SM at the first meeting
13) Speaking or laughing loudly in the train or on the street
5) Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back
15) Saying "Give me water" or "Water!" to you, a waiter/waitress, at a Little-Chef type restaurant

N-S-Cluster 3:

17) Someone yawning while you are talking to him/her
10) A shop assistant attending a customer reluctantly
8) Not replying to your greeting, "Good morning"
2) Using a discriminatory word to refer to a blind person
9) Saying "You don't understand such a simple thing? You're not very intelligent" to a person that you are not on close terms with
16) In a conversation with four other people, talking for half an hour about something which one of the people knows nothing about
6) Not answering a question, saying "You won't understand it anyway"

N-S-Cluster 4:

1) Not apologizing, having broken a borrowed camera,
14) Not thanking when being helped,

Interpretation of the meaning of the first and second dimensions provided further information

about the differences between the various kinds of discomfiture resulting from different clusters of

inappropriate behaviour. As is the case with the results from the university students' responses, the x-

axis in the non-students' results places evaluative expressions such as "ignorant, immature, untutored"

and "vulgar, ill-bred" towards one end and those such as "cold, inconsiderate" and "arrogant" towards

the other end. Therefore, as in the university students' case, the first dimension can be interpreted as

signifying intentionality. Furthermore, along the intentionality axis, failure in the choice of new and

honorific forms (Items (12), (11), (4) and (7)) appear at the most unintentional end and failure to

manage the illocutionary force (Item (6)) at the other end, as with the university students' results.

Therefore, this intentionality can be interpreted to correspond, as in the students' case, to the cline from

stylistic to illocutionary discomfiture. And as with the university students, this axis seems to represent

the degree of seriousness of the discomfiture, as "not uncomfortable" appears at the most unintentional

end.

The distribution of items of behaviour and of evaluative expressions along the y-axis also

shows a similar pattern to that in the university students' results. Item (12) "Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases" and Item (5) "Speaking ill of someone behind his/her back" appear at the bottom end together with the evaluative expressions "cold, inconsiderate" and "not uncomfortable". Towards the top end, Item (1) "Not apologizing, having broken a borrowed camera" and Item (14) "Not thanking when being helped" appear together with the evaluative expressions "brazen, impertinent". Further, similar to the students' case, the types of behaviour placed towards the top end along the y-axis are likely to be perceived as personally offensive by the addressee, whereas the ones placed towards the bottom end are not. Therefore, within the assumption that the statistical results reflect the addressees' perception of discomfiture resulting from these examples of inappropriate linguistic behaviour, the y-axis arranges items and evaluative expressions depending on the degree to which discomfiture is associated with personal offensiveness.

On the basis of these interpretations of the meaning of the two dimensions, it is possible, similar to the students' case, to regard the difference between the discomfiture resulting from the four N-S-Clusters of inappropriate behaviour as corresponding to that between my four categories of discomfiture. In other words, N-S-Cluster 1 can be regarded as corresponding to SER-discomfiture, N-S-Cluster 2 to SFT-discomfiture, N-S-Cluster 3 to IER-discomfiture, and N-S-Cluster 4 to IFT-discomfiture. So I suggest that the different types of discomfiture can be analysed as follows (all the points are the same as for the university students' results, except for no. 3 which is very slightly different):

1. Stylistic and illocutionary discomfiture are not separate type with a fixed borderline between them. Instead, they constitute a gradation from more stylistic types to more illocutionary types of discomfiture. Similarly, FT-discomfiture and ER-discomfiture also constitute a continuum from more FT to more ER types of discomfiture.

2. Stylistic discomfiture is related more to ignorance, whereas illocutionary discomfiture is associated more with intentionality. Since the intentionality axis corresponds to the strength of discomfiture, the

more illocutionary the discomfiture is, the more serious it is.

3. SFT- and SER-discomfiture are alike in that both are less intentional than IFT- and SER-discomfiture, but they differ in that SFT- discomfiture is more intentional (and slightly more personally-offensive) than SER-discomfiture.

4. IFT- and IER-discomfiture are alike in that both are more intentional than SFT- and SER-discomfiture, but they differ in that IFT-discomfiture is more personally-offensive than IER-discomfiture.

5. Some non-verbal behaviour can generate discomfiture which is similar or close in type to stylistic and illocutionary discomfiture.

As in the students' case, the results of multivariate analysis of the non-students' responses indicate that failure in the use of honorific forms can cause more than one type of discomfiture; for example, Item (7) is shown as causing SER- discomfiture, while Items (3) and (15) are shown as generating SFT-discomfiture.

A comparison of the multivariate analysis results from both groups of native speakers shows the following points concerning the differences between university students' and non-students' perception of these categories of discomfiture:

1. Non-students tend to evaluate SFT-discomfiture caused by the inappropriate use of honorific forms as more intentional but not significantly more personally-offensive than SER-discomfiture, whereas university students tend to evaluate it as considerably more personally-offensive as well as more intentional than SER-discomfiture. Consequently, for non-students, IFT-discomfiture is more personally-offensive than SFT-discomfiture (and, in fact, is the most personally-offensive type of discomfiture among the four types), whereas, for university students, SFT-discomfiture is more personally-offensive than IFT-discomfiture (and, in fact, is the most personally-offensive type of discomfiture).

2. Non-students tend to evaluate IFT-discomfiture as being as equally personally-offensive as SER- and SFT-discomfiture, whereas university students tend to evaluate it as considerably less personally-offensive than SER- and IFT-discomfiture.

5.3.2   Qualitative data results

The qualitative data provided two categories of information: 1) information about different types of discomfiture resulting from inappropriate linguistic behaviour, and 2) information about the different types of discomfiture generated by the failure to use a Formal SM or a Non-Neutral RSRC in different formal situations.

1) Comments on different types of discomfiture resulting from inappropriate linguistic behaviour

The six interviewees who referred to both honorific forms and illocutionary force as examples of uncomfortable language use were encouraged to describe their uncomfortable feelings. The interviewees stated that a failure in the management of illocutionary force causes a serious type of discomfiture; they used expressions such as *kachin-to-kita* (personally offensive), *atama-gonashi* (tactlessly refusing) and *hara-ga tatta* (angry) to describe illocutionary discomfiture:

> When I was criticized on the phone by a customer who used an impolite expression, I felt personally offended (*kachin-to kita*).

> The bureaucrat's refusal [of my application for grant] annoyed me, because he did so in a tactless and blunt way (*atama-gonashi*).

> When a JSL student abruptly asked me if I had a boyfriend, I got angry (*hara-ga tatta*).

On the other hand, one interviewee described the discomfiture caused by a subordinate's failure in the choice of a Formal SM:

> When a junior JSL teacher used [Plain SMs] at our the first meeting, I felt fairly offended (*kanari iya-na kanji*).

Some informants stated that a failure in the choice of honorific/new forms and other breaches of stylistic

politeness are much less serious because they are less personally-offensive and only unsophisticated,

using adjectives such as *soya* (unsophisticated), *iwakan-ga aru* (not smooth, incongruous), *mimi-zawari*

(irritating), *shitsuke-ga yokunai* (untutored) and *hin-ga nai* (vulgar):

> Someone who uses Plain SMs at the first meeting can be uncomfortable, but it only sounds unsophisticated (*soya*).

> [Young people's use of new words] can be irritating (*mimi-zawari*), but I think I'm getting used to it and I'm less likely to find it uncomfortable now.

> When I hear a JSL learner use a Plain SM while they are talking to me, I don't feel offended, but feel "Oops, what is it? what does he mean?".

> I find [the use of regional dialect by a shop assistant in a department store in Okayama] incongruous (*iwakan-ga aru*), although it is not seriously uncomfortable at all.

> A girl speaking that way [i.e. putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases] sounds vulgar and ill-bred, though it doesn't offend me.

Some added comments in which they seem to provide their own interpretation of the source of the

discomfiture they perceived with inappropriate linguistic behaviour:

> I wouldn't mind their speaking like that [i.e. putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases] while they talk to one another, but I wish they knew how to speak more properly in a formal situation.

> A failure to use an honorific form properly just indicates lack of training and experience on the part of the speaker, but saying such a nasty thing is a completely different kind of problem. It makes me suspect that the speaker of such an utterance could have some personal fault.

2) Comments on different types of discomfiture resulting from inappropriate use of honorific forms in different situations

The interviewees' comments also revealed people's responses to the discomfiture resulting from a

failure to use a Formal SM and Non-Neutral RSRC in the three hypothetical formal situations: (A) a

Speaker-Audience interchange in an academic presentation, (B) a Seller-Client interchange at a travel

agency, and (C) a Personal interchange in which a high school student talks to an adult whom s/he has

never met before. In the following report of the qualitative data collection, I use **Failure in SM (F in**

SM in Table 5.1) for a failure to use a Formal SM and **Failure in RSRC** (**F in RSRC** in Table 5.1) for a failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC.

The interviewees varied both in terms of the situation in which they found the failure to use an honorific form to be most seriously offensive and in terms of the type of honorific form whose non-use they found to be uncomfortable. Table 5.1 shows the seriousness of the offensiveness they stated they perceived with each type of inappropriate use of an honorific form. The judgement whether an interviewee perceived discomfiture which was "seriously offensive" (FT), "not seriously offensive but noticeable" (ER) or "not uncomfortable" (-) is based on my intuitive interpretation of the terms which the interviewees used and the facial and other non-verbal expressions which accompanied their comments. Some interviewees stated which type of inappropriate use of an honorific form they found the most uncomfortable among the six cases, and this is indicated in the table by an asterisk (*).

Table 5.1 Types of discomfiture interviewees perceived towards non-use of honorific forms in different situations

Interview-ees (age)	(A) Acad. Presentation		(B) Travel Agent		(C)Younger Speaker	
	F in SM	F in RSRC	F in SM	F in RSRC	F in SM	F in RSRC
1 (23)	ER	ER	FT*	ER	ER	ER
10 (23)	ER	ER	FT*	ER	ER	ER
3 (26)	ER	ER	FT*	ER	-	-
5 (26)	FT	ER	FT*	-	FT	-
9 (27)	ER	ER	ER	-	-	-
8 (28)	ER	ER	FT*	-	FT	ER
2 (33)	-	-	FT	ER	FT*	ER
7 (41)	ER	ER	ER	-	FT	-
4 (50)	ER	ER	FT*	FT	ER	-
6 (68)	ER	-	ER*	-	ER	-

FT : Seriously offensive
ER : Not seriously offensive but uncomfortable
- : Not uncomfortable
* : The most uncomfortable among the cases.

In spite of the variety of responses, however, the following three patterns were discovered. For each pattern, I report all the interviewees' comments in the order in which they appear in Table 5.1.

a) In the hypothetical situation of a speech at a conference on JSL teaching in which the speaker refers to an eminent specialist in the field (Situation (A)), no interviewees regarded failure in RSRC as seriously offensive, and only one regarded failure in SM as seriously offensive:

I find failure in RSRC to be embarrassing, and failure in SM to be very surprising.

The cause of the failure in RSRC is likely to be just because s/he is not sufficiently experienced in speaking in such a formal situation, although s/he may well know that s/he should use one. His/her failure in SM can be felt to be slightly more seriously uncomfortable (*iya-na kanji*), and perhaps disrespectful, compared to failure in RSRC.

Failure in RSRC makes the speech incongruous (*iwakan-ga aru*), because an adult should follow the way which is supposed to be normal in such a situation. I would find him/her lacking in social awareness or linguistic manners. Failure in SM would make me describe the speaker as very unusual and very much lacking in social awareness.

Failure in RSRC is not offensive but only strange. Failure in SM makes me feel angry and insulted.

Failure in RSRC will make the speech not formal enough and therefore incongruous. I find failure in SM to be very incongruous, and it is more uncomfortable, and perhaps slightly offending.

I'd feel concerned about a speaker who makes a failure in RSRC in such a situation, because s/he is likely to cause friction in personal relations by his/her speech, although such behaviour would not offend me at all. His/her failure in SM would make the speech sound high-handed (*takabisha*), abnormal (*iyoo*) and perhaps slightly insulting (*baka-ni shite-ru*), and I'd suspect something was wrong in the speaker's learning of social and linguistic skills. But, if s/he is a prominent speaker, it may be another story, because a famous person is likely to be socially allowed to be arrogant in public.

I'd find failure in RSRC to be unusual but not especially uncomfortable. Failure in SM may make me think the speaker is an extremely determined person, maintaining his/her own style, against what is accepted as the normal practice.

If a speaker at such a conference, who must be a specialist in JSL teaching, made a failure in RSRC, I would describe him/her as wrong (*machiga-tte-iru*) - or it may be a slip of tongue. His/her failure in SM would surprise me even more, but not upset me, because it is not aimed at me personally (*watashi-ni-wa furikakar-a-nai*). It would just be incongruous.

Failure in RSRC would make me feel ill-at-ease (*ki-ni naru*), but I can accept it, thinking: "Oh, this is how this person uses language and s/he simply lacks courtesy." I might also think s/he is on close terms with the person s/he's talking about [i.e. the referent of the word] or that, if s/he is a young person, s/he may not have been strictly educated at home. Failure in SM is quite different, and I'd feel sorry for him/her, a person who is not able to use honorific forms properly.

If the speaker was young, I'd think just ignorance was the cause of the failure in RSRC, but, if s/he was an adult, I'd find it embarrassing (*okashii*). His/her failure in SM is clearly embarrassing (*tottemo okashii*), and it can be more serious (*chotto mondai-ni naru-kamo*) than failure in RSRC.

b) In a hypothetical conversation in which a travel agent discusses a holiday with a client (i.e. the interviewee), in which the travel agent refers to one of the client's past experiences in travelling (Situation (B)), only one interviewee regarded failure in RSRC as seriously offensive, while seven interviewees regarded failure in SM as seriously offensive. Seven interviewees stated that failure in SM in Situation (B) causes the most serious discomfiture among all the cases:

Failure in RSRC is clearly noticeable, but not insulting or offensive. Failure in SM is much more uncomfortable and insulting.

Failure in RSRC would surprise me (*odoroku*), but that's all. Failure in SM while speaking to me, a customer, would make me angry (*hara-ga tatsu*).

I'd certainly notice the failure in RSRC, but I wouldn't find it offensive. It is within the range of the normal way of speech. Failure in SM is a different story. I'd feel angry (*hara-ga tats-u*). I think a [Seller] who uses [Plain SM] to a customer does so because s/he thinks that speaking to a customer in a friendly manner can be accepted as desirable, which I personally hate. I think a [seller] should behave appropriately as a subordinate to a customer.

Failure in RSRC is not particularly uncomfortable, but failure in SM is unforgivable (*yurus-e-nai*), because s/he's a [seller] and I'm a customer. I couldn't trust a travel agent speaking in such a way, and I would go to another.

I wouldn't find failure in RSRC uncomfortable. Failure in SM is slightly uncomfortable but not annoying.

Failure in RSRC is all right, but I can't stand failure in SM (*taerare-nai*), because it's outrageous (*hijooshiki*), insulting (*kyaku-o baka-ni-shite-iru*), lacking business manners (*sekkyaku-manaa-ihan*).

Failure in RSRC will make the speech sound strange but it's nothing serious, but failure in SM is crucially offensive, deviating from the social role the travel agent must play.

I can accept failure in RSRC. Failure in SM makes me feel ill-at-ease (*igokochi-ga warui*), and is incongruous. It reflects a strange view on the part of the [seller] by which s/he fails to take me properly as his/her customer and fails to realize the distance between him and me, which makes me feel uncomfortable.

Failure in RSRC upsets me (*haradatashii*), because this is a business interaction and we are a [seller] and a [customer], and s/he should play the role of [seller] in front of a [customer]. Failure in SM is out of the question (*tondemo-nai*). I'd immediately leave the agency for another.

Well, I'd probably not care about failure in RSRC. Failure in SM would be a bit different. It would be no good (*mazui*).

An interviewee volunteered to provide an interpretation of the difference between the discomfiture caused in Situations (A) and (B):

> In a conference, I [i.e. a member of the audience] will be taught something by the speaker, and therefore I will not be superior to the speaker, whereas in a travel agency, I will be the customer, and will be superior to the [seller]. I think that's why I find failure in [Situation (B)] to be more seriously offensive than in [Situation (A)].

c) In a hypothetical encounter in which a high school student whom the interviewee does not know asks for information about the interviewee's experience in JSL teaching and his/her opinion about teaching materials (Situation (C)), no interviewees regarded failure in RSRC as seriously offensive. However, concerning the discomfiture resulting from failure in SM in this situation, interviewees varied in their perception of it. Four regarded it as seriously offensive, another four found it less serious but still uncomfortable, and two felt it not uncomfortable. In this situation, interviewees tended to refer to more various dimensions on which the degree of discomfiture can depend than in other situations. One interviewee stated failure in SM in Situation (C) causes the most serious discomfiture among all the cases:

> Failure in RSRC will attract attention, but is nothing serious. Failure in SM will make her speech sound childish and untutored (*yoochi*), but not insulting or offensive.

> I would find both failure in RSRC and in SM to be strange, but not offensive.

> An unknown high school student's failure in RSRC would be no more uncomfortable than the same failure by a stranger of my age. I wouldn't find any problem with such a failure. Failure in SM would not be uncomfortable, either. But all the other factors affect the impression, for example, his/her intonation, body language, face expression and the way s/he's dressed.

> Failure in RSRC is OK, but failure in SM is annoying (*kanji-ga warui*). She should use a [Formal SM] because she is clearly younger.

> Neither failure in RSRC nor that in SM makes me uncomfortable, unless s/he is obviously trying to insult me.

> Failure in RSRC by a high school student is uncomfortable, but I can accept it, although the same thing coming from an adult would irritate me. Failure in SM by anyone I don't know invariably disturbs me (*mukatsuku*), and I would want to refuse to talk to her, but as she is still a high school student, I think I should be patient.

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Failure in RSRC is OK, but failure in SM is insulting (*baka-ni sareta to kanjiru*). I would respond with a Formal SM and keep using one, and she'd probably switch to using a Formal SM.

Failure in RSRC is acceptable, but failure in SM agitates me (*mutto suru*). It's rude (*shitsurei*), and makes me angry and makes me want to say: "You're younger. Behave properly!"

Although I would use a Non-Neutral RSRC myself, I've learned to accept failure in RSRC. Failure in SM would make me uncomfortable and think she has not been taught properly at home, although it's not offensive at all.

Failure in RSRC is OK, and I think failure in SM is something we should accept, although I find it to be uncomfortable. It'd be OK if she were a child, but she isn't, so she ought to be criticized as ignorant if she cannot realize that she is in a situation in which she should use an honorific component.

No interviewee regarded failure in RSRC as more serious than failure in SM in any of the three situations. An interviewee provided a comment relevant to this difference:

If a young person cannot use an honorific form appropriately, it doesn't annoy me so much, because s/he is still inexperienced, and could improve in ability some day. It's reasonable to have the same expectation with an adult, if s/he cannot use a [Non-Neutral RSRC] correctly, because it may well be a slip of tongue. But, if an adult businessman talked to a customer without using a Formal SM, it must be intentional. He must be malicious. So I feel angry.

Once again the number of the interviewees was small and it is not reasonable to regard the qualitative data obtained from them as representative of native speakers. Nevertheless, the results provide general support for the multivariate analysis results, suggesting the following three points:

- Discomfiture resulting from different types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour varies in terms of the degree of intentionality and personal-offensiveness.

- Breaches of illocutionary politeness and those of stylistic politeness can generate different types of discomfiture. The former is likely to cause discomfiture of a more intentional and thus more serious nature than the latter, while the latter tends to cause discomfiture which is related to a lack of sophistication.

- Discomfiture caused by failure to use an honorific form can also vary in terms of the degree of intentionality and personal offensiveness.

Furthermore, the qualitative data provide details of the types of discomfiture resulting from the inappropriate use of honorific components. It suggests that:

- Failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC is less likely to cause serious discomfiture than failure to use a Formal SM

- Failure to use a Formal SM is more likely to cause serious offence in a Seller-Client setting than in a Speaker-Audience setting. Failure to use a Formal SM in a Personal setting can cause discomfiture of different degrees, perhaps depending on various factors.

5.4   Summary of results from Study 3

The statistical and qualitative data results from Study 3 indicate that discomfiture resulting from inappropriate linguistic behaviour varies not only in the strength of discomfiture but also in type. It was shown that illocutionary discomfiture is more intentional in type, whereas stylistic discomfiture is more ignorant in type. Further, it was tentatively interpreted that IFT-discomfiture is more personally-offensive type than IER-discomfiture, while SFT-discomfiture is more intentional and more personally-offensive (to university students) or more intentional (to non-students) than SER-discomfiture. It was also shown that failure to use an honorific can cause either SER- or SFT-discomfiture.

The qualitative data provided the following further information:

- Failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC is unlikely to cause SFT-discomfiture regardless of the situation.

- Failure to use a Formal SM is likely to cause SFT-discomfiture in a Seller-Client setting (where the Seller fails to use it) and SER-type discomfiture in a Speaker-Audience setting (where the Speaker fails to use it). Failure to use a Formal SM in a Personal setting with vertical/horizontal social distance, on the other hand, may or may not cause SFT-discomfiture, depending on various social factors.

The next chapter will discuss the discomfiture resulting from the inappropriate use of honorific forms in an attempt to refine the concept of honorific politeness and native speakers' evaluative attitudes towards it, based on the results of Studies 1, 2 and 3.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the characteristics of honorific politeness, i.e. politeness communicated by the

use of an honorific form (i.e. a Non-Plain and/or Non-Neutral honorific component), on the basis of the

findings from Studies 1, 2, and 3 as well as from information from other sources. In 6.2, I analyze the

discomfiture that native speakers are likely to perceive with different types of inappropriate use of

honorific components, and, based on the statistical analysis generated by Study 3, attempt to propose

honorific politeness norms. In 6.3, I analyze native speakers' metalinguistic evaluative attitudes towards

the use of honorific components based on information from various sources including Studies 1 and 2.

6.2   Honorific politeness norms

This section attempts to identify honorific politeness norms. I first argue, in 6.2.1, that honorific forms

are not intrinsically linked with the communication of illocutionary politeness, and that my discussion of

honorific components therefore focuses on the stylistic domain.

I then discuss, in 6.2.2, the honorific politeness norms which govern the use of Non-Plain and

Non-Neutral honorific components (i.e. honorific forms) within spoken interactions. I first provide

further interpretation of results from Study 3 concerning discomfiture native speakers are likely to

perceive with failure to use honorific forms as well as other inappropriate linguistic behaviour, and,

based on that interpretation, identify and describe the politeness norms governing the use of this limited

range of honorific components in spoken communication.

The final part, 6.2.3, discusses stylistic politeness norms from a broader perspective, and

considers the use of both Plain and Non-Plain SMs, and both Neutral and Non-Neutral RSRCs in

written as well as spoken communication. I thereby clarify the role that honorific politeness plays in the

politeness communicated by the use of all types of honorific components.

6.2.1   Honorific components and illocutionary politeness

An honorific form can be chosen to mitigate discourteous illocutionary force in a context such as

apologizing. As is evident from the statements made by three interviewees in Study 1, some people

choose to use a Formal SM in a context of apologizing, requesting and asking permission of an

addressee to whom they normally use a Plain SM (see 4.3.2.4). Observation of my own and other native

speakers' language use shows that such usage of a Formal SM can occur not only in mitigation of a

discourteous illocutionary force but also in communication of a courteous illocutionary force. Some

people may also switch from Plain to Formal SM in a thanking context. Thus, to that extent, the use of

an honorific form may be described as "FTA-sensitive" as Brown and Levinson (1987: 18) claim.

However, statements provided by other interviewees indicate that such usage of an honorific

form does not constitute an illocutionary politeness norm. As reported in Chapter 4 (in 4.3.2.4), seven of

the ten interviewees stated that they would never use a Formal SM as a means of mitigating a

discourteous illocutionary force, and three of them stated that they would find such a use of a Formal

SM to be uncomfortable, as it would indicate an unreasonable and unnecessary social distance between

the speaker and the addressee, and/or it would sound sarcastic. Further, another two of the seven

interviewees had not realized that people could use an honorific form for mitigation of a discourteous

illocutionary force, stating they had never heard such usage.

Further, statements provided in the interviews for Study 2 suggest that such usage of a Formal

SM does not constitute negatively eventful politeness, while it may communicate a positively eventful

type of politeness. The three interviewees who mentioned non-use of a Formal SM as an example of

FIND UNCOMFORTABLE clearly stated that they thought this was a breach of stylistic politeness,

and all ten interviewees denied the possibility that non-use of an honorific form constitutes a failure in

the management of illocutionary force (see 4.4.2.4). The quantitative data results from Study 2 do not

contradict this, although they do not provide a positive support for this finding from the interviews either. Furthermore, no respondents to the questionnaire for Study 2 referred to the non-use of an honorific component as a means of managing illocutionary force (see 4.4.2.2).

It is on the basis of these qualitative and quantitative results from Studies 1 and 2 that I argue that honorific forms are not intrinsically linked with the communication of illocutionary politeness and exclude the use of honorific components for the management of illocutionary force from my discussion of honorific politeness norms. Obviously, I also exclude from my discussion of honorific politeness the use of honorific components for the communication of irony rather than of politeness, a use for which subjects in Study 2 provided an example of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE. However, my argument here is based on the qualitative results from Studies 1 and 2 with a small scale sample, and it is obviously a tentative one. To confirm the range of honorific politeness, it is necessary to carry out quantitative research into native speakers' perception of honorific politeness.

6.2.2 Honorific forms and SFT- and SER-politeness

The results from Study 3 indicate that failure to use a Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific component appropriately can cause SFT- and SER-discomfiture in different situations. My discussion in 6.2.2 will provide a detailed description of the differences between the two types of stylistic discomfiture caused by failure to use honorific forms, which I will refer to by **SFT-discomfiture (HF)** and **SER-discomfiture (HF)** respectively, and thereby of the two corresponding types of politeness which are communicated by the appropriate use of honorific forms, which I will refer to by **SFT-politeness (HF)** and **SER-politeness (HF)**, respectively.

Results from Study 3 indicate that SFT-discomfiture (HF) is both more intentional and more personally-offensive than SER-discomfiture (HF), and thus likely to be perceived as more serious. A fuller understanding of the characteristics of SFT-discomfiture (HF) and SER-discomfiture (HF) can be obtained by examining the statistical results associated with the questionnaire items which failed to

use an honorific form (as well as other types of inappropriate linguistic behaviour), and by examining the qualitative results relating to the hypothetical examples of failure to use honorific forms in different situations. I therefore conduct a close examination of these items and examples in the following pages of this section. I first analyze, in 6.2.2.1, those which generate SFT-discomfiture (HF) (i.e. Items (3) and (15) as well as the hypothetical examples of behaviour: a Seller's failure to use a Formal SM in a Seller-Client setting (in Situation (B)), and a high school student's failure to use one to an older stranger (in Situation (C)). Then, in 6.2.2.2, I analyze those which seem to generate SER-discomfiture (i.e. Items (12), (11), (4) and (7) as well as the hypothetical examples of behaviour: a Speaker's failure to use a Formal SM at an academic conference (in Situation (A)), and failure to use an Non-Neutral RSRC in Situations (A), (B) and (C).

6.2.2.1 Honorific forms and SFT-politeness

The statistical results from both the university students' and non-students' responses show that Items (15) and (3) are alike in that both are perceived as generating SFT-discomfiture, although the former is perceived as more intentional than the latter.

Item (15): Saying "Give me water" or "Water!" at a Little-Chef type restaurant
Item (3): Someone younger than you talking to you without using a Formal SM at the first meeting

Both are felt to be both more intentional and more personally-offensive than the other item of failure to use an honorific form, i.e. Item (4). In 6.2.2.1, to understand the characteristics of SFT-discomfiture (HF) and, in turn, SFT-politeness (HF), I analyze the properties commonly shared by Items (15) and (3). Before doing this, however, I first analyze why the two items differ from each other in terms of the degree of intentionality of the discomfiture they cause.

In Item (15), the discomfiture caused by the use of forms (a) and (b) seems to come from two sources:

Form (a)	*Mizu kure*
	Water give (me)-IMPERATIVE-PLAIN
	"Give me some water"

Form (b)	*Chotto, mizu!*
	Hey water
	"Hey! water!"

In other words, the language use described in Item (15) is perceived as non-observance of two politeness norms: one is an illocutionary politeness norm and the other is a stylistic politeness norm. I first illustrate how the hearer interprets the behaviour as deviation from the former, and then the latter.

In the light of the pragmatic understanding of the fact that Item (15) is performed in a context in which the speaker is making a request, the semantic interpretation of forms (a) and (b) leads the hearer to the pragmatic interpretation that Item (15) fails to observe an I-PMN (illocutionary politeness management norm):

I-PMN (i):
Be pessimistic about whether your request is accepted

This interpretation of the failure to observe I-PMN (i) prompts the hearer to make the further interpretation that the speaker also fails to comply with the I-PPN (illocutionary politeness principle norm):

I-PPN (i):
Pay attention to the cost you are imposing on the addressee, when you ask a waiter/waitress for water

What leads the hearer to the interpretation that the speaker of Item (15) fails to observe I-PMN (i) is the use of forms (a) and (b), which deviates from the I-PEN (illocutionary politeness enactment norm):

I-PEN (i):
Use a morphological device such as a questioning form rather than an imperative form
Add a verb meaning "to give" rather than only referring to the object that you want

Thus, if the speaker used a questioning instead of an imperative form, such as (c):

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Form (c)   *Mizu   kure-ru?*
             Water   give (me)-QUESTION-PLAIN
             "Can you give me some water?"

his/her utterance would be perceived as complying with I-PEN (i). This perception would lead the

hearer to the pragmatic interpretation that the speaker had observed I-PMN (i) and, in turn, I-PPN (i).

(Use of form (c) in this context is intuitively less uncomfortable than Item (15).)

In the light of the pragmatic understanding of the fact that Item (15) is performed in a situation

in which the speaker is interacting with someone s/he is socially distant from, the semantic interpretation

of forms (a) or (b) prompts the hearer also to interpret (15) as failing to observe an S-PMN (stylistic

PMN), which is an SFT-PMN (HF):

SFT-PMN (HF) (i):
Respect the horizontal social distance between you and the addressee

The interpretation of the failure to observe SFT-PMN (HF) (i) prompts the hearer to make the further

interpretation that the speaker also fails to comply with the SFT-PPN (HF):

SFT-PPN (HF) (i):
Pay attention to the social distance between you and the addressee, when you talk to a waiter/waitress to
whom you are not socially close

The interpretation that the speaker fails to observe SFT-PMN (HF) (i) is prompted by the use of forms

(a) and (b), which ignores the SFT-PEN (HF):

SFT-PEN (HF) (i):
Use a Non-Plain rather than Plain SM
       ∶

Thus, if the speaker used the Formal equivalent of form (a), which I refer to as (d):

Form (d)   *Mizu   kudasai*
             Water   give (me)-IMPERATIVE-FORMAL
             "(I request with formality) Please give me some water"

his/her utterance would be perceived as complying with SFT-PEN (HF) (i). The perception of the compliance with SFT-PEN (HF) (i) would lead the hearer to the interpretation that the speaker observed SFT-PMN (HF) (i) and, in turn, SFT-PPN (HF). (Use of form (d) in this context is intuitively less uncomfortable than Item (15).)

The hypothetical use of forms (c) or (d) would make the speaker's utterance less uncomfortable, but might not make it sufficiently comfortable. However, if s/he used the Formal equivalent of the questioning form (c), which I refer to as (e):

Form (e): *Mizu kure-masu-ka?*
     Water give (me)-QUESTION-FORMAL
     "(I ask with formality) Could you give me some water?"

his/her utterance would be perceived by many native speakers as complying with both I-PEN (i) and with SFT-PEN (HF) (i), and thereby as complying with both I-PMN (i) and with SFT-PMN (HF) (i), and, in turn, with I-PPN (i) and with SFT-PPN (HF) (i). (Intuitively, the use of form (e) in this context does not cause discomfiture.)

Let us move to examine the other example of inappropriate language use shown by results from Study 3 as generating SFT-discomfiture (HF), Item (3): "Someone younger than you talking to you without using Formal SMs at the first meeting". The discomfiture caused by Item (3), unlike that caused by Item (15), seems to come from a single source, i.e. it is perceived as failure to observe an S-PMN (HF), which is an SFT-PMN (HF):

SFT-PMN (HF) (ii):
Respect the vertical and horizontal social distance between you and the addressee

This perception leads the recipient to the interpretation that Item (3) also fails to comply with the SFT-PPN (HF):

SFT-PPN (HF) (ii):
Pay attention to the horizontal and vertical social distance between you and the addressee, when you talk to someone older than you at your first meeting in a Personal setting

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The perception that Item (3) fails to observe SFT-PMN (HF) (ii) results from its deviation from the SFT-PEN (HF):

SFT-PEN (HF) (ii) :
Use a Non-Plain rather than Plain SM

The interpretation that Item (15) fails to observe both an illocutionary and a stylistic politeness norm while Item (3) fails to comply only with a stylistic politeness norm seems to explain why the former is likely to be perceived as more intentional and thus more uncomfortable than the latter. As shown by the statistical results of Study 3, a breach of illocutionary politeness is interpreted as an intentional type of discomfiture.

On the other hand, characteristics commonly discovered between the two stylistic politeness norms from which Items (15) and (3) deviate seem to illustrate the characteristics of SFT-discomfiture (HF) and thus those of SFT-politeness (HF). The following three regularities can be identified as applicable to the two Items of behaviour as well as to the hypothetical examples of behaviour which was indicated by the qualitative results as generating SFT-discomfiture.

1. Items (15) and (3) are alike in that they fail to convey appropriate degree of respect for the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, and thus to fail to express that s/he is paying attention to the social distance. The same failure seems also to be a factor in other examples of failure to use an honorific form which can generate SFT-discomfiture (HF) to many native speakers. In a Seller's failure to use a Non-Plain SM in Situation (B), which is clearly indicated by the qualitative results from Study 3 as likely to cause SFT-discomfiture (HF), the speaker is interpreted as failing to convey respect for the vertical (and possibly horizontal) social distance between her/himself and the addressee, i.e. her/his client. Similarly, in a high school student's failure to use a Non-Plain SM in Situation (C), which causes SFT-discomfiture (HF) to a certain proportion of people, the speaker is interpreted as failing to convey respect for the vertical and horizontal distance from the addressee. In summary, the failure to use an honorific form is likely to create SFT-discomfiture (HF) because this fails to communicate respect for

the social distance between the speaker and the addressee[1].

2. All these items and examples of failure to use an honorific form which cause SFT-discomfiture (HF) are a result of failure to use a particular type of honorific device. Both the statistical and qualitative results from Study 3 indicate that the failure to use a Non-Plain SM is likely to cause SFT-discomfiture, whereas the failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC is not[2]. In summary, SFT-discomfiture (HF) is likely to result from failure to use a Non-Plain SM but not from failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC.

3. The results of Study 3 also show that the failure to use a Non-Plain SM is likely to cause SFT-discomfiture in a Personal setting with horizontal and/or vertical social distance and in a Seller-Client setting (if the failure is by the Seller), whereas it is not likely to cause such discomfiture in a Speaker-Audience setting.

These three types of regularities generate a general concept of SFT-politeness norm (HF) which different types of appropriate use of an honorific form can be interpreted as observing. The general SFT-politeness norms (HF) can be formulated as General SFT-PPN (HF), General SFT-PMN (HF) and General SFT-PEN (HF):

General SFT-PPN (HF):
Pay attention to the horizontal and/or vertical social distance between you and the addressee, when you are talking to:
      a stranger,
      someone socially higher, and/or
      your client (in a Seller-Client setting)

General SFT-PMN (HF):
Respect the social distance between you and the addressee

General SFT-PEN (HF):
Use a Non-Plain SM

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[1] Note that SFT-discomfiture (HF) may be caused by failure to use an honorific form to express respect for the social distance between the speaker and a bystander, since, as discussed in Chapter 2, the use of a Non-Neutral RSRC could marginally be chosen in a situation where there is a significant social distance between the addressee and a bystander, which is ignored in my thesis. But see Note 2 for further discussion on this matter.

[2] This suggests that failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC in a situation with a socially distant bystander may be unlikely to cause SFT-discomfiture.

The notion closest to the SFT-politeness (HF) seems to be the one which is often referred to as Deference. However, as Fraser and Nolen (1981) state, no explicit definition is given of the term, and it has been employed in different ways. It appears, though, that "deference" is used more often to refer to respect for a vertical, rather than horizontal, social distance; for example, "[deference is] the respect people often show to other people by virtue of their higher status, greater age, etc." (Thomas 1995: 150). It is therefore necessary to define the term as referring to respect for horizontal as well as vertical distance between the speaker and the addressee[3], to unambiguously and accurately describe SFT-politeness communicated by the use of a Japanese honorific form as one form of deference. It needs also to be noted that, in the Japanese case, vertical distance between people does not refer only to that which is attributed to the higher social rank a person has, but also to the distance which derives from the power that the buying party has over the selling party in a commercial setting.

6.2.2.2 Honorific forms and SER-politeness

The university students' and non-students' results both indicate that the following four items of inappropriate linguistic behaviour cause SER-discomfiture (listed in ascending order in terms of the degree of intentionality of the discomfiture the item is likely to cause):

Item (12):	Putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases
Item (11):	Habitually using slang and stigmatized expressions in speech
Item (4):	Referring to a teacher's action (coming and giving a talk) using a Neutral rather Exalting RSRC (with the Formal SM) in a presentation in front of 100, saying "The teacher is going to come (Neutral and Formal) and give a talk (Neutral and Formal) to us"
Item (7):	Using new forms indiscriminately regardless of who the addressee is

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[3] It may also be necessary to include the respect to the social distance between the speaker and a bystander, since there is still possibility that the use of a Non-Neutral RSRC for the respect to a bystander conveys SFT- politeness.

A possible ambiguity arises, however, because there is a difference between Items (11) and (7) on one hand, and Items (12) and (4) on the other, in terms of the explicitness of the description. In the case of Items (11) and (7), it is explicitly stated that the descriptions do not refer to a particular use of the mentioned linguistic forms but rather to a **Behavioural Pattern** in which someone constantly uses them regardless of the situation of use. Therefore, it can be assumed that subjects' responses concerning these items reflect the discomfiture which people are likely to feel towards such a behavioural pattern, rather than discomfiture they would feel as the addressee or as a bystander at an occurrence of such a use of those forms. On the other hand, with Items (12) and (4), it is not clear whether the descriptions refer to such a behavioural pattern or an occurrence of the mentioned linguistic feature. As a result, it is also not clear whether subjects' responses concerning these items reflect the discomfiture caused by such a pattern or that caused by an occurrence of the mentioned feature. Furthermore, if the latter two items do reflect the discomfiture people perceive towards an occurrence of such a linguistic feature, it is not clear whether their perception is that of an addressee or of a bystander.

However, both the statistical and qualitative results from Study 3 indicate that native speakers tend to ascribe SER-discomfiture that they perceive at an occurrence of inappropriate language use to the speaker's failure to make, and/or incapability of making, an appropriate distinction among different types of situations. The statistical results from Study 3 clearly show that SER-discomfiture is described as ignorant, immature and untutored. This illustrates that the discomfiture resulting from these examples of behaviour comes from the hearer's perception that such behaviour reflects the speaker's inability to make appropriate linguistic distinctions between different types of situations.

That SER-discomfiture is related to such a perception is also supported by interviewees' comments. They used expressions such as "incongruous", "inexperienced", "unsophisticated" and "ignorant" to describe SER-discomfiture (HF) they have felt, or imagine they would feel, as the addressee of the occurrence of the inappropriate language use which they provided as examples of FIND UNCOMFORTABLE, or in the hypothetical examples of situations provided by me. One interviewee's

comment illustrates this point very explicitly:

It'd be OK if she were a child, but she isn't, so she ought to be criticized as ignorant if she cannot realize that she is in a situation in which she should use an honorific form.

It is therefore unnecessary, in interpreting the statistical results, to question whether responses concerning Items (11), (4) and (7) reflect people's reaction to the behavioural pattern or to a particular inappropriate use of such a form. (Item (12) is a slightly different case, and I will discuss discomfiture caused by it later, at the end of 6.2.2.2.) Discomfiture that native speakers are likely to perceive at someone's behavioural pattern, in which s/he does not make appropriate distinctions among various social situations, does not seem to differ from discomfiture they feel at an actual language use resulting from such a pattern. Accordingly, it also seems unnecessary to question whose (i.e. the addressee's or a bystander's) perception of discomfiture is reflected in the responses, as SER-discomfiture which is ascribed to lack of ability/knowledge rather than any malevolent intention on the part of the language user is assumed to be perceived as of the same type by every participant.

As I noted in Chapter 4, in my explanation of new forms (4.3.2.2), the more formal the situation is, the more likely the use of such forms as well as slang is to cause discomfiture and therefore to attract criticism. Therefore, it is reasonable to regard the kinds of linguistic behaviour described in Items (11), (4) and (7) as failure to make one kind of distinction, i.e. the distinction between formal and informal situations. In other words, it is appropriate to regard these as failing to observe the following S-PPN, which is an SER-politeness norm:

SER-PPN:
Pay attention to the formality of the setting, when you are in a formal situation

What leads the hearer to the interpretation that the speakers of Items (11), (4) and (7) are failing to observe the SER-PPN is the choice of the behaviour described in Items (11), (4) and (7), which deviates from the SER-PEN:

SER-PEN:
Do not use slang or stigmatized expressions
Use an Exalting RSRC (where applicable)
Do not use new words

To focus on SER-politeness (HF) norms, the results from Study 3 indicate that the following two regularities can be identified as applicable to Item (4) as well as to the hypothetical examples of behaviour which generate SER-discomfiture (HF):

1. The failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC and/or a Non-Plain SM is likely to cause SER-discomfiture (HF) in a Speaker-Audience setting (if the failure is by the Speaker) (in Situation (A)).

2. The failure to use a Non-Neutral RSRC is likely to cause SER-discomfiture (HF) in a Seller-Client setting (if the failure is by the Seller) (in Situation (B)) and in a Personal setting with horizontal and/or vertical social distance (if the failure is by the socially lower party) (in Situation (C)).

These regularities generate the following two pairs of SER-PPN (HF) and SER-PEN (HF) norms. Various kinds of appropriate use of an honorific form are likely to be interpreted as observing these norms, which can be formulated as **General SER-PPN (HF)** and **General SER-PEN (HF)**:

General SER-PPN (HF)(i):
Pay attention to the formality of the setting, when you are talking to an Audience

General SER-PEN (HF)(i)
Use a Non-Plain SM and a Non-Neutral RSRC (where applicable)

General SER-PPN (HF)(ii):
Pay attention to the formality of the setting, when you are talking to:
     a stranger
     someone socially higher, and/or
     your client (in a Seller-Client setting)

General SER-PEN (HF)(ii):
Use a Non-Neutral RSRC

Unlike SFT-politeness (HF), which is close to the notion of deference, SER-politeness (HF),

the branch of politeness perceived as making a decreed distinction between formal and informal situations, has not attracted much attention from politeness theorists nor from sociolinguists. However, it has been discussed in sociology. The social value acknowledged in a person who has acquired knowledge/skills about social behaviour appropriate for a formal situation is referred to in a discussion of socialization by Goffman:

> In our society, the "well" or "properly" demeaned individual displays such attributes as, ...command of speech and physical movements; .... The well-demeaned individual possesses the attributes popularly associated with "character training" or "socialization.
>
> Goffman 1967: 77

Interestingly, Goffman sees ceremonial activities as consisting of two basic components, and designates the two as **Deference** and **Demeanor**, and one of the differences he discusses between the two components seems to correspond to the difference which was indicated by my interviewees between SFT- and SER-politeness. That is, while SFT-discomfiture (HF) makes the addressee angry, SER-discomfiture (HF) makes one worry about the speaker's own social inadequacy. Goffman suggests that deference is "the appreciation an individual shows of another", whereas demeanor is one's behaviour of expression to others that s/he "is a person of certain desirable ... qualities" (Goffman 1967: 77)[4].

Finally, I make a brief note concerning the fourth example of uncomfortable language use plotted in Cluster 1 and thus represented to generate SER-discomfiture (HF), Item (12). The prosodic feature referred to in the description is one of the linguistic features which the Twentieth National Language Council (*Dai 20-ki Kokugo Shingi-kai*) listed as those found in the young generation of native speakers (Bunkacho 1995), and it tends to occur in a young speaker's speech regardless of the situation. Comments provided by interviewees suggest two possible interpretations of the source of the

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[4] Note, however, that Goffman employs "deference" to refer to a significantly wider range of notions than I do, including behaviour such as giving a present to someone.

discomfiture caused by the language use described in Item (5). One is that the discomfiture generated by Item (5), as that by Items (4), (2) and (3), comes from the speaker's behavioural pattern in which s/he indiscriminately displays the described prosodic feature, as can be interpreted in the comment:

> I wouldn't mind their speaking like that [i.e. putting prosodic stress at the end of phrases] while they talk to one another, but I wish they know how to speak more properly in a formal situation..

The other possibility is that the discomfiture does not come from non-observance of a social norm but from a personal or cultural association which one may have with the prosodic feature, which is suggested in comments by interviewees such as in the following:

> A girl speaking that way [i.e. with the prosodic feature] sounds vulgar and ill-bred.

Thus, if the first possibility is the case, the use of such a prosodic feature is another example of language use which is perceived as non-observance of an SER-politeness norm and thus as failure to make adequate distinction between formal and informal situations. If the other possibility is the case, on the other hand, displaying such a feature prompts a particular negative association which happens to cause discomfiture similar to that caused by failure to observe an SER-politeness norm.

6.2.2.3 Relationship between SFT- and SER-politeness

So far, I have examined SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms governing the use of honorific forms in face-to-face communication within the range of situations where the use of both Formal SMs and Non-Neutral RSRC are applicable. These norms illuminate the following differences between the two types of honorific politeness in terms of the function the politeness serves to perform, the situations in which they operate, and the linguistic device utilized for its communication.

1. An SFT-politeness (HF) norm differs from an SER-politeness (HF) norm in that the former consists of all the three components, i.e. PPN, a PMN and a PEN, whereas the latter consists only of a PPN and

a PEN. This implies an important difference in property between the two types of politeness. SFT-politeness (HF) serves to manage the potential of the social feature (i.e. the social distance the speaker has from the addressee) to make the speaker's behaviour offensive for the addressee. The speaker's behaviour of choosing to observe the SFT-politeness (HF) norm communicates the meaning that s/he knows the norm and has chosen both to pay attention to the social feature and to manage the potential danger deriving from the social feature. On the other hand, SER-politeness (HF) does not perform such management of a social feature of the situation in which it operates. The speaker's behaviour of choosing to comply with the SER-politeness (HF) norm, therefore, only conveys that s/he knows norm and has chosen to pay attention to the social feature.

This difference seems to provide an explanation for the difference between the SFT- and SER-discomfiture (HF). SFT- and SER-types of politeness norms are similar in that a breach of either type of norm communicates that the speaker fails to comply with the norm, and that, as for the cause of the failure, two kinds of interpretation are possible: one possibility is that it is the speaker's lack of the knowledge of the norm, and the other is that it is his/her choice not to comply with it despite her/his knowledge of the norm. The likelihood of the two possibilities for a recipient, however, seems to differ between a breach of an SFT- and SER-politeness (H) norm.

It is generally assumed that knowledge of a politeness norm is socially more desirable than lack of it, and that people normally want to convey that they are aware of the norm, unless there is a good reason for not doing so. In the case of a failure to comply with an SER-politeness (HF) norm, it is difficult for the recipient to find a good reason why the speaker may choose to pretend to lack the knowledge, since such pretension does not generate any interest for him/her but only the unfavourable indication such as ignorance or vulgarity. This leads the recipient to interpret the speaker's failure to comply with an SER-politeness norm as a result of a genuine lack of knowledge on the part of the speaker, and perceive discomfiture which is associated with it as ignorance and vulgarity.

On the other hand, in the case of failure to observe an SFT-politeness (HF) norm, it is easier for

the recipient to find a reason why the speaker may choose not to observe it even though s/he is aware of it. If the speaker wishes not to manage the social distance from the addressee for whatever reason, it must be useful for him/her not to comply with the norm, as, by choosing not to do so, s/he could convey her/his wish to the addressee. The reason why s/he may not want to acknowledge the social distance between the addressee and her/himself may simply be her/his intention to insult the addressee. Or it may be, as suggested by the interviewee for Study 3, her/his consideration that acknowledging no distance could be commercially advantageous for her/him:

> I think a [Seller] who uses [Plain SM] to a customer does so because s/he thinks that speaking to a customer in a friendly manner can be accepted as desirable, ...

If information from the speaker's tone of voice, appearance, and so on prompts the recipient to suspect that the speaker does know the norm, it is therefore more likely that the recipient will interpret the failure to comply with it as an intentional choice rather than ignorance. Then, s/he perceives discomfiture, and interprets it as the speaker's intentional malice. The failure to manage the social distance naturally activates the potential offence, and the discomfiture is regarded as personally-offensive.

2. The difference in the function of the two types of politeness, which was discussed in 1 above, implies that SFT-politeness (HF) operates only in situations where significant social distance exists. And as illustrated by General SFT-politeness (HF) norm, these two types of situations are: 1) a Personal setting with horizontal and/or vertical social distance, 2) a Seller-Client setting where the addressee is one's client. On the other hand, SER-politeness (HF), as illustrated by the two General SER-politeness (HF) norms, operates in all three types of formal situations (i.e. a Speaker-Audience setting as well as (1) and (2) above).

To describe this from another angle, all types of formal situations are governed by one or another SER-politeness (HF) norm, whereas only a limited types of situations are governed by an SFT-politeness (HF) norm.

3. As for the type of linguistic device utilized for the communication of each types of politeness, whereas

a Non-Neutral RSRC is a device used exclusively for the communication of SER-politeness (HF), a Non-Plain SM can work as a device either for SER- or SFT-politeness (HF), depending on the type of situation in which it is utilized.

The three aspects of differences between SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) pointed out above, regarding the use of honorific forms in formal situations where the use of both Non-Plain and Non-Neutral components are appropriate, can be illustrated in Figure 6.1. The types of honorific component which are likely to convey SFT-politeness (HF) in each type of setting are indicated by Bold print, while those which are likely to convey SER-politeness (HF) are shown in normal print.

SPEAKER-AUDIENCE SETTINGS	SELLER-CLIENT SETTINGS	PERSONAL SETTINGS WITH SOCIAL DISTANCE
Non-Plain SM Non-Neutral RSRC	**Non-Plain SM** Non-Neutral RSRC	**Non-Plain SM** Non-Neutral RSRC

Fig. 6.1 Relationship between SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms

6.2.3 Honorific components and stylistic politeness

So far in 6.2, I have concentrated on the range of SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms which determine how people choose Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components within spoken communication. By doing so, I have focused on the use of honorific components in speech conducted with a fairly high degree of formality.

Taking a wider view, however, it is noticeable that in some types of situations, the use of a Plain and Neutral (rather than Non-Plain and Non-Neutral) honorific components is appropriate. For example, in a Speaker-Audience setting in university, unlike in one for a general audience, the use of Neutral (rather than Non-Neutral) RSRCs together with Formal SMs is normal. Moreover, in a conversation between people without significantly large social distance between them, Neutral RSRCs

together with Plain SMs are chosen. The choice of such honorific components in these cases is assumed to be governed by an SER-politeness norm, since failure to use them is likely to cause SER-discomfiture, as indicated by the comment provided in Study 2:

> One of my colleagues, who is two years younger than me, just keeps using honorific forms in her speech towards me. We have been working together a long time and I have come to see her as a friend rather than a junior, and I find her use of honorific forms to me a bit strange. I don't feel offended or annoyed, though, because I think that's her style.

Further, it is intuitively likely that failure to choose a Plain SM (and perhaps failure to use a Neutral RSRC) causes SFT-discomfiture in situations where the social distance between the participants is very small, such as conversation between lovers[5]. These examples indicate that some of the stylistic politeness norms (which may be either SER- or SFT-type) decree that people should be informal rather than formal in certain situations by choosing to use a Neutral RSRC (to refer to someone who would be referred to by a Non-Neutral RSRC in a formal situation) and a Plain SM.

It is intuitively reasonable to presume that there is no social situation to which no norm concerning the choice of honorific components applies, thus allowing people to make whatever choice of honorific components they wish. Therefore, stylistic politeness norms deal with all types of communication situations, decreeing the adoption of certain degrees of formality, and also decreeing the choice of honorific components to convey the appropriate degree of formality in each of such situations.

This seems to imply that stylistic politeness basically comprises making an appropriate distinction between situations in terms of formality levels and choosing honorific components appropriate for the expression of the level of formality appropriate to the situation. However, I have so far used the term "formality" without providing a clear definition of it, so it is not clear what exactly is meant by "formality level" or "degrees of formality". I therefore examine, in 6.3.1, the notion which is normally referred to by the term. To do so, I observe the use of honorific components in written

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[5] Note that the SFT-discomfiture which can be caused in such a situation is different from SFT-discomfiture (HF). The inappropriate use of Formal SM in such a situation can be regarded as the violation of "positive politeness" (in Brown and Levinson's sense) rather than failure to convey deference.

communication, as the stylistic politeness norms governing the use of honorific components in writing illuminates an important property of the notion of "formality".

Further, as will become clear in the discussion in 6.3.1, in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the characteristics of honorific politeness, it is essential to consider the stylistic politeness norms which govern the choice of linguistic forms other than honorific components. Therefore, in 6.3.2, I deal with such stylistic politeness norms, and compare honorific components and other categories of linguistic forms in terms of the function which each type of linguistic form can perform in the communication of stylistic politeness.

6.2.3.1 Formality and register

I have used the term "formal" as the equivalent to *aratamatta* ("stiff") to refer to four distinct notions: the property of one category of honorific form (i.e. Non-Plain SMs), the impression which is likely to be generated by the use of such honorific components, the property of a situation in which the use of such types of honorific components is appropriate, and the speaker's interpersonal attitude which is identifiable in the use of such honorific components.

The English term seems to cover the notions of both the linguistic forms and the pragmatic effects of the use of such forms which native speakers of Japanese might refer to by the Japanese expression. According to Irvine (1979), "formality" can refer to the properties of a linguistic device as well as to those of the social setting in which such a device is used. Irvine also points out that the term is often used to describe a situation in which "positional and public, rather than personal, identities" are invoked and/or "a central situational focus" emerges (1979: 778). The properties Irvine points to in situations which can be described as formal can be clearly seen in the situations which Japanese native speakers describe as *aratamatta* ("stiff"). In Personal settings with social distance, and in Non-Personal settings, participants are likely to feel pressured to play the role socially prescribed for them rather than to behave as an individual. Furthermore, in Speaker-Audience settings, the speaker is given the role of the central figure.

However, my use of this terminology in my discussion can be misleading in two ways. Firstly, since it is usually assumed that one single notion should be referred to by a single term, my description of the impressions produced by the use of different types of honorific components in different types of situations as formal may lead one to assume that the impressions which are described as formal are of one single type. Secondly, my labelling one type of honorific component as Formal SM and another as Plain SM may prompt one to assume that the use of a Non-Plain SM is invariably perceived as formal, while that of a Plain SM is not, and that, more generally, there is a one-to-one correspondence between a type of honorific form and the formality the use of that type can convey. However, observation of the use of honorific components in written communication reveals that neither of these two assumptions is true. Instead, as I discuss below, the term "formal" is used to refer to several different types of impression which the use of different types of honorific components can give, and there can be a one-to-many, rather than one-to-one, correspondence between a type of honorific component and the level of so-called formality which can be conveyed by the use of such components.

In written communication directed to a specific reader or readers, such as a personal letter or a memo tacked on a door for an expected visitor, a stylistic politeness norm (which may be either SFT- or SER-type) decrees a more elaborate use of honorific components than in face-to-face communication with the same addressee. For example, one may use Formal SMs and Exalting RSRCs (i.e. the level of formality indicated as Level 3 in Fig. 2.2), when writing to someone, while one would speak using Formal SMs but not Exalting RSRC (i.e. the level of formality indicated as Level 2). Consequently, in such types of writing, the use of Plain SM is rare.

In writings addressed towards an unspecified audience, such as in a newspaper or magazine article, an academic essay, a novel (in most cases), or a non-fiction report, on the other hand, a stylistic politeness norm (which can be SFT-type, although this is intuitively much less likely than in personal writings) decrees the use of Plain SMs. Thus, the proposition "someone has (unexpectedly) gone to Kobe" is likely to be worded in a newspaper article as follows:

Form (f)   *Shikashi,*   *Kobe-e*   *i-tte-shima-tta.*
               However   Kobe-to   has gone-PLAIN
               "However, (s/he) has gone to Kobe."

Form (f) contains a Plain SM, *-tta,* which can also be chosen normally in an informal speech in a

Personal setting without significant social distance between interlocutors (conducted at the level of

formality indicated as Level 0 in Fig. 2.2). Obviously, however, native speakers of Japanese do not

regard the writing in a newspaper article as informal or colloquial because Plain SMs occur in it.

Instead, they are likely to describe such writing, as my native-speaking students did in class discussions,

as formal as well as technical *(senmon-teki),* dry *(katai)* and polite *(teinei).*

However, it is usually impossible for native speakers of Japanese to judge whether speech with

Formal SMs (i.e. conducted at the level of formality indicated as Level 3 in Fig. 2.2) is more formal than

the writing in a newspaper article or vice versa, although they could say, as my informants did, that both

are more formal than speech in which Plain SMs are chosen (i.e. conducted at the level of formality

indicated as Level 0 in Fig. 2.2). The two simply constitute two different types of formal language use,

which are perceived to be formal in different ways and therefore cannot be ranked on a single

continuum.

Thus, two different types of impression created by the use of two types of honorific components

in Japanese are referred to by the single term "formal". Interestingly, such usage of the term "formality"

is not peculiar to Japanese. Irvine (1979) observes that native speakers of Wolof (in Senegal) perceive

two distinct speech events, *woy* (praise-singing) and *xaxaar* (insult sessions), as both being formal.

Although praise-singing and insult sessions are both perceived to be formal occasions, they differ in that

they formalize different linguistic features:

> In praise-singing, the pitch contour of utterances is more structured than in ordinary
>
> talk but meter remains relatively loose; in insult sessions, meter is strictly regulated,
>
> while pitch remains loose. It would be impossible to say that one form of discourse is

more formalized than the other, although one could say that both are more formalized

than ordinary conversation (and less formalized than some types of religious singing,

which structure both pitch and rhythm).

Irvine 1979: 776

An important consequence flows from the fact that the several different types of impression

created by different types of use of Japanese honorific components are referred to by the single term

"formal". This is that the different types of use of honorific components decreed by stylistic politeness

norms for speech and writings in different situations, which are described as different in terms of the

degree of formality, can in fact differ from one another in terms of more than one property of impression.

In other words, different types of use of such components cannot necessarily be arranged at different

points on one single axis, as the illustration in Fig. 2.2 may lead one to assume, but rather are distributed

multi-dimensionally.

"Formality level" is therefore not an ideal term to refer to the effect of different types of use of

honorific components, as it is likely to suggest that such types could be lined up in a one-dimensional

form. A more adequate term is **Register**. What is referred to by "register", which has sometimes been

labelled as **Varieties** (see Hymes 1972: 63) and **Stylistic Variations** (see Montgomery 1986: 101), has

been defined in slightly different ways by different researchers: for example, as "speech varieties

related to functional specificity" (Halliday et al. 1964), as "a variety correlated with the performer's

social role on a given occasion" (Catford 1965: 89), as "a variety ... that is tied to the communicative

occasion" (Bolinger 1975; 358), and as "systematic variation ... in relation to social context" (Lyons

1977: 584)[6]. However, I follow the original, less specific but more general definition by Reid (1956)

who, according to Ellis and Ure (1969), first employed the term:

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[6] The terms "register" and "style" have been employed in confusingly various ways by different authors. For example, Wolfson (1989) states that "register" is most often used to describe the speech varieties which pertain to specific occupations, while "style" refers to situational variation in spoken language.

For the linguistic behaviour of a given individual is by no means uniform; placed in what appear to be linguistically identical conditions, he will on different occasions speak (or write) differently according to what may be roughly described as different social situations: he will use a number of distinct 'registers'.

Reid 1956, cited in Ellis and Ure 1969: 251

Thus, I use the term "register" to refer to a type of language use decreed by stylistic politeness norms without any implication of any particular axis along which the different levels are allocated. As it is reasonable to describe each type of use of honorific components decreed by stylistic politeness norms as a register, it is also reasonable to regard stylistic politeness norms as **Register Rules** which govern different types of use of honorific components for different types of situations. Accordingly, stylistic politeness can be appropriately described essentially as compliance with register rules.

Different linguists have proposed different models to account for the phenomenon of register distinctions. As it is outside of my scope to go into the details of past arguments on register models, I mention only a few examples of such models. Ellis (1965) proposes four dimensions on which register differences may be classified: **Field** (the subject-matter such as science or particular sciences), **Role** (the social or other role such as conversation, literature, technical writing), **Formality** (the social relation between the participants such as formal and intimate) and **Mode** (the medium of communication, i.e. spoken or written). In the model proposed by Halliday et al. (1964), what Ellis (1965) designates as role is treated as part of his field and formality, and therefore only three dimensions are distinguished: **Field, Mode, and Style** (which Halliday (1978) calls **Tenor**)[7].

Although neither the notion of register nor register rules has attracted the attention of politeness theorists, the discomfiture caused by the failure to observe register rules has been referred to by sociolinguists as "incongruent" (Fishman 1972: 445), marked and inappropriate, while the politeness

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[7] See also Hill (1958) and Catford (1965) for slightly different terminologies.

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communicated by observance of such rules is likely to be perceived as "good manners" (Firth 1959), and its importance in the context of second language teaching has been recognized by Tarone (1979, 1985), Bell (1984) and Selinker and Douglas (1985).

As Ellis and Ure assert, every language has register differences (1969: 251), and, in addition to discussions of politeness and discomfiture related to register, some sociolinguists have been interested in the comparison of register phenomena in different languages (Labov 1972; Labov (ed.) 1972; Levinson 1979; Gregory and Carroll 1978, Friedrich 1972 and Irvine 1979). Others have focused on the linguistic devices utilized for the realization of register differences, or **Register Markers** (Ellis and Ure 1969), and some of them coined special terms for the use of such devices; for example, **Code Switching** for the use of a regional dialect and the standard variety in a Norwegian village (Blom and Gumperz 1972), **Bi-** and **Multi-lingualism** for the use of several different languages as register markers such as occurs in Paraguay (Rubin 1962), Montreal (Lambert and Tucker 1976) and American-Israeli families (Olshtein and Blum-Kulka 1989), and **Mother-in-Law Language** for the use of a special code in some Aboriginal societies in an utterance to an addressee who is in a particular kin relation (Dixson 1972 and Brown and Levinson 1978/1987).

6.2.3.2 Register markers and co-occurrence rules

As the use of Plain SMs in two different registers (i.e. in speech in a Personal setting where no significant social distance exists between the participants and in writing for an unspecified audience) generates different impressions (i.e. "informal" and "formal"), one single type of honorific component can generate more than one type of impression in different registers. Underlying this is the fact that register rules are a form of co-occurrence rules, which decree the same type of honorific components in different combinations with other types of linguistic forms. To illustrate how register rules operate as co-occurrence rules governing the choice of forms in spoken communication, I will first explain the linguistic devices which are typically utilized as register markers. Among various types of such devices, I will discuss only four types here.

In the case of the first type of register markers, the lexical property of the forms serves as the distinctive feature. As "quid" and "pound", for example, are decreed by register rules to co-occur with FN and TLN, respectively, in English, *koke-ru* ("fall over"; slang), *korob-u* ("fall over"; colloquial) and *tentoo-suru* ("fall over"; formal and technical) are decreed by a Japanese register rule to co-occur with the Plain, Formal and Super Formal equivalent of the copula, respectively, in speech.

In the case of the second type of register markers, the morphological property of a linguistic form functions as the distinctive feature. An English equivalent to this type is the contrast between the contracted form "it's" vs. its non-contracted equivalent, "it is". A **Contracted Equivalent** of a Japanese agglutinative morpheme, e.g. *-c-cha-*, in contrast with its non-contracted equivalent, *-tte-shima-* (both meaning "have done"), is decreed by a register rule to co-occur with Plain SM, perhaps with Formal SMs, but not with the Super Formal equivalent of the copula in speech.

Finally, presence vs. absence of two types of small particles is also governed by co-occurrence rules. **Sentence-Ending Particles** (or "sentence particles" as they are called by some researchers; e.g. Uyeno 1971), serve to communicate the speaker's attitudes towards the addressee or the content of the utterance. For example, *-ne* (which conveys the speaker's attitude, "I expect you will agree with the proposition of this utterance", and which can be called the **Sentence-Ending Particle of Empathy**), as a tag-question sometimes does in English, and *-yo* (which conveys the speaker's attitude, "I am giving you this information which I am sure is new to you and worth knowing for you", and which can be called the **Sentence-Ending Particle of Assertion**). Such particles are decreed to co-occur with Plain SMs in speech, perhaps with Formal SMs, but not with the Super Formal equivalent of the copula. Presence vs. absence of particular **Case-Indicating Particles**, which are roughly the Japanese equivalents for English prepositions and case inflections such as "I/my/me", also function as a feature which distinguish between registers. Thus, the case-indicating particles, *-e* ("to") and *-o* (Indicator of Object), co-occur with the Super Formal SMs, may or may not co-occur with Formal SMs, and do not normally co-occur with Plain SMs in speech.

To illustrate the co-occurrence of such forms as decreed by stylistic politeness norms, it may be useful to consider the difference between the language use in (g) and (h) in a pair of hypothetical situations. In the first situation, a woman is telling a friend of her brother whom she knows very well that her brother has (unexpectedly) already gone to Kobe; in the second situation, she is giving the same information to her younger brother's supervisor whom she is meeting for the first time:

Form (g)   *Demo,*   *Kobe*   *i-c-cha-tta-yo.*
       But   Kobe   has gone-PLAIN-CONTRACTED-ASSERT
       "But, (he)'s gone to Kobe (I'm sure this is new to you and is worth knowing for you)."

Form (h)   *Des-u-ga,* *Kobe-e* *i-tte-shima-i-mash-ita.*
       Nevertheless Kobe-to has gone-FORMAL
       "(I state with formality that) Nevertheless, (he) has gone to Kobe."

In (g), the colloquial sentence connector, *demo* ("but"), the absence of the case-indicating particle, the contracted form, *-c-cha-* ("has done") and a sentence-ending particle, *-yo*, co-occur with the Plain SM, *-tta*. In (h), on the other hand, a more formal sentence connector, *des-u-ga*, (for which I provide a rough English translation "nevertheless"), the case-indicating particle, *-e* ("to"), the non-contracted form, *-tte-shima-* ("has done") co-occur with the Formal SM, *-i-mash-ita*, and no sentence-ending particle co-occurs. (See Table 6.1 below.)

My illustration of co-occurrence rules so far is simplistic. To describe a more detailed point of such rules, it may be useful to consider the co-occurrence of greeting expressions for a first meeting with address terms in English. "How do you do" is likely to co-occur with TLN, while "Hi" is likely to co-occur with FN. It is not surprising that some forms can appear in a wider range of registers; or, can co-occur with more than one register as defined by the occurrence of other forms. Another possible greeting expression for a first meeting "hello", for example, can co-occur either with FN or with TLN. A parallel phenomenon can be found with the co-occurrence of components of honorific units and other forms. The contracted equivalent of a morpheme, e.g. *-c-cha-* ("has done") can co-occur not only with the combination of honorific components indicated as Level 0 in Fig. 2.2, but also with that indicated at

Levels 1, 2 and perhaps 3. Similarly, the case-indicating particle, -e ("to") can occur not only at Level 4 but also at Level 3 and perhaps Level 2.

Co-occurrence rules decree the use of still another combination of forms for the writing for an unspecified audience, as in (f), which was shown in 6.2.3.1:

Form (f)   *Shikashi,*   *Kobe-e*   *i-tte-shima-tta.*
            However   Kobe-to   has gone-PLAIN
            "However, (he) has gone to Kobe."

In (f), as in (g), a Plain SM, -*tta*, occurs, but at the same time the features found in (h) also occur; i.e. the case-indicating particle, -*e* ("to"), the non-contracted form, -*tte-shima-* ("has done") and no sentence-ending particle. Further, (f) is distinct from both (g) and (h) in that it includes a formal and written-style of sentence connector, *shikashi* ("however"), which is, compared to the formal and non-colloquial sentence connector used in (h), *des-u-ga* ("nevertheless"), more likely to be used in writing.

The three registers, illustrated in (f), (g) and (h), are thus clearly distinct from one another in the combination of honorific and other register markers, although (f) and (g) are similar in terms of the use of Plain SMs, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1   Co-occurrence between honorific components and other forms

	SM	Sentence Connectors	Case-Ind. Particles	Contract. Forms	Sent-End. Particles
(6) Newspaper Article	Plain	Formal/written	+	-	-
(7) Informal Speech	Plain	Colloquial	-	+	+
(8) Formal Speech	Formal	Formal/Spoken	+	-	-

As is illustrated by the co-occurrence of different categories of forms in the three types of language use, it is not the use of a type of honorific component *per se* but rather the use of a particular combination of honorific components and other linguistic forms as well as other linguistic devices

(such as prosodic features) that realizes a register. It follows that honorific components are not a unique linguistic device for the realization of registers, but rather they are one of many types of register markers.

6.2.3.3 Relationship between honorific and stylistic politeness

So far in 6.2.3, I have discussed stylistic politeness norms governing language use in all types of situations, which are correctly regarded as register rules decreeing the combination of honorific and other register markers appropriate for each type of situations. In doing so, I claimed that stylistic politeness is essentially compliance with register rules. To conclude my discussion in 6.2, it is useful to clarify the way in which honorific politeness is related to this overall stylistic politeness.

By decreeing various combinations of different linguistic devices, a great many kinds of stylistic politeness norms distinguish between various registers and probably innumerable sub-registers (e.g. between writing in articles in quality newspaper and those in tabloid ones). However, for the purpose of the discussion here, one can focus on the distinctions between types of registers according to which types of honorific component are decreed and according to whether the types of honorific component are decreed by an SFT- or SER-politeness norm. There should be a much smaller number of these types of registers, which may be called the **Honorific Registers**.

The detailed analysis of norms governing Plain and Neutral honorific components is outside the scope of my research, and therefore I do not intend here to provide an accurate list of honorific registers. However, it seems possible and useful to propose a sketch of a likely way in which stylistic politeness norms distinguish honorific registers, partly based on my intuition concerning the use of Plain and Neutral honorific components, part of which I have discussed above in 6.2.3.

My intuitive observation of the appropriate use of Plain and Neutral components and of the discomfiture I would feel with a breach of such use (as well as the analysis of SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms) suggests the following seven types of honorific registers. In Types 1 and 2 of honorific

registers, Non-Neutral and Non-Plain components are decreed by SER- and SFT-honorific (HF) politeness norms. As discussed in 6.2, Type 1 includes Speaker-Audience settings, and Type 2 includes Seller-Client settings and Personal settings with social distance. (Types 1 and 2 both may include written as well as spoken communication between people in the described social relations).

Types 3 and 4 of honorific registers are alike in that, in both, the combination of Non-Plain and Neutral components is decreed and the use of Neutral RSRCs is decreed by an SER-norm. However, the two Types differ in that the use of Non-Plain SMs is decreed by an SER-norm in Type 3 while it is decreed by an SFT-norm in Type 4. Type 3 may include TV news and writing for a manual or an instruction document (e.g. the explanation of how to fill in a tax return form), and Type 4 may include a boss's speech to a newly employed subordinate and the Seller's speech to a Client at a less prestigious type of firm/restaurant.

In Types 5, 6 and 7, the use of Neutral and Plain components are decreed; by an SER-norm in Type 5, by an SER- and SFT-norm, respectively, in Type 6, and an SFT-norm in Type 7. An example of Type 5 of honorific register may be writing for a newspaper article, and one for Type 6 may be a conversation in a Personal setting without significant social distance between the participants. Type 7 can include Personal setting with extremely small social distance such as between lovers[8].

Based on the distinction between these seven honorific registers, it seems to be reasonable to identify the following two points as possible characteristics of stylistic politeness norms governing the use of honorific components:

1. Stylistic politeness norms governing the use of honorific components can be either SFT- or SER-type.

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[8]   Apart from these seven types, marginal uncommon types may need to be identified, which can be called Types 8, 9 and 10, in all of which Plain SMs together with Non-Neutral RSRCs are decreed. Type 8 includes formal writing for unspecified general audience, in which the author discusses a figure s/he regards as socially higher than her/himself (e.g. her/his personal "hero"). The use of these two types of honorific components is intuitively likely to communicate SER-politeness in such a situation. Type 9 includes formal writing for a particular group of people, in which the author discusses a figure s/he and the audience regard as socially higher than themselves (e.g. their "hero"). The use of a Plain SM seems likely to communicate SER-politeness, while that of a Non-Plain RSRC may communicate SFT-politeness. Type 10 includes Personal setting with very small social distance between participants who have acquired an extremely conservative usage of honorific components.

2. An honorific register may be governed by only an SER-politeness norm, by both SER- and SFT-types or by only an SFT-politeness norm.

These characteristics can be illustrated as shown in Figure 6.2, in which, as in Fig. 6.1, the type of honorific component which is likely to convey SFT-politeness in the setting is indicated by Bold, while others are shown in normal print. Honorific forms are printed in Italic font, while Plain and Neutral components are not.

TYPE 1 *Non-Neutral RSRC* *Non-Plain SM*	TYPE 2 *Non-Neutral RSRC* **Non-Plain SM**	
TYPE 3 Neutral RSRC *Non-Plain SM*	TYPE 4 Neutral RSRC **Non-Plain SM**	
TYPE 5 Neutral RSRC Plain SM	TYPE 6 Neutral RSRC **Plain SM**	TYPE 7 **Neutral RSRC** **Plain SM**

Fig. 6.2 Relationship between honorific and stylistic politeness norms

As Fig. 6.2 illustrates, SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms are a special range of stylistic politeness norms, i.e. register rules, which decree the use of particular types of honorific components. Accordingly, honorific politeness is correctly regarded as the part of stylistic politeness which can be communicated by the compliance with the stylistic politeness norms decreeing the use of particular part of honorific components (as indicated as those printed in italics in Fig.6.2). Obviously, however, language users normally do not comply selectively with this part of stylistic politeness, but rather comply with the whole system of norms, simultaneously making various linguistic choices decreed by the co-occurrence rules. It is therefore more precise to describe honorific politeness as a notion of politeness which people conceive when they focus selectively on language users' use of honorific forms they conduct when appropriately complying with the stylistic politeness norm.

Honorific politeness is often focused upon and has been widely discussed by Japanese linguists, JSL teachers and other native speakers of Japanese. In contrast, the more general notion of stylistic politeness has not. One may want to seek an explanation for this contrast. My discussion on native speakers' evaluative attitudes in 6.3 may provide one.

6.3 Metalinguistic attitudes towards honorific forms

As indicated by the results from Study 3, the use of honorific forms can communicate SFT- and SER-politeness in different situations. The results also illustrate that a Personal setting with horizontal/vertical social distance is one of the situations in which use of such forms can communicate SFT-politeness, whereas a Speaker-Audience setting is a situation in which use of honorific forms can communicate SER-politeness.

The difference between the two types of situation seems to be reflected in native speakers' perceptions of situations in which they think they are careful about their own language use. The results from Study 1 indicate that a larger number of native speakers (including both university students and non-students) think they are careful about the use of honorific forms in a Personal setting with social distance than in a Speaker-Audience setting. This might lead one to conclude that the more serious the politeness consequences of using a feature of language, the more native speakers will think they are careful about using it.

However, it is obvious, from comparing the results from Studies 2 and 3 and those from Study 1, that native speakers do not think they are careful about every type of language use that is likely to communicate a more serious type of politeness. Quantitative and qualitative results from Study 3 clearly indicate that the use of language for communicating the management of illocutionary force, for example, communicates IFT-politeness, which is no less crucial than SFT-politeness in terms of the seriousness of the discomfiture a breach might cause. Both quantitative and qualitative data results from Study 2 also provide evidence to support a stronger perception of seriousness of Illocutionary discomfiture compared to Stylistic discomfiture resulting from failure to use an honorific form appropriately. Nevertheless, quantitative and qualitative data

results from Study 1 indicate that considerably fewer native speakers think they are careful about their language use for the communication of IFT-politeness than about the use of honorific forms for the conveyance of SFT-politeness. The data in fact indicates the majority of native speakers think that, of all types of language use, they are most careful about the use of such forms.

Thus, there is no consistent tendency for native speakers to think that aspects of language use which could cause serious discomfiture, if wrongly performed, are more important than other aspects. There is no association between their evaluations of the importance of a type of language use for communicating politeness and the seriousness of the discomfiture that is likely to result from failure to use such an aspect appropriately. In fact, such a connection is explicitly denied by native speakers. Comments from interviewees suggest that, for a native speaker, being careful about their own language use is often nothing to do with the values found in the avoidance of generating an offence to other participants.

It is important to note here that results from Study 1 do not necessarily indicate that the majority of native speakers are actually more careful about the use of honorific forms than other types of language use for the communication of politeness. Rather they indicate that the majority of them think they are. It is possible, and highly likely, as suggested by comments provided in PQD-1 of my pilot study, that many native speakers are, in fact, careful about their own language use in situations where they need to communicate illocutionary politeness, while still remaining unaware of actually being careful about it. Comments from informants in PQD-1 provided a strong indication that people are more likely to mention the use of honorific forms, when asked to list language use which they think they would be careful about, while agreeing that they are also careful about the use of other forms for illocutionary politeness, when asked whether they are careful in a context in which management of illocutionary force is required.

Therefore, it is appropriate to interpret the results from Study 1 as indicating that native speakers are likely to be more aware of the use of honorific forms than use of other forms for the communication of politeness. An explanation is required as to why they tend to be most aware of the use of honorific forms, while other types of language use can communicate equally or more serious types of politeness. In 6.3, I

discuss what seems to make native speakers more aware of the use of honorific forms than any other type of language use for politeness. Among many factors that appear to make native speakers more aware of this particular type of linguistic choice, the following four interwoven ones seem to be most influential: the difficulties experienced by native speakers learning the traditional usage of such forms (partly caused by recent historical change in the usage of honorific components), the treatment of honorific components in mother tongue education, the desirability of competence in use of such forms in the light of socio-economic aspirations, and the special values that many native speakers seem to associate with honorific forms.

6.3.1 Recent changes in the usage of honorific components

The usage of honorific forms, as well as that of many other forms of Japanese, has been undergoing changes in recent times. In terms of morphological and semantic properties, the contemporary Japanese honorific system consists largely of the same features as those used at the end of World War II. (As far as the basic vocabulary is concerned, the present honorific system has not changed since the sixteenth century (Terashima 1981 and Tobita 1986)). However, the sociolinguistic rules concerning the usage of each form has dramatically changed during the last fifty years (Watanabe 1986).

One of the major factors prompting the change has been the democratization of Japanese society, exemplified by both the demotion of the Emperor in 1946 (from the mysterious status of a god to that of an ordinary human being, with only a symbolic function), and the abolition of legal privileges for former aristocrats. Divided opinions concerning honorific forms and their use were publicized during this period: some claimed that Japanese people need no longer use honorific forms inherited from the old social regime while others insisted that they were necessary to express mutual respect towards one another as the essence of a democratic society (Nishida 1987: 17). In 1952, the Ministry of Education proposed guidelines entitled *Korekara-no Keigo*, (lit. "Honorific forms in the new age") for the use of honorific forms. Two principles were suggested. Firstly, that the system of honorific forms and their usage be simplified by abandoning excessively formal expressions, and secondly that the use of the forms should be based on the egalitarian

principle of mutual respect, rather than on hierarchical separation among people.

The innovations proposed by the Ministry seem to have basically been realized today. For example, the part of honorific lexis prescribed by the Imperial House Acts or *Koshitsu Tenpan* (the supplementary law concerning the royal family legislated in 1889), and used until World War II to refer to the Emperor and other members of the royal family, their possessions, actions, and other things related to them has gradually vanished from the mass media, and certainly from people's daily conversation. The honorific forms which are generally used to refer to ordinary things, instead, are now used regularly to refer to the royal family in the mass media.

The abandonment of the special honorific vocabulary for the royal family was not the only simplification in the use of honorific system. Change also occurred in the use of a more central part of the system, i.e. in that of Non-Neutral RSRCs. The distinction between Exalting and Lowering RSRC forms has become less clear. In part because the morphological difference between the two versions of Non-Neutral RSRCs is subtle, as in *o-hanash-i-ni-nar- u* ("gracefully speak", an Exalting RSRC) vs. *o-hanash-i-suru* ("humbly speak", a Lowering RSRC), people have often been accused of "mixing them up". In other words, a growing number of the younger generation of speakers have used the Lowering RSRC as an Exalting RSRC of a verb. As a result, for a growing number of speakers there is only one RSRC version (i.e. a former Lowering RSRC), which has been adopted as both an Exalting and a Lowering RSRC.

Simplification has not only been achieved by abandoning some components of honorific units, but also by reducing the range of social situations in which honorific forms are supposed to be used. For example, it is common practice for present day school children and their teachers to mutually use Plain SMs in their everyday communication, whereas, in earlier times, children would have used (or, at least, be encouraged to use) Formal SMs when addressing their teachers. In utterances by university students towards their teachers, the use of Formal SMs is more common, but not necessarily that of a Non-Neutral RSRC (with exceptions among students in an athletic club in schools and universities; see 4.3.2.4). To provide some illustration, the majority of my native-speaking students use Formal SMs but do not use a Non-Neutral RSRC in front of me

to refer either to me or to another teacher, although they say they do use an Exalting RSRC in front of some other teachers to refer to them with whom, as one student described, "one feels as if one must speak in a more proper way".

As described in Chapter 2, the use of a Non-Neutral RSRC to refer to an absent third party is normally limited, in present usage, to speech where a Non-Plain SM is chosen (i.e. in speech in a formal situation). In early times, by contrast, it used to be more common to use an Exalting RSRC to refer to a socially higher person, regardless of his/her presence in the situation and regardless of the formality of the situation. Today, it is rare to hear a university student ever use a Non-Neutral RSRC. They do not normally use one to refer to their teacher, to their boss at their part-time job or to a royal event, unless on a formal occasion such as giving a speech at graduation. The choice of a Neutral rather than an Exalting RSRC to refer to an absent third party occurs not only in personal communication among general native speakers but also on TV programmes such as chat-shows and in newspaper articles. To give a prototypical example, in newspaper articles reporting the recent Japanese royal engagement, both Neutral and Exalting RSRCs were used to refer to the prince in different syntactic and discoursal positions. In a brief report on the prince, *The Asahi Shimbun* (the Asahi Newspaper,7 January 1993) used the Exalting RSRC for the verb "studied" in "he studied transportation on the River Thames in the eighteenth century", while it used the Neutral RSRC for "became" in "he became a researcher at ...".

On the same occasion, Hiroshi Kume, a newscaster known for his liberal use of language, used no Exalting RSRC to refer to Masako, the then princess-to-be, on the night of the engagement. (Most other newscasters began using mild versions of Exalting RSRCs to refer to her immediately after the announcement.) In response to the news item reported by his co-newscaster that Masako had announced she could not meet the press that evening because she had a bad cold, Mr Kume said:

> *Uchi-de*   *terebi*   *mite-n-ja-nai-ka-na*
> Home-at   TV   watch-not-I-suspect
> "I suspect she's watching TV at home now."

Another newscaster might well have used some Exalting RSRC for the verb "to watch", and, for that matter, would probably have hesitated to make such a joking comment. It is remarkable that Mr Kume's non-use of an Exalting RSRC to refer to royalty was perfectly acceptable. (But, as Nakaoku (1994) describes, the use of honorific forms in reference to royal members is still flourishing in certain genres of the press, such as women's magazines.)

However, the changes that have taken place in the use of honorific components since World War II have not all been in the direction of simplification and egalitarianism, as the government guidelines anticipated in 1952. As different researchers have commented (e.g. Oishi 1981 and Minami 1987), although the usage of such forms has been simplified in personal encounters, it has become more complicated and elaborate in commercial/business encounters (see also Nomoto 1987). In business circles, the use of honorific forms as well as other formulaic expressions has become increasingly more elaborated (see 2.3.2.3). This bipolar pattern of change in the use of honorific components has been charted by two studies by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1957, 1983; Minami 1987) which were conducted in 1952-1953 and 1972, respectively:

> The quantitative difference in the use of honorific forms between private and public situations in 1972 was significantly more conspicuous than that in 1953; in recent years, people seem to have reduced their use of honorific forms in informal situations and, simultaneously, increased their use in formal situations.
>
> Minami 1987: 156. My translation

The elaboration in the use of honorific forms among business people was so conspicuous that several researchers have provided different terms to refer to such usage. Miyaji (1971) referred to it as *Jukei Keigo* (lit. "honorific expressions used to communicate benefactor/benefactee relationship") while Oishi (1981) called it *Shoogyoo Keigo* (lit. "honorific expressions used in the commercial world").

6.3.2 Difficulty in learning to use honorific components

This bipolar change in the usage of honorific components in recent years has affected the younger generation's acquisition of usage of such forms in three ways. Firstly, for the majority of this generation, the use of honorific forms is no longer a part of everyday language use, and therefore is not acquired as naturally as the use of other forms in verbal communication with their peers in school life and at home. Secondly, in order to become competitive in business, young speakers need to learn how to use the elaborate special honorific expressions employed in the business world. Finally, since a large proportion of the older generation do not accept the new (i.e. both the simplified and elaborated) usage on the whole, young people often have to learn yet another type of usage, i.e. the traditional usage of honorific forms. I discuss each of these three.

As Nomoto (1987) describes, unlike older generations of native speakers for whom formal education functioned as an opportunity to learn the traditional choice of honorific components in everyday life, younger generations have had fewer opportunities to pick up the knowledge of such usage at school, as teachers have tried to eliminate the traditionally subordinate position of their pupils (1987: 63-64).

It has, therefore, become necessary for the majority of younger native speakers to consciously learn how to use the honorific system in the approved manner. For some, after leaving school or university, learning may take the form of language courses given in the work place as part of the training for new employees. It is common for companies, banks, department stores, hotels, airline companies and other service industries to provide new employees with a course of training in the use of honorific and other formulaic forms (Nishida 1987: 23). For others, training may take place in sessions held by high-schools, colleges or universities for students about to go on job interviews. These sessions are often called *shuushoku seminaa* ("job-hunting seminar"). Mock interviews, as well as lectures on honorific forms, are commonly given in such preparatory sessions, and students are likely to be given training in the use of honorific and other formal forms as well as paralinguistic behaviour such as how to bow, how to make eye-contact with the interviewer, and so on, which is socially approved for use in formal settings.

Conscious learning may also take the form of self-study, and books are constantly being published

for such an audience. At least sixty-two titles targeting native speakers wanting to learn "better" use of

honorific forms, as well as other features of formal language, were published between 1980 and 1989

(Nichigai Asoshieitsu 1993). The use of honorific forms and other stylistic choices of form have also been the

focus of both independent articles and special issues featuring such topics in various journals and magazines.

For example, *Gengo Seikatsu* (a magazine for both academic and general audience) produced special issues

on honorific components in 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1976, 1979, and 1982 (the magazine closed in 1988),

and *Gengo* (another such magazine) in 1979.

Other changes in the use of honorific components adds difficulty to any younger speaker learning to

use such forms. In most verbal communication younger people take part in prior to completing their

education, they hardly ever need to use any kind of honorific form. For many such young speakers, having just

finished their education and entered "adult life", they need to learn the usage of increasingly elaborate

formulaic honorific expressions, especially those who have been recruited by a large, prestigious business

firm. Consequently, young speakers are confronted with complicated linguistic forms which they have hardly

encountered before. One manual on language use for business, provided to new employees by an insurance

company, illuminates the amount and type of knowledge and skills a new employee is expected to acquire

during the initial training course. It includes a long list of expressions presented to illustrate the differences

between three speech styles: the style appropriate for addressing a junior/equal colleague, the style for

addressing a senior colleague or a customer, and the style which should be chosen exclusively for addressing

a customer (see Table 6.2). Although the three styles roughly correspond to those in which Plain, Formal and

Super Formal Levels of SMs are likely to occur, the third style includes extremely elaborate forms which are

normally used only by a Seller from an exclusively prestigious company in a Seller-Client.

Further adding to young people's difficulty of learning how to use honorific expressions are

prescriptive ideas prevailing in training sessions and self-training books on honorific forms. Apart from the

on-going usage of honorific components (i.e. simplified usage of them in informal Non-Personal settings and

increasingly elaborated usage of them in business settings), the traditional usage exists, at least as an idea,

Table 6.2 Examples of the expressions a new employee needs to learn

MEANING	JUN./EQUAL COL.	SENIOR COL./ CUSTOMER	CUSTOMER
The person accompany-ing you	*Issho-no hito* Accompanying person	*Go-issho no kata* "Honorably accompanying person"	*O-tsure-sama* "Honorably acompanying honorable person-SUPER FORMAL
(We) cannot.	*Deki-nai* "Can't-PLAIN"	*Deki-masen* "Cannot-FORMAL"	*Itashi-kane-masu* Do-impossible-FORMAL
That is not us (i.e. the company)	*Uchi-ja nai* Us COPULA-PLAIN-NEGATIVE	*Uchi-de-wa ari-masen* Us COPULA-FORMAL-NEGATIVE	*Watakushi-domo-no kaisha-dewa gozai-masen* "Our humble company COPULA-SUPER FORMAL-NEGATIVE"

(Adopted from a manual for new employees of Mitsui Kaijo Kasai Hoken)

which offers a basis for various criticisms of on-going newer usage (i.e. both "over-simplified" and "over-elaborated" usage of honorific components). A letter to the magazine *Gengo Seikatsu*, which welcomes letters from readers, pointed to the newer usage of Lowering RSRC, *go-riyoo shi-te*, ("(humbly) use") in a flyer distributed by a former Japanese telecom company, in which it was used as an Exalting RSRC to refer to a customer's action of using telephone:

> *Denwa-o   o-riyoo shi-te iru   minasama-e*
> Telephone-OBJ   using-HUMBLE is   everyone-to
> "To everyone who is (humbly) using telephone."

Taniguchi in *Gengo Seikatsu* no. 213 (1969): 54.

The writer states that he is uncomfortable with the use of the Lowering RSRC in this position of the sentence, although he suspects that the use of such a form in a position where, according to the traditional rule an Exalting RSRC ought to be used, has become common among younger speakers. (Many Japanese linguists have also made similar prescriptive statements; see Nomoto (1987) and Kikuchi (1994), for example.)

Omission of honorific forms in situations where, traditionally, the use of one would be appropriate, has also been criticized; for example, the non-use of an Exalting RSRC when the speaker should use one, according to the traditional rule (Miyaji 1957), or the non-use of a Formal SM by school children when

talking to their teacher (Ohashi 1976).

"Over-elaborated" usage of honorific components has also been criticized. A dictionary of appropriate use of honorific forms edited by Muraishi (1992), for example, forbids readers to use an Exalting RSRC in the structure of [o-STEM OF VERB-*i-ni-nar-u*] together with the suffix which also marks Exalting RSRC, [-*a-re-ru*], such as in *o-komar-i-ni-nar-a-re-ru* (very gracefully suffer), since it is redundant and over-elaborate and therefore supposed to be incorrect. Controversy about such "over-elaborated" usage of honorific components seems to have annoyed people for a long time. As early as 1957, Yamashita, then-executive at a broadcasting company, wrote an article in which he attempted to defend announcers from ongoing criticism of the over-use of honorific components. He states, "Such misuses and exploitation of honorific forms by broadcasting announcers can also be seen as a reflection of the confusion over the use of honorific forms among Japanese in general" (Yamashita 1957: 57. My translation). (For similar criticisms made by Japanese linguists on the newer usage of honorific components commonly followed in business world, see, for example, Minami 1987, Oishi 1976, Uno1985, and Bunkacho 1986.)

Thus, as a result of the historical change in the usage of honorific components, a younger generation of native speakers are in a confusing situation, where they have considerably less chance to pick up the use of such forms in their everyday life, but are nevertheless expected to learn increasingly more elaborate honorific expressions, and, moreover, may be pressured to acquire the traditional usage which in fact is rarely used nowadays. It is, therefore, not surprising that many young people have been finding it difficult to use honorific components. This was exemplified by one of my interviewees as I reported in 4.3.2.3:

> To be quite honest, I don't care for honorific components, partly because I never feel confident about how to use those forms....

Quantitative data from different studies indicate that the majority of native speakers feel insecure about the use of honorific forms. For example, a 1979 survey by the NHK (or Nihon Hoso Kyokai, the Japanese equivalent of the BBC) of 2,639 subjects, shows that about half of those who were born after 1940 said honorific forms were a nuisance (NHK Sogo Hoso Bunka Kenkyujo and Hoso Seron Chosajo 1980). More

recent research, in the form of a questionnaire conducted by Kikuchi in 1993 among university students and other adult native speakers, revealed that only 9.2% of those who were then under age 50 felt confident in the use of honorific forms, compared to 37.8 % among subjects 50 and older (Kikuchi 1994). (These results seem to explain the findings of Study 1 which suggest that university students are more likely to be aware of the use of such forms than non-students are. Speakers who are less confident about the use of honorific forms are probably more likely to be more aware of it, and to think that they are careful about them.) One of the respondents to a questionnaire which I conducted at the end of my talk on honorific components (the **Lecture-end Questionnaire**, henceforth, see below for the details of my talk) also described, accurately in my view, the situation whereby the on-going change in the use of these forms affects the learning of the usage: "Although people often say 'younger people do not know how to use honorific components', I feel the usage of those forms are too difficult to learn, which lead people not to use them, which in turn makes the learning even more difficult."

Thus, as a result of the dramatic changes in the use of honorific components after the war, the younger generation of speakers are forced to learn increasingly complicated and elaborate usage (or, usages) of honorific components in a conscious rather than a natural way. The resulting difficulty that those speakers ought to feel obviously makes them aware of the use of such forms, while they learn and perform other aspects of language use including linguistic choice for managing illocutionary force in a considerably more automatic manner.

6.3.3 Teaching about honorific components in mother tongue education

Another factor which seems to reinforce native speakers higher awareness of the use of honorific forms is the influence of mother tongue education.

The Ministry of Education's Course of Study (or, the *Monbusho Gakushu Shido Yoryo*) sets curriculum standards for all primary and secondary schools in Japan. According to the Course of Study, the teaching of *Kokugo* (the National Language) in primary and lower secondary schools, deals with three

interrelated aspects: Expression, Comprehension and Linguistic Matters. The third aspect, Linguistic Matters, includes two segments: 1) pronunciation, characters and writing system, vocabulary, (sentence and discourse) grammar and *kotoba-zukai* (language/words use), and 2) calligraphy. The final part of the first segment, *kotoba-zukai* (language/words use) includes learning about honorific components as well as written vs. spoken styles and *kyootsuu-go* (the common language) vs. regional dialects. Thus, language use for the communication of stylistic politeness is regarded by the Course of Study as one of the items that should be taught to young native speakers of Japanese. On the other hand, the curriculum for primary and (lower and upper) secondary schools set forth by the Course of Study includes no section concerning language use for the communication of illocutionary politeness.

The standard curriculum decrees that children, who normally start speaking with only Plain SMs and Neutral RSRCs, should start learning to use Formal SMs appropriately both in speech and writing in the first year of primary school (ages six and seven). While the learning about the choice between the Plain and Formal styles is continually reinforced in the curriculum up to upper secondary school level, students are not just taught the traditional (i.e. the "correct") usage of such forms. For example, in a textbook entitled *Kokugo Chu 3* ("Japanese for the third year lower secondary school students") (published by Mitsumura Tosho Publisher and approved for use in the academic year 1993-1994), examples of so-called "incorrect" (i.e. newer) usage of Lowering RSRCs are provided along with brief notes cautioning students to be careful not to follow the usage. In addition to knowledge concerning the traditional usage of honorific components, technical knowledge **about** honorific components is taught to students at three stages in their education: in the fifth year of primary school (ages ten and eleven), in the third year of the lower secondary school (ages fourteen and fifteen) and in the upper secondary school to those in the second course of *Kokugo* (the National Language). Thus, young native speakers are taught about the distinction among the three types of categorization of honorific forms: a Non-Plain SM, an Exalting and Lowering RSRC, and the technical terms for each of these categories of forms, *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go* and *kenjoo-go*.

A curriculum in which both the use of honorific forms and technical knowledge about such forms are

repeatedly taught, while the use of other forms for the communication of other domains of politeness is not, naturally causes difference in the amount of knowledge students have at a conscious level of the two types of language. Apart from the difficulties many younger generation native speakers experience in using honorific forms, the larger amount of knowledge they tend to acquire about the use of honorific forms is likely to make them more aware of the use of such forms than linguistic choice for illocutionary politeness.

It is remarkable that native speakers are better equipped with (prescriptive) rules for the usage of honorific components and with semanticists' technical knowledge about such forms than they are for language use for the communication of illocutionary and other domains of politeness. The difference is clearly reflected in the manner in which native speakers describe language use for different domains of politeness. As is indicated by qualitative data results from Study 1, native speakers describe different aspects of the use of honorific forms for stylistic politeness in a considerably more uniform and orderly manner than those of language use for illocutionary politeness (See 4.3.2.3). For example, many subjects and interviewees employed the terms, *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go* and *kenjoo-go* to distinguish between a Non-Plain SM, an Exalting RSRC and an Lowering RSRC in simple and concise sentences in a uniform manner. They also employed the term *meue* ("socially higher") to refer to the situational feature relevant to the choice of honorific components, although there are many other possible terms, such as *toshiue* ("older"), *erai* and *chii-ga-takai* (both "of higher status"), to refer to the same notion. On the other hand, subjects and interviewees used a much wider variety of terms and modes to refer to language use for illocutionary politeness, and many provided a concrete example. What is interesting is that the term *meue* ("socially higher") is one which is often used in school textbooks to refer to the situational feature in the explanation of the traditional usage of honorific components (e.g. *Kokugo 5*, "Japanese for the fifth year primary school pupils").

6.3.4   Native speakers' evaluative attitudes towards honorific forms

In terms of factors which seem to make native speakers more aware of the use of honorific forms for the communication of politeness than the use of other aspects of language use, I have so far discussed difficulties

that the young generation of native speakers tend to experience in using such forms, and the knowledge that a school education tends to given them. Besides these, however, another set of factors seem to be involved. They seem to provide an explanation for why young native speakers are unlikely to give up trying to learn how to use honorific components appropriately, despite the difficulties they experience. I discuss them based on quantitative and qualitative data from several sources including my own studies.

The first factor relates to the desirability of linguistic competence in the use of such forms for young native speakers. Prescriptive statements criticizing the newer usage of honorific components are obviously, from a descriptive point of view, expressions of dissatisfaction or protest on the part of an older generation of native speakers, and would seem to be something one can do very little about, as Greenbaum suggests in analyzing the English case:

"People resist innovations .... We do not easily abandon life time practices. Our language is personal to each of us, imprinted in our brains - the medium for our private thoughts as well as the channel for communicating with others."

1988 [1984]: 13

If this is applicable to the Japanese case, it seems reasonable for the younger generation of Japanese native speakers to accept and try hard to master the prescriptive rules concerning the use of honorific components, even if they had no other reason to do so. This, after all, is the usage which prevailed at the time that their job-interviewers, bosses and some of their customers were learning to use those forms. For, if those people's linguistic attitudes cannot be altered and they are socially in a position in which their feelings and judgements are likely to affect the younger people's course of life, there would not be much point in the latter attempting to resist those attitudes.

The ability to make a traditionally correct use among honorific components is a competence likely to be considered as desirable in the process of gaining employment, most typically in service industries

and more generally in companies and organizations of a certain size and prestige. Many university and high school students prefer a place in one of such companies rather than less prestigious ones, as such organizations usually guarantee greater job security as well as a higher salary. Therefore it is not surprising that many such young people would aspire to acquire the knowledge and ability to deal with honorific components, and the socio-economic reasoning is likely to motivate young speakers to struggle on to learn the traditional usage of honorific forms.

This reasoning was expressed by my students in the lecture-end questionnaire, which was distributed after a lecture which I gave on honorific forms to 417 first-year students at a women's university. In my talk, I compared contemporary usage of honorific components with that prescribed in books on the traditional usage of those forms, and forecast that the use of honorific forms in informal situations would become even simpler, and might even vanish, in the fairly near future. Part of the questionnaire asked the students to make comments with regard to Japanese honorific forms, including their own likes and dislikes towards them. While a number stated that they did not care for honorific forms, no single subjects stated that they would stop learning the appropriate usage of honorific components, but the majority explicitly said that they would continue learning. With regard to why they thought they should continue to struggle with the learning, 289 respondents stated that there was no way to avoid it, since most Japanese people would not stop regarding the proper use of the forms as desirable in the near future.

Thus, recognition of the value of linguistic competence as a means for the achievement of socio-economic goals is clearly one of the factors which encourages young native speakers to strive to acquire the traditional usage of honorific components. However, few speakers seem motivated to learn for purely socio-economic reasons. If many decided to make the effort to acquire the competence only as a means for achieving socio-economic goals, many would welcome rather than lament the future extinction of the honorific system. However, as my data clearly indicates, many native speakers want the honorific system and its usage to remain as it is. In a questionnaire conducted by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1964), over 39 % of subjects (479 samples) preferred the usage of honorific

components to remain unchanged rather than for it to become simplified, while about 27 % preferred it to

become simplified. The results are particularly significant when one considers that the question was worded

in such a way that subjects were encouraged to make particular choices:

.

> Use of honorific forms tends to make our verbal communication take longer. Some people
> consider we should reduce the use of honorific components, considering the pace of life
> today, when we have been becoming busier and busier. Which of the following is the closest
> to your opinion with regard to this issue?
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | (1) We should reduce the use of honorific forms | 6.9 % |
> | (2) We need not reduce the use of honorific forms | 9.4 % |
> | (3) Cannot say one or the other | 2.9% |
> | (4) Other | 9.8% |
> | (5) Don't know | 1.4% |

Cited in Tanaka 1969: 26. My translation.

Unfortunately, responses by the younger generation were not given. The responses to another

question asked, however, seem to suggest that the younger generation (then thirty-year-old and younger or,

roughly, born after 1934) did not differ significantly from the older ones (then fifty-one-year-old and older or,

roughly, born before 1913) in terms of their preference for the retention of the use of the existing system. The

question and the results are as follows:

> Some people claim that a society requires order, and honorific forms reflect that order. It is
> therefore indisputable that we should use them. Which of the following is closest to your
> opinion on the issue?
>
> | | OLDER | YOUNGER |
> |---|---|---|
> | (1) We should use them. | 87.7 % | 70.1 % |
> | (2) One cannot say we should use them. | 5.7% | 15.3 % |
> | (3) Cannot say one or the other | 2.8% | 10.3 % |
> | (4) Other | 2.8 % | 3.4% |
> | (5) Don't Know | 0.9 % | 0.9 % |

Cited in Tanaka 1969: 26. My translation.

People's attitudes towards the maintenance of usage of honorific components has not decreased in recent years during which the bipolar change in the usage of honorific components has occurred. A recent questionnaire conducted by Kikuchi (1994) found that over 94 % of his subjects (given as over 600 samples, including university students and older generations) chose "I want to be able to use the honorific forms correctly and appropriately", over the other option given in the questionnaire: "I wish Japanese would use no honorific forms in the future".

It is thus evident that many university students and other young native speakers feel eager and enthusiastic, rather than merely obliged, to learn the traditional usage of honorific forms. In other words, many of the younger generation share, rather than decide to make use of, the evaluative attitudes towards honorific forms and their traditional usage which the older generation hold, finding certain value in them. Such value seems to have two interrelated bases. One relates to the socio-economic class people tend to associate with the competence in the use of honorific forms, and the other to a myth of the uniqueness of the Japanese language.

As clearly indicated by the statistical results from Study 3, a lack of ability in using honorific forms can cause SER-discomfiture and be perceived as vulgar, ill-bred, immature and untutored. This implies that the ability to use such forms in the traditional manner as part of one's **Linguistic Repertoire** (Gumperz 1964) is associated with higher social class and/or a higher level of education. The reversed version of this association was explicitly commented upon by one of the interviewees; she claimed that the ability to use honorific components "properly" in speech is an indicator of sophistication and higher professionalism, and that she wished to acquire it (see 4.3.2.4).

Underlying the link that native speakers seem to make between competence in the use of honorific forms and social class and/or level of education, there seem to be actual differences between socio-econo-cultural groups in the use of such forms. A survey conducted by the National Language Research Institute indicates that white-collar workers tend to make more elaborate use of honorific forms than blue-collar workers in the same firm (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1982). It is reasonable to assume that the perceived

value of using honorific forms is partly based on the favourable associations that native speakers have of honorific forms and their use.

The other aspect of the value, on the other hand, relates to the prevailing myths of the uniqueness of the Japanese language. Illuminating statements were obtained from my lecture-end questionnaire. Of my 412 students, seventy-one (17.2 %) stated they felt they should try to improve their competence in use of honorific forms, because they believed that the existence of an honorific system was the characteristic beauty of the Japanese language. One student stated, "It is very hard to use honorific forms appropriately, but I will do my best to learn how to do so, because the existence of these forms, which are so complex and hard to master, is one of the unique characteristics of the Japanese language." Another wrote, "It would be very sad if future Japanese stopped using honorific forms as you suggested in your talk, because they are the most beautiful part of our language which we have inherited from our ancestors."

Native speakers of all ages generally believe that Japanese is the only language that has an honorific system. Thirty-eight (9.1 %) of the respondents to my lecture-end questionnaire expressed surprise upon hearing, in my talk, that languages other than Japanese also have an honorific system, and four of them wrote that they were "disappointed to know that honorific forms are not unique to Japanese, as I had been told." The idea that an honorific system is unique to Japanese has been so prevalent that several authors have had to make a point of stating that there are many other languages which also feature such forms (e.g. Hayashi and Minami 1974, Minami 1987, *Gengo* 16-8 (1987) and Sugito 1988).

Native speakers of Japanese tend to feel their language is unique not only in terms of its complex honorific system but also in more general terms. For example, in a survey conducted by NHK, 79 % of native speakers indicated that they thought Japanese was more difficult to learn than other languages, a majority of 71% felt that it was impossible to translate something said in Japanese, which is characterized by so many delicate and sensitive nuances, into another language, while 81% expressed the opinion that Japanese is a beautiful language (NHK Hoso Bunka Kenkyujo 1991).

There is a view that Japanese behaviour (both linguistic and otherwise) is so different from that of

other nationalities that the theories which are applicable to other peoples are not applicable to them, and this has often been labelled as "the myth of Japanese uniqueness" (or *Nihon-jin-tokushu-ron* in Japanese). Not unlike claims of Japanese uniqueness in other fields such as anthropology (e.g. Benedict 1946, and Nakane 1967), sociology (e.g. Vogel 1978), psychology (e.g. Doi 1971) and other social sciences (see Sugimoto and Mauer 1982 for details), claims concerning the uniqueness of the honorific system seem to date back before World War II. One of the most influential researchers into honorific forms, Matsushita (1923, 1924), claimed that Japanese people differed from other nationalities in terms of the depth of their consideration for others' feelings. He stated that the highly developed honorific system in the language "was the reflection of this characteristic of Japanese people, and should be regarded as a valuable system" (Matsushita 1924: 339, cited by Nishida 1987: 247. My translation).

Such claims regarding the value of the Japanese honorific system have been introduced to ordinary native speakers through formal education. The official Japanese language textbook for the sixth-graders published in 1942 states:

It is a remarkably unique characteristic of our language that we can delicately express respect and modesty through the use of honorific components....That the language has developed the honorific system to such an extent is a manifestation of the nobility and traditional beauty of our nation.

Kokutei Kyokasho "Shoto-ka kokugo" vol. 7, cited in Nishida 1987: 7. My translation.

The myth about the uniqueness of the Japanese language does not seem to be presented to young native speakers today in the same overtly direct manner as it was in pre-war days. However, inculcation of the concept of Japanese uniqueness in younger generations has continued through various means. For example, M. Oishi (personal communication 1996) states that while she was a student (in 1970s and 1980s), she was encouraged to believe that Japanese was a language with a number of unique characteristics through

vague statements in texts on the language presented in school textbooks for *Kokugo* (the National Language). She also claims that similar misleading statements about the language are still easily found in current official textbooks, providing the following examples:

"No equivalent to *natsukashii* (nostalgic) is found in another language" (*Kokugo 3*, 1992. My translation.)

"The beautiful Japanese linguistic sounds...." (*Gendai-no Kokugo 3*, 1992. My translation.)

"Japanese speakers (who can use Sentence-end particles) can express more subtle feelings and emotions than speakers of other languages" (*Atarashii Kokugo 3*, 1992. My translation.)

Oishi's list of misleading statements about the Japanese language includes those concerning honorific components and their use as in:

"Honorific forms are certainly complex, but on the other hand, proper use of such forms is indescribably beautiful" (*Atarashii Kokugo 3*, 1992. My translation.)

Thus, the teaching of and about honorific components clearly has not been done in a descriptive manner[9], nor has it been done purely for the consideration of providing all children with the opportunity for social mobility, although equipping all children with linguistic competence meritorious for their future social and professional life is one of the purposes in teaching such forms in school, as clearly stated in the Course of Study[10]. Rather, it has been done in a prescriptive manner, so that the message transmitted to the younger generations conveys both the particular aesthetic value that some people place on honorific forms, and the connection that some people perceive between such a value and the belief in Japanese uniqueness.

So far in 6.3, I have highlighted four external and internal factors which seem to make many native

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[9] This was manifested in a recent incident I witnessed at a conference organized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (or *Bunkacho*) and other (national and local) governmental organizations for education for primary and secondary school teachers in Kokugo in October 1997. One teacher participant expressed the opinion that these days schools are not effectively teaching children the use of honorific forms because the social relationship between teachers and pupils is more egalitarian than it used be. He proposed that the traditional social division between the two parties be reinstated, so that the teaching of the use of honorific forms can be more naturally and effectively done in schools. A facilitator from the governmental committee seemed deeply impressed by his opinion and gave a strong approving comment on it.

[10] Thus, a discussion of the treatment of honorific forms in schools can be relevant to those who are concerned about issues originated by Bernstein (1971), namely linguistic repertoires, social class and education in schools.

speakers be significantly more aware of the choices of honorific forms associated with the communication of stylistic politeness than those associated with the communication of illocutionary politeness. One external factor relates to the difficulties native speakers are likely to encounter in acquiring the usage of honorific forms. Another external factor, which leads people to make the effort to acquire the competence in the usage despite these difficulties, is the socio-economic reasoning that such competence is useful in furthering career goals. An internal factor which also encourages people to continue making the effort is the aesthetic value which many native speakers place on honorific forms. Finally, all three factors are transmitted and reinforced by the remaining external factor, treatment of such forms in primary and secondary education.

6.3.5 Honorific components and diglossia

In 6.2, my exploration of the function which honorific components perform as a type of linguistic device for enacting politeness leads one to conclude that such forms are one of many register markers. It also shows that Plain and/or Neutral components are no less important than Non-Plain and/or Non-Neutral ones in terms of the function they perform as a register marker. However, my investigation in 6.3 above reveals that Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components are distinct from other honorific components, from other types of register markers and from all other types of linguistic device utilized for the communication of politeness. Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components are a unique category of linguistic device in that native speakers find special value in such forms which they do not find in any other type of forms.

It is clear now that this value is distinct from and unrelated to the value people place on avoiding causing discomfiture in verbal interaction with other participants. Instead, they are characterized by the following four aspects. Firstly, native speakers seem to find special value in the use of these forms in situations which they perceive to be "formal". It seems, therefore, that native speakers tend to find the value not only in the linguistic forms themselves, but also in the use of such forms in appropriate situations, without making a clear distinction between them. Secondly, native speakers tend to feel that the forms and their usage are beautiful, and are therefore a valuable part of the language system. Consequently, the value can be

described as aesthetic in nature. Thirdly, this aesthetic value is connected to social prestige. Speakers who are competent in the traditional use of such forms often belong to, and epitomize, a high socio-economic group with better education. Finally, in the majority of cases, acquisition of the usage of these forms is done through formal education rather than as part of a vernacular speech.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, politeness theorists have mainly dealt with the scope of illocutionary politeness, and focused their attention on politeness norms. It is not surprising, then, that native speakers' evaluative attitudes towards the language and its use have not been a topic for discussions within politeness theory. However, among sociolinguists who study linguistic choice for the realization of registers, some have focused their attention on native speakers' metalinguistic evaluations of particular register markers. For example, Blom and Gumperz (1972) highlight the social identity value which native speakers tend to find in (the use of) a dialect in Norway, which is a code in opposition to the standard national code.

Among various notions employed in discussions of stylistic choice, **Diglossia**, put forward by Ferguson (1959), is unique in that it explicitly refers to native speakers' metalinguistic evaluative attitudes towards a particular category of linguistic device utilized as a register marker. I argue that the tendency for Japanese native speakers to place special value on Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components is one form of the evaluative linguistic attitudes discovered among speakers of communities discussed under the notion of diglossia.

First of all, however, I need to clarify my use of the term "diglossia". It was originally used to refer to a situation in which two or more varieties of the same language are used as register markers and one of the varieties is valued by native speakers as higher than the other(s). The variety regarded as higher is referred to as **High Language** (H) and the other(s), **Low Language** (L). In Ferguson's (1959) original discussion, H is a standardized linguistic code, whereas L is a genetically related vernacular code. Four examples of his **Diglossic Communities** are:

Cairo:	H: Classical Arabic	L: Egyptian Arabic
Zurich:	H: Standard German	L: Swiss German
Port-au-Prince:	H: French	L: Haitian Creole
Modern Greek:	H: Literary Greek	L: Greek

Later researchers have reported various linguistic communities in which different types of devices can be regarded as functioning as H. For example, Fishman (1967) reports a situation where higher and lower evaluations of two unrelated language are made by native speakers of two unrelated languages in a bilingual community. (See also Valdman 1987, 1989 for related discussions.)

It is also clear that the distinction between H and L can be gradual (and therefore H can be a vague rather than clearly definable concept). Saleh (1997), for example, argues that Egyptian Arabic features a gradation of registers from the highest to the lowest, rather than two clear-cut H and L, as Ferguson (1959) suggests. Haugen (1962) also refers to similar continuous H-L registers in certain languages and refers to the phenomenon as "Schizo-glossia".

Consequently, the term has been used to refer to situations which vary in terms of the linguistic aspects of the codes functioning as H and L and the relationship between them. For the purpose of my present discussion, in which I deal with the relevance of diglossia to the Japanese native speakers' metalinguistic attitudes towards honorific components, I focus exclusively on native speakers' evaluation of register markers in a diglossic community. I therefore ignore all the linguistic properties of H in each of such communities, e.g. whether H is an independent language and whether H and L are clearly distinct sets of register markers. In doing so, I adopt the following view of diglossia by Fishman (1967):

> diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages" but, also, in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.
>
> Fishman 1967: 30.

Adopting Fishman's notion, it is appropriate to regard the value that many native speakers place on Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components as a form of diglossic value, by which I refer to the

value speakers place on their H in a diglossic community. Of the four characteristics I identified in relation to the Japanese case, all of them are clearly found in the evaluation of the H in diglossic communities[11].

Firstly, in a diglossic community, the situations in which it is appropriate to use H (such as in a sermon in a church or mosque, a speech in parliament or a political speech, a university lecture or news broadcast) are regarded as being distinguished from those in which it is appropriate to use L (such as in a conversation at home, among family and close friends and during informal activities such as shopping). Furthermore, the former situations are perceived as more formal, serious and significant situations than the latter (Ferguson 1959).

Secondly, H is believed to be more beautiful, more formal and more valuable than L. Thus, H in the Tamil community is regarded as the language of "purity and correctness" (Britto 1991: 64), while H in the Chinese diglossia of the pre-Christian era was viewed as the "supreme" variety (Peyraube 1991). What seems particularly interesting is that such beliefs are also likely to be held by speakers whose command of H is quite limited (Ferguson 1959: 331). This is very similar to the view likely to be held by young speakers of Japanese towards the use of Japanese honorific forms, as was shown in my lecture-end questionnaire (see 6.3.4).

Thirdly, H is the code perceived as the language of prestige. It is characteristically connected to a higher social class and/or the better educated in society; for example, this is the case with Sanskrit, H, in the Indo-European speaking parts of India, which is closely associated with the male Brahmins (Deshpande 1991).

Finally, H is the code which native speakers acquire by conscious learning through formal education, and accordingly, while the grammatical structure of L is learned without explicit discussion of grammatical concepts, the grammar of H is learned in terms of "rules and norms to be imitated" (Ferguson 1959:239).

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[11] The relevance of diglossia to the written vs. spoken registers of Japanese is discussed by Coulmas (1991) but no one (to my knowledge) points to that to honorific registers. It is unfortunate, in my view, that some researchers (e.g. Errington 1991), by denying the applicability of the notion to the Japanese stylistic politeness, fail to recognize the uniqueness of the notion, which take into account native speakers' linguistic attitudes towards particular linguistic devices.

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As discussed so far in this section, each of these four characteristics are applicable to native speakers of Japanese and Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components. It is therefore appropriate to regard such honorific components (or, more precisely, the registers in which they are used appropriately) as H in Japanese, and, accordingly, to regard as diglossic, the value native speakers find in such forms.

I wish to make a final note as to whether diglossic value is likely to be connected with native speakers' chauvinistic attitudes towards their own language as a whole, which, in the case of Japanese, is the myth of its uniqueness. No discussion of diglossia (to my knowledge) makes explicit mention of it. However, it is reasonable to assume that people, if they perceive any type of superiority of their own language over another, are more likely to find an exemplary manifestation of the superiority in whatever they regard as H (e.g. a written register) rather than in L (e.g. a spoken register and a stigmatized social dialect) in the language. For example, as a survey indicates (Nishihara 1988), Japanese high school students are likely to regard written registers such as "language used in the novels" as more beautiful than spoken ones such as "Japanese used in TV and radio). The similar tendency can be found in English. In *Pygmalion*, Professor Higgins' linguistic patriotism drove him to regard literary work in English as an H, while he regarded so-called Cockney accent as an L, notable in his criticism of Eliza Doolittle's pronunciation:

> Listen to this, Pickering. This is what we pay for as elementary education. This unfortunate animal has been locked up for nine years in school at our expense to teach her to speak and read the language of Shakespeare and Milton. And the result is Ahyee, Buyee, Ceyee ...
>
> Shaw 1916, *Pygmalion*, Act II

If chauvinistic attitudes towards the value of a language are common among native speakers, they will most likely be connected with H rather than L. However, speakers in some societies may not attribute such values to their language, and diglossia in such a linguistic society will obviously have no corresponding equivalent to

the Japanese uniqueness myth.

6.4 Summary of this chapter

This chapter has discussed honorific politeness norms and native speakers' attitudes towards Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components. I first clarified that Japanese honorific politeness can be either SFT- or SER-politeness depending on the type of situation in which it operates, but that it is regarded as a special part of the observance of register co-occurrence rules, which decree different types of language use appropriate for different situations. I also argued that honorific components are one of many types of register markers.

Next, I analyzed the background of native speakers' greater degree of awareness in using Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components compared with their use of other aspects relating to politeness. I suggested that, apart from external factors (i.e. difficulties in learning the usage, socio-economic incentives to learn the usage, and treatment of such forms in school education), there is an internal motivation (i.e. special values that native speakers are likely to find in using such honorific components) that seems to play a role in making native speakers more aware of the use of honorific forms. I finally argued that the value native speakers tend to find in honorific forms is diglossic in nature.

Chapter 7: Implications and Concluding Comments

This chapter discusses the implications of my research findings and suggests some areas for further research.

7.1   Implications for JSL teaching

7.1.1   The need to teach politeness other than honorific politeness

My research findings indicate that, in terms of the seriousness of discomfiture that a breach can cause, illocutionary politeness is no less crucial in Japanese than stylistic politeness. So if a JSL syllabus aims at helping learners use language appropriately, so that they do not inadvertently cause discomfiture, it is essential that the syllabus covers linguistic choices for the management of illocutionary force.

However, as I briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, many current mainstream JSL textbooks are not sufficiently helpful for such learners, as such textbooks only teach the stylistic choice of honorific forms as a means for communicating politeness, and neglect choices among other forms that convey illocutionary politeness. For example, mainstream JSL textbooks introduce a number of expressions that are appropriate to use when making a request (for instance -te kudasai and -te-kudasai-masen-ka, occur in many), but learners are only taught to choose among them on basis of situational features, namely, the social distance between the speaker and the addressee. Such textbooks fail to provide learners with sufficient knowledge about how to mitigate the cost they are imposing in making the request. It would be more helpful if textbooks presented the range of expressions that native speakers of Japanese can use in requests, depending on both situational features and the size of the imposition of the request[1].

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[1] I have previously discussed the inadequacies often found in the syllabus in mainstream JSL textbooks in terms of the treatment of expressions which are utilized as linguistic devices for the communication of illocutionary politeness, and proposed a better syllabus for the elementary level of JSL teaching (see Tsuruta 1993, 1995).

Meanwhile, although this is beyond the main scope of my research, my results also suggest that other domains of politeness, apart from stylistic and illocutionary politeness, can be crucial. The findings imply that it is not sufficient for a JSL learner only to acquire knowledge about how to communicate stylistic and illocutionary politeness appropriately, and hence how to avoid inadvertently using uncomfortable Japanese in these domains. A JSL syllabus, therefore, needs to pay attention to the ways in which all aspects of language use and linguistic behaviour affect all types of politeness.

7.1.2   The teaching of honorific forms as a means of preventing serious discomfiture

My research findings also indicate that the use of honorific forms can convey both SFT-politeness and SER-politeness. SFT-politeness can be conveyed when a Formal SM is used either in a Personal setting with horizontal and/or vertical social distance, or in a Seller-Client setting. SER-politeness is likely to be communicated when a Formal SM is used in a Speaker-Audience setting, and when a Non-Neutral RSRC is used in all types of formal situations.

This implies that the two types of usage of honorific forms have different degrees of importance for learners who wish to avoid generating SFT-discomfiture. It is reasonable to presume that the majority of learners will want to avoid unintentionally causing serious discomfiture, and that therefore it will be more important for them to learn about communicating SFT-politeness than SER-politeness.

So in order to develop learners' competence in appropriate language use, and to help them avoid causing serious discomfiture, it is necessary for a JSL syllabus to treat the two types of usage of honorific forms differently. The use of honorific forms to communicate SFT-politeness should be made an obligatory component of the syllabus, whereas the use of the forms to convey SER-politeness should be made optional. Whether or not the latter should be taught can be determined on the basis of factors such as the learners' purpose in learning Japanese, their interests, and their level of proficiency, rather than simply assuming it to be necessary for all learners, as is the case with the mainstream syllabus for

elementary JSL teaching. It is particularly inappropriate, in my opinion, to assume that every learner

needs to acquire the traditional usage of Non-Neutral RSRCs, which is unlikely to convey SFT-

politeness, especially when the great majority of native speakers do not themselves feel confident in

using these forms.

Further, if it is decided to teach both types of usage, it is essential, in my view, to explain to

learners that the use of honorific forms does not necessarily communicate SFT-politeness. Then they can

decide for themselves whether or not they want to learn both types of usage presented in the syllabus.

7.1.3   The teaching of honorific forms as a means of conveying 'elegance'

As has been explained, native speakers of Japanese are highly likely to find diglossic value both in

honorific forms and in the ability to use such forms in the traditional manner, which is unrelated to the

value of using these forms to avoid FT-discomfiture. This implies that acquiring such an ability tends to

be advantageous for learners, quite independently of whether or not it helps them to avoid producing

seriously uncomfortable utterances, when they do not intend to. It may, therefore, be a reasonable choice

for a JSL syllabus to teach all the traditional usage of both Non-Plain and Non-Neutral types of

honorific forms, regardless of the seriousness of the politeness they can convey.

This may seem to suggest that the prevailing treatment of honorific forms in mainstream JSL

textbooks is an adequate one. However, there is what seems to me to be a serious problem with the way

in which the traditional usage of such forms is taught in these textbooks. None of these mainstream

textbooks, as far as I know, presents the traditional usage of honorific forms with an explanation that

only a limited group of native speakers adopt the usage being taught, and that it is perceived as diglossic

H by the majority of contemporary native speakers. Instead, it is invariably presented as if it were the

actual usage of honorific forms employed by the majority. By doing this, such textbooks deprive

learners of the chance to decide for themselves whether or not they wish to learn to be fluent in the

usage.

Further, such textbooks fail to provide them with the information necessary to make an adequate choice concerning this. It is, in my view, a disservice to teach the usage of a diglossically High code in such a way that learners do not discover that it is a diglossic H. As in the case of linguistic forms which are connected with sexism, racism and other ideologically biased language uses, as well as those which seek to combat this (i.e. politically correct terms), and the learning of linguistic forms which are regarded as diglossic H in a language, which are often connected with a prestigious social class, these forms may or may not be a priority for different learners. The decision whether to learn to be fluent in such a code should be made, in my view, by the learners rather than the teacher, and, they should therefore be provided with the information they need to make an adequate decision.

7.1.4 The need for awareness of one's own diglossic views

It seems likely that one factor underlying the inadequate presentation of the traditional usage of honorific forms in JSL textbooks is the lack of awareness on the part of JSL teachers and textbook writers of the actual usage of honorific forms by the majority of contemporary native speakers. Such lack of awareness itself constitutes a characteristic of the phenomenon of diglossia. As is generally observed in a diglossic society, native speakers tend to regard language use which is outside of H not only as unimportant; as Ferguson points out, "H alone is regarded as real and L is reported 'not to exist'" (1959: 330); see also Caton (1991).

A similar blindness is often displayed by native speakers of Japanese towards registers in which Plain and Neutral honorific components are decreed. Such registers are not only regarded as wrong (*warui*), unacceptable (*ikenai*) or as a regrettable slip of the tongue (*tsui tsuka-c-cha-u*) (all chosen by my students to refer to their own informal speech), but they are also often invisible. Many of my students and other native speakers, including JSL teachers, do not realize that registers in which the use of Plain and Neutral honorific components is appropriate, e.g. the registers I presented as Informal Speech in Table 6.1, exist. Further, it seems equally easy for a pedagogy-oriented grammarian to

assume that, in a milder case, only the diglossically High code is worth writing a grammar of, or that, in an extreme case, only such a code has a grammar at all.

Such blindness is undesirable in JSL teaching, since it will hinder teaching from being sufficiently helpful for learners, and JSL teaching needs to be free from it. In order for JSL teachers and textbook writers to free themselves from such blindness, it should be useful to raise their consciousness of the fact that Non-Plain and Non-Neutral honorific components and their use constitute diglossic H and that, therefore, native speakers tend characteristically to be relatively unaware of the Plain and Neutral honorific components and unable to notice the use of such components.

7.2   Implications for politeness theory

7.2.1   The need to acknowledge differing domains of politeness

As discussed earlier, linguistic politeness is not a single entity but rather comprises different domains, which operate differently, which are affected by different types of social features, which are enacted by different types of linguistic behaviour, and which cause different types of comfort.

However, the distinction between such domains is not necessarily acknowledged as a premise in politeness theory, and that seems to be a cause of unnecessary confusion in discussions in the field. It is important, therefore, for linguists to clarify the distinction between the various domains of politeness. It is also important in comparative studies of politeness to clearly distinguish between the various domains, in order to avoid making inadvertent comparisons across domains.

With regard to the stylistic domain, it has been shown that Japanese honorific politeness operates according to register rules, in which the use of diglossically High honorific components is illuminated. This type of Japanese linguistic politeness, therefore, can be compared with register and diglossia in various other languages.

7.2.2   The need to define terminology

Related to the need for making clearer distinctions between domains of politeness is the importance of

using terminology more precisely. As discussed in Chapter 3, the terms "polite(ness)" as well as *teinei*

have the potential to refer to a wide range of notions, and to use them as technical terms without a clear

definition can cause confusion in a discussion of politeness.

Further, it has been shown that these terms can also be problematic ones to select as evaluative

expressions in research into people's perceptions of linguistic politeness. Since different types of

politeness are perceived as different types of comfortable feeling, it is best, in research into a particular

type of politeness, to select a term which specifically refers to the particular type of comfort the

politeness is felt to be. If the term "polite", or *teinei*, is used as the evaluative expression in such

research, it will be impossible to guarantee that it is the specific type of politeness that is being

investigated in the research, as the term inevitably neutralizes the diverse nature of the kinds of comfort

that native speakers may perceive with various types of politeness.

7.2.3   The need to distinguish between politeness and the semantic property of the linguistic device

As has been explained, stylistic politeness is not a semantic phenomenon, in which a linguistic device

invariably conveys a semantic (either propositional or expressive) meaning; rather, stylistic politeness

is communicated through conveying that semantic meaning in a particular situation. This domain of

politeness, therefore is a pragmatic phenomenon, as is the illocutionary domain of politeness.

However, this fact does not seem to be properly acknowledged in the study of stylistic

politeness. Stylistic politeness has not been clearly distinguished from the semantic property of the

device utilized for its communication, and this seems to have caused confusions. It is therefore

necessary for linguists to understand the process by which stylistic politeness is communicated and to

distinguish between the semantic and pragmatic levels of meaning involved in the process.

7.2.4 The place of discomfiture and speakers' evaluative attitudes in politeness studies

The observation and analysis of the discomfiture that native speakers experience when faced with inappropriate linguistic behaviour plays an essential role both in the distinguishing of different domains of politeness and in the identification of politeness norms. This vital notion of discomfiture should therefore be incorporated as an important feature of a framework for studying linguistic politeness. Discomfiture, which is closely related to politeness, has obviously been discussed in research into politeness (having been referred to as offence, discourtesy, embarrassment, and so on in past literature). However, its role has been discussed somewhat implicitly rather than fully explicitly. Since the notion is so vital for the analysis of the characteristics of politeness, linguists need to develop a clearer framework for handling it.

Moreover, it has also become clear that some aspects of politeness cannot be fully explained by avoidance or mitigation of discomfiture, and that native speakers' evaluative attitudes towards language are also important. It is also necessary, therefore, in order to obtain a fuller understanding of politeness, to incorporate native speaker evaluations in a framework for the study of politeness.

7.3 Implications for further research

7.3.1 Confirmatory research

As I pointed out in Chapters 4 and 5, my questionnaires had the following two weaknesses:

1) Weakness in the Questionnaire for Studies 1 and 2

In Study 1, I attempted to compare native speakers' evaluations of the importance of appropriate use of honorific forms with other types of appropriate language use for the communication of politeness. In Study 2, I tried to compare their assessment of the degree of the seriousness of discomfiture resulting from the inappropriate use of such forms with that resulting from other types of inappropriate language use.

My questionnaire for these studies failed to obtain data on whether native speakers regard appropriate (or inappropriate) use of honorific forms exclusively as a means of (or deviation from) stylistic

politeness (see 4.3.1.4 and 4.4.1.4). As a result, I was unable to obtain quantitative data on this point, although I obtained clear qualitative results from my small-scale interviews.

Consequently, my argument in 6.1 that honorific forms are intrinsically related to the communication of stylistic politeness, which was based on my qualitative results, has to be a tentative one. In order to confirm this argument of mine, it is necessary to conduct research into the validity of these two issues for the majority of native speakers.

2) Weakness in the Questionnaire for Study 3

In the description of some items of inappropriate linguistic behaviour presented in the questionnaire for Study 3, I failed to make it clear from whose viewpoint the discomfiture should be described. Due to this shortcoming, it was not clear with some items whose perception of discomfiture is reflected in the results from the questionnaire.

Consequently, my interpretation of the second axis (i.e. the y-axis) of the statistical results from Study 3 as indicating personal offensiveness has to be a tentative one, as it rests on two assumptions: that the discomfiture resulting from items of behaviour were described from the addressee's viewpoint, and that behaviour offensive to a specific participant or participants can not be perceived as personally offensive to other participants. In order to confirm this interpretation, therefore, research is necessary into the validity of both these assumptions.

7.3.2 Towards the study of politeness communicated by the use of all types of honorific components

My research aimed to explore the politeness communicated by the use of a non-Plain and/or non-Neutral honorific component within the range of the usage that university students as well as non-students normally follow (or at least strive to follow), and it led to the significant insight that the use of honorific components form one part of the observance of register rules. Although I have not explored the politeness related to the usage of Non-Neutral RSRC prompted by the social distance between the speaker and a bystander in my

theses, for the reasons I stated in 2.3.3, it is an area worthy of investigation.

My research also produced findings about Plain and Neutral components: that these components play no less significant roles than non-Plain and non-Neutral components as register markers. As briefly mentioned in 6.2.3, the use of Plain and/or Neutral honorific components, as that of Non-Plain and/or Non-Neutral ones, seem to communicate both SFT- and SER-politeness in different registers. This implies the need for research into the details of SFT- and SER-politeness norms governing the use of these components. Findings from such research will be no less helpful for JSL learners than those about SFT- and SER-politeness (HF) norms. Further, they will also contribute to the study of politeness theories, providing knowledge about the politeness communicated by every type of honorific components. Such knowledge will offer not only a more comprehensive but also a more neutral description of the relationship between Japanese stylistic politeness and honorific units than the present one does, which deals only with the range of components associated with diglossic value, i.e. honorific forms.

7.3.3   Concluding comments

Clearly, it is a challenging task to undertake research in all these areas, but it is one that is necessary both for JSL teaching and for the development of politeness theory.

ご自分や他の人の言葉づかいや口のきき方についての考えをお尋ねします。

あなたが言葉づかいや口のきき方に最も気を使うのは、①どんなとき、②どんな点についてですか。

① ［どんなとき］

-
-
-

② ［どんな点について］

-
-
-

3 　他人の言葉づかいや口のきき方で、不愉快になったり、腹が立ったりするのはどんなときですか。
例を挙げてください。

-
-
-
-

次の行動に対してどんな感じを持ちますか。

a～gの中からあてはまるものを選んで
例のように○をつけてください。
（○はいくつでも）
あてはまるものが見当たらない場合は、
「その他（h）」を選んでください。

	a 無鈍神経感	b 冷思たいやりがない	c 無教知養がない・幼い	d 下育ちが悪い品	e えらそう	f 図々しい	g 不愉快ではない	h その他
例 他人の家で勝手に冷蔵庫のビールを出して飲む	○			○		○		
①借りたカメラに傷をつけた時、謝らない								
②視覚障害者のことを「めくら」と呼び、ばかにする								
③年下の人が初対面のあなたに「です・ます」を使わずに話す								
④だれに対しても流行語や略語（げろげろ・ムカつく・カテキョなど）を使って話す								
⑤他人の悪口を（かげで）言う								
⑥質問した友達に向かって「どうせあなたには分からないだろうから」と言って、答えない								
⑦ 100人の前での発表で「先生が来て、話してくれます」と尊敬語を使わずに話す								
⑧あなたが「お早うございます」と言っても答えない								
⑨ あまり親しくない相手に「こんなことも分からないの？　頭悪いねえ」と言う								
⑩店員さんが面倒くさそうにお客の応対をする								
⑪常に「がき・でかい・食う」を使って話す								
⑫「それでぇ、昨日ぉ」などと語尾を伸ばす								
⑬道や電車の中で大声で喋ったり笑ったりする								
⑭何か手伝ってもらった時、お礼を言わない								
⑮ファミリーレストランで、「ちょっと、水！」「水くれ！」と言う								
⑯5人で話している時、4人は知っているが1人が知らない事柄を30分間話し続ける								
⑰知り合いがあなたの話を聞きながらあくびをする								

Appendix C: The crossing data from the questionnaire for Study 3

<u>Students</u>

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
1	275	84	91	115	59	205	0	10
2	271	289	214	117	34	14	2	8
3	111	6	210	138	141	144	55	15
4	109	2	262	189	10	34	38	22
5	109	160	80	95	40	25	25	74
6	118	245	56	38	258	38	0	12
7	85	2	262	52	35	21	68	17
8	188	171	57	84	149	35	4	33
9	238	187	95	86	216	92	2	14
10	129	126	112	66	202	74	4	35
11	48	6	185	210	15	4	63	29
12	29	1	216	163	6	5	49	52
13	252	34	158	175	18	58	23	17
14	218	123	142	149	120	134	0	10
15	142	55	142	220	217	130	15	9
16	271	259	43	17	9	13	24	19
17	188	104	36	61	27	31	92	47

Non-students

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
1	99	11	37	24	2	74	1	3
2	87	99	60	22	12	2	0	0
3	51	1	90	39	17	24	6	5
4	57	2	87	64	0	8	1	8
5	41	29	56	42	4	0	1	24
6	45	74	33	11	71	7	0	3
7	29	2	100	16	7	4	5	7
8	68	29	32	26	35	10	1	17
9	74	63	47	21	51	13	0	2
10	62	26	34	9	15	16	0	29
11	30	4	81	81	2	5	7	11
12	12	0	84	38	0	0	3	19
13	95	7	49	48	1	12	1	5
14	68	27	49	28	23	39	0	3
15	45	10	48	57	51	21	2	9
16	94	74	22	6	4	4	2	10
17	87	27	26	32	4	5	4	15

Appendix D: Interview notes

「ふだん人としゃべるときにいちばん気をつけるのはどんなときですか」

◇それは、もう、ことばづかいですねえ。敬語の使い方とか、くだけすぎた流行語とかをうっかり使ってしまわないように。

◇電話の場合は、特に気をつかいます。相手の方の顔が見えない分よけいに。

◇学校に生徒さんを派遣してくる会社の代表の方とお話しするときは、緊張します。敬語をきちんと使ってお話ししないといけないと思って。・・・相手はお客様で、こちらはお金をいただく立場ですよね。

◇気を使うのは、あらたまった場ですね。パーティーとか、あと、留学生のホストファミリーの集まりがあって大学に来るときとか、子供の学校に行ったときとか。敬語もきちんと使って、あらたまったしゃべり方をしなくちゃと思うんです。

◇夫の親戚の集まりに行くといつも疲れちゃうんです。自分とは違う世界に住んでいる人たちなんで。いつも使ってるのよりずっとあらたまったことばを使わないといけないし、もちろん敬語もです。いつもよりしゃべらないようにして、こう、動き方まで変わっちゃうんですから。

◇正直いうと、敬語は好きじゃないんです。ちゃんと使えないっていうことも大きいと思います。それでも、使わなかったら失礼になりますよね。で、敬語に気をつけなきゃならないんです。

◇敬語をきちんと使えて、流行語とかくだけたことばを交ぜたりしないで話せるっていうことは、それだけ、立派な社会人というか、洗練されて仕事もよくできる人として見られると思うんです。まわりの人からそう見られたいんです。

◇26歳としては、まあまあ敬語が使えるほうだと思います。東洋英和の高校に行かなかったらちょっと違ってたと思うんですけど、あと、特に、テニス部に入ってたことも影響してますね、きっと。クラブの先輩には、かならず「ですます」を使って話すんです。だから、敬語に自信がないから気をつけるっていうわけじゃなくて、目上の人に失礼にならないように、自然と気をつけちゃう感じですねえ。卒業した後もずっとそうで、今でもそうです。運動部経験者って、みんなそうだと思いますけど、クラブでは上下の関係をきっちり守らないといけないんで、自然にそういうことに敏感になっちゃうんですよね。だから、そういう話し方をしない相手に対しても運動部の出身者は敏感ですね。

◇相手の気に障るようなことを言わないこと、ですね。たとえば、相手の失敗に触れるときとか、です。私自身は、はっきりものを言ってもらいたいほうで、はっきり言ってくれない人に会うとイライラするんですけど、子供のころから母に、はっきり言いすぎるって言われてきたので、気をつけてます。

◇教師になりたてのころは、教室で学生の前でふだんのことば、「なになにでさあ」とか「来るんだあ」とかくだけたことばづかいをしてしまわないように気をつけました。

◇敬語を使って話すのは、美しいですよね。ですから、若い人たちにもですけど、学生にも敬語を使ってもらいたいと思います。少なくとも最低限の敬語は。

◇外国人から、親しくないのに「ですます」を使わないで話されると、聞いた日本人は失礼な人だと思いますよね。ですから、少なくとも「ですます」だけは学生に教えるべきですね。

◇敬語の使い方を教えるのは日本語教育のだいじな部分だと思います。日本語では「ですます」とくだけた話

し方を使い分けるんだっていうことを教える必要がありますから。

「敬語や流行語に気をつけるというのは、もう少し具体的にはどういう点ですか。たとえば、頼みごとをするとき
とか謝るときに、という意味ですか」
◇べつにそういうときだけではなくて、話の内容にかかわりなく、という意味です。
◇あ、いえいえ、違います。そういうときだけというんじゃありません。よく知らない方とお話しするときは、最初か
ら最後まで敬語の使い方に気をつけます。

「でも、頼むときや謝るときや、何か相手の失敗について話すときなどは、ふだんよりもっと敬語に気をつけると
いえますか」
◇うーん、ええ、そうですねえ。お友達に謝るとき、「申し訳ありませんでした」なんて言いますねえ、冗談まじり
ですけど。

「親しい人でも、頼みごとをするときとか謝るときだけは『ですます』を使うことがありますか」
◇そう言えばそうですね。ふだんは親しいしゃべり方をする友達にちょっと難しいことをお願いするんだと、「な
になにしてくれませんか」なんて言って頼むこともあります。
◇主人とけんかしたときなんか、そうですねえ、使いますね。「行ってもいい？」って言うところを「行ってもいい
ですか」とか。
◇いえ、使いませんね。そういう場面だからこそあらたまった「ですます」が使えない感じがします。そういうとき
に「ですます」を使っても言ってる内容を和らげることはできないと思います。
◇友達に「ですます」を使って自分の失敗を指摘されたら、ああ、この人は本当に私が悪いことをしたと思って
るんだな、と思って怖くなると思います。

「だれかのことばや言い方や話し方で腹が立ったり不愉快になったりするのはどんなときですか」
◇学校が主催した日本語関係のセミナーについて、お客様の会社から電話で問い合わせがあったんですけ
ど、それに私があんまりよく答えられなかったことがあるんです。そのとき、自分の説明のし方に落ち度があっ
たことはそのとおりなんですけど、あまりにきつい言い方で非難されて、かなりカチンと来ましたね。
◇たまに学生ですごく直接的なものの言い方をする人がいますよね。間接的な言い方をまだ知らないからだ、
ということは分かっていても、あんまりだと、どうしても我慢できなくなるときがあります。
◇前に自分の権利を主張するので有名な学生がいました。自分は学生なんだから、質問したいだけする権利
がある、とか、クラスを変えてもらいたいとか。
◇以前、交流関係の補助金を申請しようと思ったことがあったんですが、そのとき、役人に頭ごなしに断わられ
て、非常に不愉快な思いをしました。
◇同僚の中に、1人、挨拶しても絶対に応えない人がいて、最初は私だけがそうなのかと思ったんですが、だ
れにもそうらしいんです。でも、慣れるのに時間がかかりました。

◇最近の若い人を見ていて不思議でしょうがないんですけど、お礼を言うべきときに言わないんですねえ。何

かしてあげても、ふんという感じでうなづくだけでありがとうと言わないことがよくあって、あら、あたし何か悪いこ
としちゃったかしらと思うんですけど、じつはありがたいと思ってるみたいなんです。

◇学生で、出身国によっては、謝ることをしない人がいて、文化の違いだろうとは思うんですが、やっぱり腹が
立つことがありますねえ。

◇今いっしょに仕事している人が初めて学校に来たとき、私のほうが年上であるにもかかわらず、「なになにな
のよ」っていうような話し方をされて、かなりいやな感じでした。初対面でなれなれしい話し方をするのは、粗野
な感じがしますね。

◇用事があって、学生の自宅に電話したら、留守で友達が出たんですけど、「今いない」って、こう言うんです
ね。年上のしかも会ったことのない相手なんですから、やっぱり「いません」ですよねえ。

◇教室の外で日本語を覚えた学生さんの場合、プレーンな形ばかり使うことが多いですよね。私より若い学生
が私に対してプレーンで話した場合、一瞬「あれっ、何なんだろう」と思います。

◇2つ年下の同僚なんですけど、敬語の使い方を知らないんで、そばで聞いていて本当に恥ずかしくなっちゃ
うんです。お客様になれなれしい話し方で話すくせに、私とか他の年上の同僚に、そのお客様の前で「ですま
す」で話すんですよねえ。

◇若い人が今ふうのことばで話すのを聞くと耳障りな感じがします。テレビで若い人たちがそういうことばを使っ
てるのを聞いてもちょっとイライラします。

◇このあいだ岡山へ帰ったとき思ったんですけど、デパートの店員がお客さんに対して方言で話すんですね、
なんか違和感がありました。

◇私より2つ若い同僚がいるんですけど、私に対していつまで経っても「ですます」の話し方を変えなくて、私
のほうでは彼女を友達っていう意識で見てるんで、ちょっと変な感じがします。それが彼女のしゃべり方なんだ
って分かるので、不愉快っていうんではないですけど。

◇会社で男の人が自分の奥さんの悪口を言うのを聞いてると、もうやめてくれって言いたくなります。

◇学生で耐えられないのは、面白くない冗談を言って、こっちが笑わないと日本人は冗談が分からないからい
やだって言い出す連中ですね。

◇一度、学生からいきなり「ボーイフレンドいますか」って言われたときは腹が立ちました。

◇このごろ若い人たちって議論を好まないんですね。私は議論はとことんしたいのに、途中で「あ、もう、いい
や」とか「どっちでもいい」とか、「あ、そうですよね」ってなんて言われると、私はだいじなことを議論する価値が
ない人間と思われてるのかしら、なんていう気になります。

◇遠回しな言い方をされると、すごく不愉快になります。頼むんでも断るんでも、なんか言いにくいことを言うん
でも、はっきり言ってもらいたいほうなんです。

◇女子高生が「私はぁ、昨日ぉ」っていうしゃべり方をするのを聞くと、おうちでどういうしつけを受けたのかなっ
て思いますねえ、それでべつに腹が立つようなことはないですけど。

◇高校生どうしが語尾伸ばしでしゃべっている分にはべつにいいと思うんですけど、ちゃんとしたところではち
ゃんとしゃべってもらいたいです。

◇敬語が使えないっていうのは、単なる勉強不足でしょ。でも、そういうひどいことを言うのはこれとは全く別の
問題です。そんなことを言う人に会ったら、なんか性格に問題があるんじゃないかと思ってしまいますよ。

◇若い人が敬語をちゃんと使えないのは、たいして気になりません。これから経験を積んでいくうちに使えるようになる可能性がありますから。大人の場合でも尊敬語、謙譲語を使えないのは、経験不足でうっかり間違えただけで、この先、使えるようになるかもしれないと感じます。でも、ちゃんとしたビジネスマンがお客さんに「ですます」を使わないで話している場合は、わざとそうしてるんだとしか思えませんよね。何か悪意があるわけですから、腹が立ちます。

「だれかが敬語を使わなかったり、使い方を間違えたときに、いやな感じがするっていうことでしたが、たとえば、頼むときとか何かを断るときに敬語を使わないと、そうでない場合に敬語を使わないのにくらべて、もっといやな感じがしますか」
◇いいえ、べつに。
◇いいえ。敬語を使わないから不愉快っていうのは、話の内容とは関係ないです。
「最初に、いちばん気をつけることは何かというときに敬語の使い方を挙げましたね。次に不愉快なことばはという質問には、敬語の使い方に関係することは挙げませんでした。人がした場合に不愉快に思うことを避けるのにいちばん気をつけてもいいような気がするんですが、この点、どう思いますか」
◇ああ、本当ですね、ははは、変ですよね。いやあ、全然、気がつきませんでした。面白いですねえ。・・・気をつけることは何かという質問で、まず考えたのは自分のイメージのことだったと思います。きちんと仕事をもった大人の社会人と思われたいという。それで、仕事の上でのイメージを損ねる失敗というか、仕事上の経験が不足していると思われるような失敗のことを最初に考えたんだと思うんです。人の感情を傷つけないように、という点を考えるのはその後なんです。自分が敬語の使い方で苦労している最中なんで、それで、敬語のことを言ったのかもしれませんね。
◇敬語を正しく使うこと以外には全然、考えつきませんでした。私は今、ちょっと特殊な状況に置かれているのかもしれませんけど、でも、気をつけることって言われたら、やっぱり敬語のことを挙げると思います。「気を配ること」だったら、別のことを考えたかもしれませんねえ。

(A)「100人ぐらいが集まっている日本語教育の講演会で、講師がたとえば『水谷先生がおっしゃったことなんですが』ではなく『水谷先生が言ってたことなんですが』と言ったら不愉快ですか。それから、『ですます』を使わず『なになになの。それで、こうしたんだけど』というように話したら、どんな感じがしますか」
(B)「旅行代理店で、店員が『去年ドイツにいらしたときは』と言わず『去年ドイツに行ったときは』と言ったら不愉快ですか。それから『ですます』を使わずに『帰りの便はこれでいい？』のような話し方をしたら、どんな感じがしますか」
(C)「知らない高校生が近づいてきて、日本語教師であるそうだけれども、教材について少し教えてもらいたいと言うとします。この場面で『どんな教材使っていらっしゃるんですか』ではなく『どんな教材使っているんですか』と言ったら不愉快ですか。それから『どんな教材使ってるの』と言ったとしたらどんな感じがしますか」
(回答は省略)

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