Pronouns and Expressions of Politeness
in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language in Australia.

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Abstract

The Japanese address system at present is rarely introduced in Japanese language teaching in an adequate way: that is in a way that permits learners of the language to understand the sociolinguistic choices made by native speakers in their uses of address forms. Moreover, many descriptions of Japanese do not present sufficient details about the second person pronoun choices which are available to native speakers of Japanese. As a result, most foreigners have not mastered the rules available to native speakers.

Very often, the set of Japanese address forms taught are treated as the translational equivalents of English personal pronouns. There are no proper descriptions available for teaching this aspect of Japanese from a Japanese, as opposed to an English, viewpoint.

An analysis of the choice and use of personal pronouns and address terms in speech acts in Japanese and the social information conveyed by such choice and use is provided in this thesis. Particular attention is paid to the communication of a level of politeness between speakers by the use, or otherwise, of pronouns, and comparisons with studies made about pronouns and address forms in English are used to illustrate some of the complexities that native speakers of English who are learning Japanese must face in acquiring functional mastery of the Japanese language. The linguistic research focus is placed in an 'anthropological' framework which anchors it to a descriptive context in which the 'in-group' and 'out-group' deixis is presented explicitly and accessibly to a reader with limited knowledge of Japanese culture.

As teachers cannot teach what they don't know, learners are not able to master the system of choices from a Japanese viewpoint. My goal for this thesis is first to provide an adequate account of Japanese address forms and secondly to apply this to the field of second language acquisition/learning.

Signed Statement

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Akiko TOMITA

1 February 1999

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

F	female
FN	family name
LL	language laboratory
LN	last Name
JFL	Japanese as a foreign language
M	male
N	non polite
P	polite
T	Tu
TLN	title + last name
V	Vous

Abbreviations Used in Interlinear Glosses

ADD	address suffix
ADV	adverb(ializer)
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier, (counter)
CONJ	conjunctive
COP	copula
DAT	dative
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PAST	past
PERM	permissive
POT	potential
PROG	progressive aspect
Q	question
TOP	topic

Spelling conventions

For romanization, a modified version of the Hepburn system is used: e.g., aa indicates a long vowel [aː], tt represents double [tt] sounds, n is the syllabic nasal subsuming its allophonic variants [ɳ], [ŋ], [m̩] etc. which are positionally determined according to the regular phonetic patterns of Japanese.

All material that has been quoted from other published sources has been systematically reproduced in the modified Hepburn system shown above.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Context

In the course of my experience as a teacher of Japanese as a foreign language in Australia, I have become aware of, and forced to deal with, many socio-pragmatic differences between English and Japanese which are expressed linguistically. This thesis is based on one area that is particularly complex to work with in the teaching of Japanese to foreigners, and which, incorrectly understood or incompletely mastered by the foreign learner of Japanese, can unintentionally cause offence to native speaker interlocutors.

I have noticed that I am addressed in various ways as a teacher by my students.

Tomita *sensei* (Last name + professional title)

Akiko *sensei* (First name + professional title)

Sensei ('professor'/'teacher')

Tomita *san* (Last name + *san*)

Akiko *san* (First name + san)

Akiko (First name)

However, if I were in Japan, as a teacher I would only be addressed by native speaker students as:

Tomita *sensei* (Last name + professional title)

Sensei (professional title)

Furthermore, after a break or holiday, I always ask my students about their break or holiday in the following way:

Jenny san yasumi wa doo deshitaka. (How was your holiday, Jenny?)

Yokatta desu. ....(It was good. ....)

Then I often hear the response:

Anata wa? (How about you?)

In this context, the word *anata*, which transtates literally as 'you', is most unlikely to be used to address a social or professional superior in Japan by a knowledgeable speaker of the language, and could only give offence in the context of a formal conversation. Unfortunately, it is taught in the early stages of most elementary Japanese courses in everyday conversational interactions with equals, to enable beginners to carry out basic conversations

along the lines of: 'My name's Fred. And you?' or 'I live in Norwood. And you?' or 'I'm an Australian. And you?' At this level, in this context, it is an acceptable, if slightly uncommon, conversation strategy in conversational Japanese, but totally inappropriate in any context other than that of strangers, one of whom is preferably a foreigner, in their first encounter with each other. I find that I have to take up this subject, again, with more advanced students and actually make them aware of the use of *anata* as a kind of taboo when talking with a superior, especially when there is a defined relationship between the two speakers.

The response *Anata wa*? sounds very abrasive indeed. Students do not mean to be rude, but if a native Japanese speaking student were to say this to their teacher, the teacher would be quite seriously offended. A question phrased using these words encroaches on personal private space in two ways, implying that one is interested in the private life of the superior, and that one has the social status to use a style of address that implies intimacy or an almost insultingly free-and-easy friendship. The inquiry can be made, politely and even appropriately, in Japanese, but not using the term *anata*, despite the fact that the use of the word and its translation, as implied in the examples above, can correspond almost exactly with the English pronoun 'you'.

Where do these differences come from? Are they a product of linguistic ignorance, of incomplete language acquisition, of a deliberate blurring of the sociolinguistic boundaries in the freer cultural environment of Australia which permits first name acquaintanceship between adults of significantly different social status, or an 'in your face' challenge to me for trying to enforce a more formal and hierarchical 'Japanese' relationship between myself and my students? Should I accept all the six options above or insist on the two that would be the choice of all native Japanese students in conversation with a teacher?

1.2 Issues and scope of the study

Sakairi et al (1992) list this problem as one of the '100 most common problems faced by teachers of Japanese to foreigners,' as does Seki (1992) in his book [Teaching Japanese grammar to foreigners]. Informal investigation by myself of the issue over many years through discussion with native and

non-native speaker colleagues and advanced level students who have lived in Japan and whose Japanese often reflects more or less extensive acquisition of address forms that would be automatic features of the speech of native speakers has led me to the conclusion that the issues relating to the problem are largely inadequately explored and under-emphasized in the teaching of Japanese to foreigners, and that the early patterns are permitted to persist long past their use-by date. Acquiring real proficiency in Japanese as a foreign learner demands a massive commitment of intellectual and psychic energy, and a continual refining and developing of acquired knowledge so that more precise nuances of meaning or emotional overtone can be expressed, and it is likely that the full implication of how levels of politeness are expressed in Japanese are not fully covered, or, even when fully covered piece-meal through a course that lasts several years, are not then reviewed as a whole and consciously worked with and practised. In this thesis I will try to construct as complete a picture as possible of the issues that must be taken into account, and make suggestions as to how this information can then be incorporated into the learning of Japanese by foreigners so that we can teach our students not to be rude to others in Japanese. As well as discussing the linguistic and sociolinguistic features of politeness expressions (*keigo*) in Japanese, I look at Japanese politeness within an anthropological framework and in comparison with other languages, mainly English, and try to find out what we as teachers of the Japanese language can do about this.

Deictic or indexical reference is one of the most basic kinds of reference we humans practice (Quinn, 1994:283). In many languages such reference is achieved through the use of pronouns, and their choice and use is relatively unmarked in terms of conveyance of politeness or other sociolinguistic information. While it is sometimes said that there are no personal pronouns in Japanese, or that there is no grammatical category of (first, second, third) person (Quinn, 1994: 283) there is, nonetheless, a wide range of address forms in Japanese which function as pronouns when compared with/translated into other languages. These include titles, verb inflections, and prefixes or suffixes, as well as words which, independent of their literal or etymological meaning, can only be translated in English as a pronoun. (e.g. *anata*, lit 'that person', can only ever be understood to mean, in English, 'you (to whom I speak with a degree of politeness or respect)'.

One of the critical features of the sociolinguistics of Japanese is that choice and use of pronouns or their equivalents carries *in itself* a powerful and explicit acknowledgment or definition of the respective social status of the speakers and any third party about whom they speak, and this manifests itself in a level or degree of politeness which can be measured in relation to all speech acts which ostensibly convey the same information or perform the same function. This will be further examined and illustrated below (see Chapters 6 & 7)

1.3 Fundamental axis/considerations

To some extent, the central focus of this paper is summed up by the famous assertion made by Becker A. L. and Oka I. G. N.:

> 'While person appears to be a universal semantic dimension of language, structures of person and linguistic manifestations of person - particularly personal pronouns - differ from language to language. Language students and linguists have to learn that I is not I, you is not you, and we is not we from one language to the next. Within a language family, however, these differences may not be so great as across genetic boundaries.' (1974: 229)

A central thread - perhaps the central thread - in the semantic structure of human languages is the cline of person, an ordering of linguistic forms according to their distance from the speaker:

> 'Between the subjective, pointed, specific pronominal 'I' and the objective, generic common noun, between these poles the words of all languages - words for people, animals, food, time, space, indeed words for everything - are ordered and categorized according to their distance - spatial, temporal, social, biological, and metaphorical - from the first person, the speaker. The cline of person also underlies most linguistic systems as well as words, systems of deixis, number, definiteness, tense, and nominal classification among others'. (Becker and Oka, 1974: 229)

The notion of a cline, a gradient range or field, is helpful in taking an evidential perspective on the category of person, which works particularly

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well when analyzing a language like Japanese: how evident, that is, psychologically near to or distant from the speaker and audience, is a given piece of information. From a sociolinguistic perspective, which looks at the embedding of elements of culture in the form of language, and choices of linguistic and nonlinguistic expression of those elements in a speech act, this 'evidentiality' is often perceived as 'degree of politeness'. English-speaking learners of Japanese have no equivalent structural or lexical paradigm on which to base the development of their understanding and expression of social distance in the new language and new culture that they are learning, though speakers of many other European languages have at least a lifelong familiarity with the Tu/Vous distinctions and their sociocultural nuances and range of usage. This is not to imply that English is limited or deficient in its range of politeness expressions (see the discussion below of the variety of ways in which a request for the use of a pen can be made, chapter 6), but rather to point out that the cultural obligations of politeness and acknowledgment of social distance are embedded and expressed very differently in the two languages.

This thesis will provide an overview of how politeness is expressed in Japanese, and will discuss all structural and lexical choices that are involved. Where these are unique to Japanese, as in, say, the special verb inflections needed to construct the honorific forms, they will be presented as part of the complete picture but not discussed in great detail. Moreover I will try to apply the above discussion to language teaching.

However, when there is an 'overlap' between English and Japanese in the sense that both languages contain and use that kind of linguistic element (e.g. personal pronoun) or that kind of address form (e.g. title or name), *but use it/them differently in terms of expressing a degree of politeness or not*, then further discussion and comment will be entered into.

1.4 Structural conception of thesis

Structurally, my analysis and comments are conceived in the following way:

> **Chapter 2** introduces general issues in the context of politeness and terms of address which are relevant to the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language.

Chapter 3 places the discussion and the issues in an anthropological framework which is an important foregrounding to the linguistic framework.

Chapter 4 attempts a broad-sweep overview of some of the academic approaches to the study of the linguistic dimensions and features of politeness expressions in Japanese, and tries to draw these various models and approaches together into a single, if multidimensional, source of information about politeness studies for the learner or teacher of Japanese.

Chapter 5 deals with much of the nitty-gritty reality that must be expected to be the information base of the fairly advanced learner of Japanese. Any learner of Japanese who has advanced past the stage of total focus on the communication of elementary meaning must be alerted to these critical points in form and style, and work relentlessly on recognising and acquiring them. In the practical context of the majority of learners in Australia, the level at which serious focus on these details needs to be given is late in year 12 or immediately afterwards in a five year high school Japanese syllabus, or approximately the second year of an intensive university course.

Chapter 6 illustrates by comparative and contrastive analysis some of the differences and similarities between politeness expressions in English and in Japanese.

Chapter 7 ties together many of the issues explored in the three preceding chapters within the implicit framework defined in chapter 3 above.

Chapter 8 places this thesis in the context of its application to the teaching of Japanese to foreigners, and is particularly relevant to the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language in Australia.

Chapter 9 provides a summary a summary statement and conclusion.

1.5 Limitations of the study

The genesis of the thesis is in my experience of and work with learners of Japanese in Australia and their difficulties with understanding and acquiring the sociolinguistic complexities of politeness expressions and address forms in Japanese, and with enabling them to make appropriate linguistic choices and then maintain them with some consistency in their actual use of Japanese.

My knowledge of the issues involved is primarily a product of my experience as a teacher of Japanese in Australia. Despite an extensive search, I have been unable to locate literature which is specifically relevant to the context of Australian English, or which draws on Australian sociolinguistic norms and usages because it appears that little research has been conducted in the context of teaching Japanese in Australia. I have therefore been forced to draw on studies concluded in the United States, especially in the area of contrastive or comparative analysis of English and Japanese patterns of usage, linguistic choices and perceptions of relative status between speakers that I discuss in some detail in, e.g., chapter 6. Broadly speaking, it is probably true that the sociocultural basis which determines linguistic choices in the speaking of English by Americans is more or less the same as that which determines linguistic choices in the speaking of English by Australians; at any rate the difference is almost negligible in the context of a comparative statement about perceptions and linguistic choices made in the speaking of Japanese by native speakers born and educated in Japan. There are, of course, significant sociocultural differences between American and Australian English. I was unable to find equivalent comparative studies which examined differences between Australian English usages or perceptions and Japanese, and so most references to external studies need to be seen as perhaps not perfectly aligned to the reality of Australian English norms.

2 Issues in the Japanese Foreign Language Classroom

2.1 History of the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language

Japan's geographical isolation from the rest of the world and its status as a learner/importer (of Chinese culture) rather than a teacher/exporter (of culture, knowledge, warfare, etc.) for the first 1500 years of its recorded history means there are no records of Japanese being studied seriously as a foreign language prior to the advent of western Christian priests and missionaries in the 16th century. The surviving material is scanty, as access to Japan by all foreigners was denied for the two and a half centuries of Tokugawa rule that was established at the beginning of the 17th century. There was no naturally evolving process of working with Japanese as a foreign language until the last years of the nineteenth century, when Europeans again entered the country and were eager to study, and formalise the study of, the language.

Some of the early foreign linguists who entered Japan towards the end of the last century were scholars of considerable repute in their home country, and their training and academic leanings imposed a classical, analytical perspective on the learning and teaching of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). Records of this activity and its development within Japan and overseas can be traced through the journal *Sekai no Nihongo Kyooiku* [Japanese-Language Education around the Globe] and *Nihongo Kyooiku* [Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language].

As Japan gradually established itself as an international power in the ensuing decades, the issue of the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language became increasingly important at the level of government policy, especially as Japan's imperialistic activities saw the establishment of conquered territories and colonies whose citizens needed to be taught the language of their masters. Taiwan was Japan's first colony, ceded to her after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, and so the teaching methodology developed in Taiwan became the model for later colonies and for JFL education for foreigners in Japan. (Gottlieb, 1995: 105) The creation of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere in the 1940's was to bring about the satisfaction of a national craving for recognition by the rest of the world of Japan's ethical and cultural superiority, and the dissemination of the Japanese

language was to play a pivotal role in inculcating in the peoples of East Asia an understanding and appreciation of the 'Japanese spirit'.

> 'Rather than being viewed in the traditional way as a foreign language in occupied territories, Japanese should be seen for what it really was: one wing of the historic creation of a new order, the common language of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Harmony would be encouraged amongst the diverse peoples of this large region by providing them with Japanese as a common language to smooth communication difficulties and facilitate business. When people spoke English, it was claimed, they unconsciously adopted an attitude favourable to England and the United States; if Japanese could be promoted as the medium of communication of the Sphere, there would be more harmony and goodwill towards Japan.' (Gottlieb, 1995: 101)

As the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language abroad became a larger issue of national activity, intense interest was focused on the training of teachers of the language, and on the methodology to be employed. The main tension existed between use of the *taiyaku* or translation method, which had been used in the early days in Taiwan, and the direct method, using native-speaker teachers, whose practice was based on the work of French linguist Francois Gouin. It was the latter that eventually prevailed.

Detailed discussion of the development of the teaching of JFL is available in Gottlieb (1995: chapter 3) and in issues of the journal *Nihongo Kyooiku Gakkai* [The Society for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language], which, prior to 1962, was called *Gaikokujin no tameno Nihongo Kyooiku Gakkai*. A history of teaching Japanese as a foreign language by Christian missionaries in the late 19th century Meiji can be found in *Kokugoshi* [History of Japanese National Language], *Kokugogakushi* [History of Japanese Linguistics].

From the 1960's, in Japan as in most other parts of the world where foreign languages have been formally taught, the audio lingual method (based on behaviourism) and the use of stimulus - response psychology (Skinner 1957) was introduced. Other methodologies and theoretical approaches based on western research into second language acquisition followed: Community Language Learning, (Curran 1972) , Counselling, The Silent Way, (Gattegno, 1972), Suggestopedia, (Lozanov, 1979), The Total Physical Response, (Asher,

1988) and so on. In the late 1980's, the Communicative Approach was introduced into the National Syllabus (Wilkins, 1976) etc. Tanaka (1988), Takami (1989), Hata (1990), Okazaki (1990 and 1991) and Aoki (1991), etc, followed.

Most materials for the teaching of Japanese as a second language are connected to an approach derived from the direct method (see chapter 2.1 for a history of the development of this approach in Japanese). They are developed for teaching Japanese as a second language (i.e. to be studied in Japan, and are not necessarily appropriate for the study of Japanese in other countries [JFL]). Japanese language courses written in Japan for study in Japan focus mainly on the grammar of Japanese, independent of their purported theoretical base.

According to *Kaigai Nihongo Kyooiku no Genjyoo 1993* [Survey Report on Japanese - Language Education Abroad - 1993], problems encountered in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language in a tertiary institution include:

> 1. lack of materials (expensive, not enough materials for intermediate level and above, material needs to develop an understanding of the lives of Japanese youth etc,)
> 2. lack of facilities (language laboratories, computers, word processors)
> 3. shortage of teaching staff (large classes and few teachers make it impossible to offer a variety of courses; students of different levels are put in the same class; courses do not include enough language teaching /culture /society expertise
> 4. lack of information about Japanese culture (hard to get current newspapers, magazines, references, human resources, limited interaction with native Japanese including their teachers, few exchange programs)

The advent of the Internet and a recent surge in interest in the teaching of Japanese in many countries of the world is seeing a significant change to at least the 'hardware' aspects of the above-listed issues: materials are now extensive and relatively easy to obtain, and facilities in many teaching institutions include access to electronic audio, video and word processing equipment, but teaching approaches, and the language teacher's understanding of how a language can/should be taught, are often rooted in

traditional methodologies and dominate the most modern material, equipment, and textbooks.

2.2 Approaches and practical solutions in the teaching of Japanese honorifics to foreigners

In the teaching of Japanese as a second or foreign language, the issue of politeness levels, address systems, and honorifics, is a particularly complex one. It is this that is the primary focus of this thesis, and the issues need to be explored against several theoretical and practical backgrounds.

Many languages have immensely more complex systems of social deixis than the Tu/Vous (T/V) pronouns of European languages or the Full Name Title Last Name (FN/TLN) of American English. This can be manifested in the existence and use of a special class of words or grammatical morphemes whose sole function is to indicate social deixis among the interlocutors or the referent of some participant in any given utterance. These grammatical units, in Japanese at least, are called honorifics, and Japanese, with its two concurrent systems of honorifics, is especially rich in this area. Basically, its honorifics system operates at two levels: one which registers the relative status entitlements of addressee against speaker, and one which signals the relative higher status of a participant in the speaker's utterance vis-á-vis the speaker him- or herself. The first is roughly equivalent to T/V and FN/TLN phenomena, but the latter is not present in European languages.

Since the early 1970's, the theoretical activity of linguists such as Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1973) has influenced the work of students and teachers of languages and linguistics in the gradual construction of a view of language, whether it be studied as a usable tool or as a theoretical and academic discipline, which sees it primarily, as a means of communication. This has led to almost universal acceptance that the goal of foreign language teaching is to develop communicative competence in the learner and the formal development of a framework which acknowledges three dimensions of 'language':

> 1) Language as a system of sounds, grammar, and lexicon.
> 2) Language as a vehicle for expressing communicative functions such as requests, commands, promises, apologies, etc. (Austin 1962; Searle 1976; Wilkins 1976)

3) Language as a tool for interaction to establish and maintain human relationships.

Dimension 1) derives from a traditional understanding and practice in the study, analysis and teaching of language(s), and is relatively easy to define and teach, at least to lower level learners, because a vast store of knowledge of language structure (phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon) enables us to select, grade and explain a large selection of items. It draws on knowledge and practice accumulated over centuries of language study and learning practice in Western culture. In the course of the last century, with the advent of technology that has permitted accurate accumulation and reproduction of the phonological features of any language, expansion in methodological practice has seen the development of a vast range of practical approaches to language learning. In particular, the audio-lingual method has seen the advent of a rich variety of exercises, drills and formal classroom procedures for teaching grammar patterns.

Dimension 2) is the focal point in communicative language teaching, and functions to some extent as the bridge between the nuts-and-bolts concreteness of Dimension 1) and the more theoretical academicity of Dimension 3). Courses and textbooks whose theoretical underpinning is based in an interpretation of Dimension 2) are often structured around communicative functions as discrete and interconnected units of teaching, and an extensive range of classroom activities and exercises developed in the early years of articulation of this dimension (e.g. Joiner and Westphal (eds) 1978; Candlin 1981; Johnson and Morrow (eds) 1981; Littlewood 1981) still exercise significant influence over the construction of text-books and courses currently in production.

Teaching procedures whose methodological expression is based in communicative language teaching theory have a tendency to be less rigid than in those promulgated by audio-lingual methodology. In the context of a communicative language teaching approach, a wider variation in teaching methodology is permitted, and emphasis is placed on learning rather than teaching (cf. Richards and Rodgers 1986). In recent years, awareness of the psycho-social importance of the features of Dimension 3) has attracted attention in foreign language teaching, and this has fitted neatly into various lines of theoretical study that are being developed and followed in the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnomethodology. Researchers in these

disciplines have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the relationship between language and society, and between language and the individual. However, knowledge of these aspects of language is still not rich enough to enable us to present the socio-cultural rules of the target language community in an explicit and systematic way, and clearly, it will be very difficult to develop skills in the learner to use a foreign language for interactional purposes in a traditional classroom setting. It is hoped that the findings in the present study will in some minor way contribute further to a clarification of some of the relationships referred to above.

The learner of Japanese is required to acquire an understanding of politeness systems, and an acceptance of patterns of relative social status between speakers and members of Japanese society in general if he or she wishes to use the language for interpersonal communication (Minami and Hayashi (eds) 1973; Harada 1976; Neustupn'y 1977, 1979b). In the traditional grammar-oriented approach, the teacher explains the system and drills various forms at different levels of politeness, so that the learner will at some stage be able to produce sentences having the same propositional meaning with different degrees of politeness. (i.e., Dimension 1 pedagogy)

However, if the teaching of Japanese honorifics stops at this stage, we cannot expect the learner to use them appropriately in various communicative situations because when, to whom, and in what contexts which form must be used is not explained or worked with. No understanding is gained of the fact that the level of politeness that must be expressed is a matter of negotiation between the speakers; that the participants manoeuvre to set a level of politeness that is mutually satisfactory ; and the level may shift up and down within a single conversation (Ikuta 1983). Communicative situations, as a matter of course, affect the use of honorifics. Company employees who normally use the plain style speech to each other may switch to a more polite style at a business meeting with a senior member of the firm.

The term 'language teaching' is often taken to mean the process of identification of inadequacy, selection of items to be taught, grading, presentation, drilling, and evaluation. If we accept this definition, can we 'teach' the use of Japanese honorifics or, in more general terms, the socio-cultural rules of language use? We cannot 'teach' what we do not know

consciously. Thus the meaning of teaching and the role of language teachers must be re-examined.

2.3 Interactive competence approach

Neustupn'y (1988 and 1991) recommended an interactive competence approach for second language acquisition that places a greater emphasis on learners' active interaction with native speakers in real communicative situations. In essence, this approach requires conscious effort by the learners as well as intentional support from the teachers and the learners' local community, in order to create and foster opportunities for learners to interact with native speakers in the target language.

The influence of the development of the Communicative Approach has led to a considerable change in the teaching of the Japanese language since the 1970s (Okazaki 1990). Languages are considered ideally acquired through actual communication to make learning meaningful. Neustupn'y (1988, 1991) further developed this theory and proposed the interactive competence approach whereby the ultimate goal of language teaching does not stop at the acquisition of communicative language competence but includes practised efficiency in it for social, cultural and economic interaction. Neustupn'y places emphasis on actual interaction in the language teaching process, rather than simply on communication or language and using real communicative situations rather than exercises or simulations (Neustupn'y 1991 and 1996). His insistence that language courses include contact situations in which interaction between non-Japanese and Japanese take place is gradually developing in many language teaching programmes in schools where relationships with Japanese high schools that lead to exchange programmes and real visits are permitting at least limited interchanges between native speakers and students of the language. His other insistence that the teaching process contain a component that will assist learners to independently acquire an interaction system in the language they are studying is as yet less obviously included in most curricula.

Neustupn'y, amongst other things, argues forcefully: that it is vital for learners to understand the cultural rules which underlie the target language so that they can have satisfying and functional interactions in that language.

Independent of the quality and range of their knowledge of the grammar and lexis of that language, lack of knowledge of the sociolinguistic framework can easily lead to situations of confusion, frustration, and partial or complete communication breakdown. It may not be possible for all learners to be assimilated into the target culture through personal experience and extensive periods of stay in the country, but it ought to be possible for them to be extensively informed about the cultural and socio-cultural frameworks, acquire some limited personal experience of them in controlled or other locally contrived contexts, and thereby to discover and practise their own third position between the two cultures (Kramsch 1993; Crozet and Liddicoat 1997). Neustupn´y (1983) has argued that learners should understand and practise some of the rules of the culture of the target language in addition to maintaining their own culture and has called this 'bicultural education'. Teaching learners the actual language behaviour of Japanese people, and relating this to cultural principles, is not meant to turn foreigners into Japanese people but rather create an increasing number of foreigners who can communicate with Japanese people with a minimal communication gap (Makino 1983).

Language classes need to be enlightened by language teachers who understand the importance of 'knowing how to relate to otherness' (Zarate 1993, cited in Crozet and Liddicoat 1997: 3). It follows from this that language teachers should encourage their students to study and be aware of their own national culture and its values, their personal self identities or sub-cultural (family or ethnic group) values within the larger general culture, and cross-cultural differences between their own cultures and the culture of the target language. Japanese culture, which has been introduced from the teachers' point of view as a native speaker of Japanese or at least that of a highly informed and usually well-experienced non-native speaker expert, will be increasingly illuminated from multiple point of views provided by each learner (Okazaki 1991). Sharing of this knowledge, these respective individual interpretations of the Japanese way of life, will help learners to appreciate Japanese culture through an awareness of their own culture, and the multiple sub-cultures that exist within it.

In 1988 Neustupn´y claimed, 'A student of Year 12 is still functionally illiterate and a working knowledge of Japanese can be achieved only in a tertiary major or honours course or four-year degree structure and one year in-country' (*The Age*, 23 May 1988). He defined competence of three kinds -

linguistic, sociolinguistic and socioeconomic linguistic competence - and stressed the importance of a well-designed Japan literacy program which integrates subjects concerning Japanese society and culture. These views on Japanese literacy at these three levels have been elaborated upon in the recent report, *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential.*

In this report, the concept of a framework of different levels of Japan-literacy (as distinct from a concept of defining levels of proficiency in the Japanese language) is constructed:

JAPAN-LITERACY 1: targets virtually the whole population of Australia, except those who frequently communicate with Japanese people, and requires mainly sociocultural competence that will enable people to interpret news about Japan, the behaviour of Japanese companies and/or executive employees working in those companies, etc, in Australia, and so on. This can/could be part of a general social studies type programme in the context of a school setting or a specialist information course in the context of a vocational education setting. Some sociolinguistic knowledge could be built into it.

JAPAN-LITERACY 2: is needed by those who are in frequent, but not permanent, contact with Japanese people and communicate with them through the medium of English. While communicating with Japanese people, they require knowledge of Japanese sociopragmatic and sociolinguistic strategies as used in contact situations and, of course, sociocultural knowledge. Some knowledge of the language is useful.

JAPAN-LITERACY 3: is closest to the traditional picture of Japanese language teaching. Apart from sociocultural and sociolinguistic knowledge, it also includes linguistic knowledge. (Marriot, Neustupn´y and Spence-Brown 1994: 136)

This classification is extremely useful in its overall range and intent and in the fact that it articulates a rather ambitious goal: targeting virtually the whole population of Australia. However, it is at best only a partial response to the issue of making Australians Japan literate. Some knowledge of the language is useful: how much is some knowledge, and is there a common base of language knowledge for all Japan literate Australians? How safe is it to focus on transmission of or teaching about sociocultural competence,

when real understanding of the thinking and behaviour patterns of the Japanese is so dependent on sophisticated use and choices of language? Can this be understood without a deep and thorough knowledge of the language and an appreciation of its niceties? The categorization offers, however, a reminder of the importance of building such awarenesses into the programming of a language course, and it provides the basis of a framework and a strategy to address some of the complexities of language education: one which includes the important element of critical social literacy.

Marriott, Neustupn'y and Spencer-Brown assert that 'theoretical knowledge of the Japanese language, sociolinguistics and culture/society is not provided in all undergraduate courses in Australia'. They urge 'Japanese departments/units to introduce appropriate subjects to cover these areas' (Marriott, Neustupn'y and Spencer-Brown 1994: 144).

Despite general acceptance among both JFL and JS professionals that language studies need to be set in a cultural context, this integration has only been superficially dealt within most tertiary contexts in Australia, at least. In the high schools, however, as noted above, increasing contact with Japanese schools seeking to establish sister-school relationships with Australian schools has permitted significantly increased contact with real Japanese for large numbers of Australian students of the language. This has encouraged and in some cases, forced teachers of Japanese to focus far more of their teaching time on teaching about Japan and about the Japanese, so that their pupils, when spending time with their Japanese student guests in the classroom and in their homes, are able to cope with the encounters better than if armed purely with the limited linguistic knowledge that is within their productive and receptive range.

Neustupn'y (1996) proposes that interaction teaching emphasises performance activities that are as close as possible to real interaction. He also suggests utilising a more varied range of participants and settings, such as native speaker visitors to the classroom, community contacts, and extra-classroom and extramural settings. Accordingly, a wide range of performance activities are selected which put a great emphasis on encouraging and supporting learners to establish relationships with Japanese people and to become involved in authentic interactions with them. Students are also expected to utilise various other resources of the target language and culture, such as Japanese newspapers and magazines,

radio and TV programs, and Japanese community organisations (Ogawa 1996). Not all of this is within the practical range of all teachers - let alone their students - but the compilation of the proposed activities, their pedagogical intent, their sociolinguistic expression, and their cultural importance, are of immense use to the teacher who is beginning to work with these ideas. Many teachers know these things, in that they have experienced or learned them themselves, but no longer consciously consider them as things to be taught or transmitted intentionally, and as part of their formal learning, to their students.

The third-year Japanese course at Monash University is an example of a tertiary JSL course which is based upon the principle of the interactive competence approach. In this course, learners are encouraged to establish and maintain relationships with Japanese native speakers from within the local Australian community. In order to involve learners in authentic interactions with Japanese native speakers, the course structure includes a wide range of performance activities such as native speaker visits in the classroom, extra classroom and extra classroom and extra mural activities. Learners are also expected to utilise various other resources of the target language and culture, such as Japanese newspapers and magazines, radio and TV programs, and Japanese community organisations.

In terms of the relevance of the above practices to this thesis, their slow diffusion through the teaching activity of Japanese in Australian schools and universities can only be of positive effect in the learning of the nature and use of pronouns and expressions of politeness by non-native speakers of Japanese. Teachers who until now have been able to contain their teaching within the boundaries of the syllabus or the text-book are encouraged to prepare their students for real interactive functioning and the inevitable sociolinguistic knowledge that must accompany this. In the process, as much is learned or at least explored about the culture and thinking patterns of the Japanese as is acquired at the linguistic level. Furthermore, students are given an opportunity to examine and reflect upon aspects of their own culture or cultures, and acquire a genuinely more multi-cultural perspective on life. Inevitably, sooner or later the focussed linguistic analysis and teaching relating to language use will occur, and occur very possibly in a context where the students are actively interested and involved because they have personally experienced some aspect or another of what is being discussed. It is this kind of thing that will lead to and encourage far more

focus on things such as the teaching of the use and nature of pronouns and expressions of politeness in the use of Japanese by non-native speakers than has been the case until recently.

3   Anthropological framework/context

3.1 Social deixis: group identity: *uchi* (in-group) and *soto* (out-group) deixis

Lebra (1976) has claimed that it is primarily on the basis of group ties that Japanese establish identities. The ordinary workings of the Japanese language make it impossible to converse without clearly indicating to which group the interlocutors or the persons they are talking about belong. This group identity is inferable from interaction through, for example, the employment of honorifics, donatory verbs, terms of address and reference (cf. chapter 4) as well as socially more indexical signs such as dialect, slang and other special (professional) registers.

The Japanese social nexus is, from a Western perspective, extremely limited which means that the linguistic homogeneity of the group is very high. According to Nakane (1974), who sees Japan as a vertically structured society whose members are bound in tightly organised groups, such affiliations will only include the family, co-villagers of one's household and co-workers in the same section or division or the same factory building. This strong sense of inward versus external connections (*uchi to soto*) fosters a deep sense of solidarity and corporate identification. Although other paired terms exist in addition to *uchi/soto*, including *omote* ('in front, surface appearance')/*ura* ('in-back, what is kept hidden from others') (Doi 1986), *giri* ('social obligation')/*ninjoo* ('the world of personal feelings') and *tatemae* ('the surface world of social obligation')/*honne* ('the inner life of feelings') (Hamabata 1990: 134), which can also function as indices, *uchi/soto* is the most fundamental in delineating indexical organization.

The assumption that the central deictic distinctions of English and Japanese are the same as those of English and Indo-European languages in general is one that has been challenged by a number of linguists in recent years (see e.g.,Wetzel 1994; and Bachnik 1994). Levinson (1983), in an exploration of linguistic phenomena for which sociocultural distinctions play a descriptive role, has worked with the notion of social deixis which is defined as

> 'the encoding of social distinctions that are relevant to participant roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between the speaker and the addressee(s) or speaker and some referent' (Levinson in Wetzel, 1994: 79)

Wetzel works with this notion to show that in Japanese society, through the Japanese language, the deictic anchor point is socially rather than individually defined, that *uchi*, the word by which an individual defines his or her 'home'/'in-group' connections, is a collective counterpart to the English pronoun 'I'.

This notion has been picked up and further explored by Bachnik (1994) and mapped through analysis of a series of ethnographic vignettes which recount the author's actual experience of life in Japan in Japanese in which she describes the act of temporarily entering another anchor point than the archetypal 'self', determined entirely by social context/circumstance, and an individual's awareness of his/her place within the structure (*ie*) of a social unit. In Bachnik's study, a variety of communication modes (not all strictly linguistic) are indexed on an axis of formality/informality along which household members are shown to 'create' defining parameters for self through identification with the collectively defined anchor point, *uchi*, the group to which one belongs. As the editor's introduction to Bachnik's study explains:

> 'As a collectively defined anchor point, *uchi* (1) defines self in relation to the collectivity; (2) is crucial in defining the in-group organization of the *ie*; and (3) defines the organization of the *ie* by means of the relation between the two facets of *uchi*/*ie* (respectively as 'agency' and 'structure') so that the organizational dynamic spells out the participation of living members in structuring *ie* structure....*ie* spells out the dynamic for the 'situational self' and 'situated social order' in its own organization.'

Ie (literal meaning 'house' and signifying both the physical structure of a house and the genealogical structure and relative status of the generations who have constructed a house/family) is shown by Bachnik to include *uchi* as a named facet of its organization. *Uchi* is the synchronic deictic anchor point, and *ie* is a diachronic structure whose main connotation is that of organized continuity over time.

Issues of self within the *ie* organisation strongly parallel those of person in language, and of critical importance in the conceptual framework constructed by the Japanese language and culture is the fact that *uchi* includes not just 'I', but 'I and other members of my group'. Within the

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structural unit of *ie*, the Other can be differentiated in two ways, as 'inside others' or 'outside others', and the group boundary emerges as an important feature in communicating distinctions that in English and other Indo-European languages are made between self and non-self. Thus, self/other distinctions revolve around the selection of deferential terms used only to refer to others outside one's group, and humble terms used only to refer to oneself and others inside one's group (Wetzel in Bachnik 1994: 157). From the speaker's perspective, honorific forms communicate self-reference or reference made inside the group boundary. A central aspect of the collectively defined anchor point is the degree to which the interactants share, or fail to share, a common framework, and this will permit an individual to temporarily enter an anchor point that is not 'normally' his or hers, and boundaries of *uchi* or *soto* to be temporarily redefined within the overall *ie* structure.

3.2 The foreigner as out-group member

A visitor or a guest is always treated cordially as an out-group member. Thus, aside from the supposed racial hierarchies, the polite speech by which the non-Japanese individual, particularly a Caucasian, is addressed may be more akin to the language used with an out-group member than that used when addressing a person actually higher in status. The Westerner who has had it pounded into his head that Japanese polite speech and behaviour are based on status difference, and who is not familiar with the etiquette involved in interactions with an out-group member, often misinterprets the respect he is accorded. He considers himself to be of higher status and may unconsciously come to take a patronising attitude toward the Japanese.

3.3 Sociocultural features

Foley (1997) points out that notions of 'face', and particularly the bipolar division of face into positive and negative aspects, derive primarily from the importance given to individualism in the Western European concept of the person. He picks up Matsumoto's (1988) argument that this is untenable or at the very least inappropriate for Japanese culture, especially in the context of the weight given to negative face, freedom to act, negative politeness and avoidance of imposition on the freedom to act. In the Japanese context, it is

not one's right to act freely that is important, rather, it is one's position in a group in relationship to all others, and one's acceptance by these others that matters. It also involves an understanding of and acceptance of the duties entailed in such a mutually functional context. This, of course, is transparently a difference between an egocentric individualistic conception of person-hood and a sociocentric, context-bound one. Face as positive self-esteem (positive face) is indeed operative in Japanese culture, but it operates through the acknowledgment and maintenance of the relative position of others, rather than preservation of an individual's proper territory.

This view of face and consequently personhood has clear linguistic, psychological, and cultural manifestations. An English deferential expression might be 'Pardon me, sir, I wonder if you would be kind enough to close the window?' Deference in English involves multiple strategies for negative politeness in which the degree of imposition that can be inferred from a request relates directly to the degree of deference displayed. Redressing a threat to negative face is associated with the avoidance or downplaying of an imposition through polite circumlocution. It is clearly a strategy for negative politeness, redressing a threat to negative face. However, Matsumoto (1988) argues that deference in Japanese culture does not function to minimize imposition (negative politeness), but rather to represent a positive relationship between the interlocutors (positive politeness). An excellent example proposed by (Matsumoto 1988:409) is the universal Japanese expression:

Doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu
'I ask you to please treat me well'

The literal meaning is almost meaningless in the context of English language or sociolinguistic practice, but in Japanese it represents the very fabric of sociolinguistic interchange and the subconscious mind-set of the speakers. It is employed in almost any context in Japanese when some impact by one individual is made directly on the life and functioning of another. From contexts as banal and superficial as casual introductions (self-introductions or those involving the agency of another person) to contexts involving serious and weighty social or professional obligations, the acknowledgment of the obligation incurred for the time that the relationship between the two speakers endures is expressed through a

request for tolerance and goodwill from the person whose life has been interrupted by the request, the introduction, or whatever.

Formally, as a speech act, it is an imposition, and through its expression, the speaker places himself in a lower recipient position and is clearly deferential. But just as clearly it acknowledges interdependence, a virtue in Japanese culture. It is an honor in this society to be asked to take care of someone, and this confers status on the person being so asked. It enhances the addressee's positive face. But it is equally reinforcing of the sense of self-esteem of the addresser, in that it affirms both speakers' shared cultural value of interdependence. It is not negative versus positive face which is relevant in Japanese culture, but just face, viewed as positive self-esteem (Foley 1997: 275).

This fluidity, constructed primarily by cultural imperatives within Japanese patterns of social interaction and constructs of social difference that have developed over the centuries, is no doubt not unique to Japanese society, but it is perhaps unusually prominent in Japanese social behaviour, and is more clearly reflected and accounted for in choices made in language use than in many other languages. And so it is in the context of this anthropological framework that the rest of this work is best read.

4 Politeness in the Japanese Language

4.1 History of Japanese sociolinguistics: indigenous and foreign approaches

In the field of linguistics in general, the discipline of 'sociolinguistics' is a relatively new arrival, having only formally emerged in the western tradition in the 1960s. In Japan, academics on the whole have a preference for further intensive study of established and traditional paths of research rather than an interest in embracing innovatory paradigms, and thus it is that concepts and theories that have emerged in the field of sociolinguistics in the past thirty years are really only now beginning to be acknowledged and incorporated into academic activity by Japanese linguists.

Furthermore, there is a traditional separation between *kokugogakusha* [national language scholars] whose academic activity is almost exclusively influenced by traditional practice and orientation developed over hundreds of years, and who rarely expose themselves to Western theories and linguists, and *gengogakusha* [linguists], who, 'contaminated' by Western theories of linguistics, are often discouraged from studying their own language and even shut out from its study by the established *kokugogakusha*. The *gengogakusha* tend to specialize in English and/or other European languages, and so activity in the one field rarely exerts any influence, or excites any interest, in the other.

As well as this, the pervasive influence of hierarchical structures of leadership and power that is particular to Japanese society as a whole is no less extant in Japanese universities than it is in other large traditional structures, and these feudalistic patterns of management based on seniority rather than, say, academic merit, can foster hostility towards new theoretical approaches. On the other hand, it is also a fact that, long before Western sociolinguistics defined itself as a separate discipline, 'national language scholars' had long recognised the social and cultural embeddedness of their language.

As early as the 1940's, they had developed an indigenous form of sociological dialectology termed *gengo seikatsu* [language life]. This field has been closely associated with the Japanese National Language Research Institute which has produced descriptive surveys, mainly concentrating on particular regional lexical varieties, with a statistical orientation. The publication of the 'Linguistic Atlas of Japan' (1955-1975) represents the culmination of this activity, and consists of a series of maps depicting regional variations on individual lexical

items. Since that time, there has been a methodological shift away from general surveys of communities to the study of politeness levels (honorifics), dialects in contact, sex differences in language and children's speech (cf. Grootaers and Shibata 1982; 1985). Though developed more or less in isolation from the Western discipline of sociolinguistics, some degree of congruence with current sociolinguistic research in the Western tradition can be shown to exist.

4.2. Foreign approaches

Shibata's (Peng (ed.)1975) 'Language in Japanese Society' was the first book written in English to be entirely devoted to Japanese sociolinguistics. It introduced some prominent sociolinguistic topics relating to Japanese such as honorifics, borrowing and language standardization. It is divided into four sections: the description of non-standard varieties, kinship behaviour and the use of pronouns, language attitudes and foreign language learning. More recent follow-ups in this field include Loveday (1986) 'Explorations in Japanese Sociolinguistics,' 'Sociolinguistics in Japan' (1986) International Journal of the Sociology of Language 58, Minami (1982), 'Nihon no Shakaigengogaku [Sociolinguistics in Japan], Journal Gekkan Gengo 11-10, and Neustupn´y (1994) 'Nihon no Shakaigengogaku ni tsuite [Sociolinguistics in Japan]' Journal, Nihongogaku 13.

4.3. General theories of linguistic politeness

In the past decade we have seen some claims on the theories of linguistic politeness. Lakoff (1974: 1975) claims rules of politeness to be one of the two rules of pragmatic competence, i.e. rules of clarity and rules of politeness, which are the rules/constraints of the pragmatic domain, and assumes the pragmatic rules of politeness to be indispensable in understanding language. Leech (1983) claims the principles of politeness belong to one of his pragmatic principles. Like Lakoff, Leech deals with the issue of linguistic politeness as an extension of linguistics. Brown and Levinson (1978), on the other hand, deal with the issue as interactional strategies: they consider humans to be rational actors oriented toward communicative goals which are achieved by communicative strategies. In their framework, linguistic expressions are the major but not the only strategies for interaction which are accorded varying degrees of politeness. While Lakoff's and Leech's work provide rules/principles for use of linguistic

systems, Brown and Levinson's offers dynamic strategies for communication. The theories of linguistic politeness discussed above claim universal application. However, those theories are not relevant to major concepts of linguistic politeness held by the Japanese people. For the Japanese people, linguistic politeness is mainly a matter of conforming to social conventions for a choice of linguistic forms. Hill et al. (1986: 348) call this *wakimae* [discernment]. It is one of two general strategies, the other being called *ishi* [volition]. 'Discernment' is observed according to the speaker's reading of socially agreed-upon relative social distance toward the addressee in the situation, while 'volition' is the speaker's strategy according to his/her intention, examples of which are found in Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1978). The linguistic choice of pronouns between V(Vous) and T(Tu) and of address terms between TLN (Title plus Last Name) and FN(First Name) is a good instance of a strategy of 'discernment'.

Observation of linguistic politeness according to 'discernment' can be realised by keeping a 'proper' distance between interactants. In verbal behaviour the distance is created by the choice of higher/formal linguistic forms. The factors determining the distance between interactants are differences of social status, age, power, the formality of participants (created by the lack of familiarity or solidarity), and the formality of occasion and topic (Ide, 1982: 366-77). The choice of formal linguistic forms in pronouns, address terms, honorifics and other lexical items according to these factors is essential for achieving linguistic politeness in Japanese (Ide, 1991b: 65). Linguistic politeness is defined, according to Hill et al. (1986: 349), as language use according to a constraint of human interaction - politeness - whose purpose is to establish distance of mutual comfort, and to promote rapport by considering other's feelings.

4.4 Present-day politeness in Japanese language

Brown and Levinson (1978) note that politeness is basic to the production of social order, and a precondition of human cooperation. Politeness phenomena, by their very nature, are reflected in language. One of the salient characteristics of Japanese, is its extensive **honorification** system, which appears to be richer than its counterparts in many other languages (cf. Harada 1976; Jorden and Noda 1987). Every language seems to have at least some kind of strategy for marking, in one way or another, a speaker's admiration or respect for, or politeness to, an addressee. It could be manifested, for instance, as intonation,

specific choice of words, or a particular selection of syntactic constructions. This type of conversational strategy is called **honorification.** Most Western languages have relatively simple systems of address. However, several Asian languages such as Korean, Tibetan and Javanese, also make use of very extensive and complicated systems of honorifics.

Honorification is _keigo_ in Japanese. The _keigo_ system is frequently referred to by the term *taiguu hyoogen*, which means 'the linguistic treatment of self and others in conversation' (Niyekawa 1991: 35). It includes individual words and morphemes used to express politeness. The honorific system in Japanese can be roughly divided into three classes: honorific, humble, and polite. Honorific forms are used for an individual or the individual's activities in order to honour him/her. The individual referred to is, thus, a person who holds a rank socially higher than the speaker (or the speaker's in-group), and thus, is to be respected. The basic role that humble forms play is to humble the speaker or the speaker's in-group, whereby respect is paid to the addressee. In this case, the addressee is a person who is to be respected. Polite forms are neutral with regard to the target of respect, and thus they are used when a conversational situation is formal, and yet does not require the use of honorifics or humble forms.

Mizutani and Mizutani (1987) notes that there is a great difference between *keigo* before and after World War II, as postwar Japanese society has become highly democratized in language as well as other areas. The following is a list of the major changes in postwar *keigo*.

1)   Special polite terms used for referring to the emperor and his family members have been abolished. Now in public reporting such as newspapers and television or radio news, a rather more limited form of polite wording is used for the imperial family. Before and during the war special terms were used to refer to the emperor and his family - for instance, when the emperor went out the special term *gyookoo* 'His Majesty's visit' was used. But now *oide-ni naru* 'one goes' (honorific) is used instead of *gyookoo*, and in referring to other actions as well, usually the *-areru* form (as in *yomareru*) or the *o...ni naru* form (as in *oyomi-ni naru*) are used. These honorific forms are not different from those commonly used in daily conversation when referring to one's acquaintances politely.

2)   Terms referring to oneself and terms of respect referring to others have been tremendously simplified. Before the war a dozen different terms -

watakushi, atakushi, atashi, atai, ore, washi, wagahai, temae, shooseei, kochitora, etc. - were used to refer to oneself, but now just a few terms, such as *watashi, boku*, and *ore,* are used in most cases. Terms of respect for family members were also numerous and complicated before and during the war, but have since been simplified.

3)   Wide discrepancies have disappeared. There used to be great differences in politeness of language between two different social classes such as between bosses and workers, customers and salesmen; but now the former talk more politely, and the latter less politely, than before. In a word, the Japanese people have today reached a high degree of equality in language usage.

4)   Gender differences in language usage have been minimized. Some very feminine expressions have disappeared since the war. Young women now seldom use such expressions as *Shiranakute-yo* [I don't know] and *Dekinai koto-yo* [I can't do that] in familiar speech; such expressions as *odekake-asobashimashita* [he went out] for *odekake-ni narimashita* are also seldom heard in polite female speech. At the same time, men's speech has become more refined and, in a way, closer to feminine speech. Men add the honorific 'o' to more words now than before: *ocha* 'tea(hon)' and *okashi* 'sweets(hon)' are more common than *cha* 'tea' and *kashi*, 'sweets' and *obentoo* 'box lunch(hon)' *okane* 'money (hon)' and *osake* 'alcohol (hon)' are now used by many men.

5)   However, expressions of politeness between adults where a significant age difference exists have not undergone as much change. Older people are still referred to and spoken to politely even in present-day society. Probably this aspect has undergone the least amount of change.

Once Japan was a feudal society and one's social status was definite. **Keigo** was used with clear difference between a person of higher status and lower status. As a result of this, honorific and humble forms were used often rather than polite forms. In modern Japan, with the democratization of the social system, the use of honorifics and, even more so, the humble form, is decreasing. On the other hand, the use of the polite forms is increasing [Tsujimura 1991: 1].

A questionnaire in 1993 shows that 94.2% are willing to use honorification appropriately, however, only 13.6% have a fair degree of confidence with this. [Kikuchi 1994: 1 and 375], This shows that even Japanese native speakers often have difficulty using **keigo**. (635 respondents, adults and University students)

1. I would like to use *keigo* appropriately and see it maintained in the future.

68.5%

2. I would like to use *keigo* appropriately but it might not apply in the future.

25.7%

3. Using *keigo* is too complicated and it should be got rid of.   4.3%

Q: Are you confident in your use of *keigo*?

1) I have a fair degree of confidence.   13.6%

37.8% (over age 50)

9.2% (under age 40)

2) I have little doubt.   55.6%

3) I do not have much confidence.   30.1%

4) Other.   0.6%

The following questionnaire was anwered by 971 teenage, year eleven high school students. (Daiichi Gakushuusha 1991, quoted by Kikuchi 1994: 374)

Q: Is it necessary to use *keigo* in the modern age?

Yes.   68.1%

Q: Have you ever been in a situation where you felt embarrassed because you could not use *keigo* appropriately?

Yes.   29.8%

Q: What do you think when you see other high school student using *Keigo* in public?

1) It looks normal.   39.6%

2) It looks well mannered.   27.3%

3) It looks smart. (positive feeling)   26.9%

4) It looks affected. (negative feeling)   3.7%

5) It looks ostentatious.   2.5%

6) It looks terrible.   0%

This questionnaire shows that teenagers are positive about using *keigo* as well as adults and university students. A more recent follow-up in this field

includes '*Poraitonesu no Gengogaku*' (Politeness in Linguistics)' Journal Gengo 26-6 (1997).

4.5 Factors deciding the level of politeness in Japanese

Mizutani (1987:3-14) notes that factors deciding the level of politeness in Japanese include the following:

(1) Familiarity
The first factor in deciding the level of speech, as in the case of English is the degree of acquaintance or intimacy. Namely, when one speaks to a stranger or when one meets someone for the first time, one uses the polite form.

(2) Age
The second factor is age. As a rule, older people talk in a familiar way toward younger people and younger people talk politely to older people. Among people of the same age familiar conversation is common.

(3) Social relations
The third factor is social relations. Social relations here refers to such relationships as those between employers and employees, also called 'professional relations.' Generally speaking, those who are of higher status, such as employers, customers, and teachers, will use either the plain form or polite form in dealing with inferiors.

(4) Social status
People of a certain social standing are usually spoken to and referred to politely. In prewar Japan members of the aristocracy such as dukes, earls, and the emperor and his family members were spoken to and referred to with special polite terms.

(5) Gender
Besides familiarity, age, social relations and social standing, there are several other factors that come into play in language usages, and gender is one of them. Speech tends to be more familiar between people of the same sex than between men and women. This is especially true with older people who were brought up and educated with members of their own sex.

(6) Group membership

The Japanese use different expressions and terms of respect when referring to others depending on whom they are talking to. This is not limited to the case of Japanese. In English too, one refers to one's own wife or husband in different ways depending on the situation; you might use the term 'Mother' or 'Mummy' when speaking with your children. However, this distinction is a little more complicated in Japanese.

4.6 Process model for defining register in Japanese

Kikichi (1994:59-61) remarks there are some foreigners as well as some Japanese who believe that *Keigo* is feudalistic. However, history aside, at least *Keigo* in modern Japanese is not mechanically based only on social factors. One of the purposes of using *Keigo* is to develop a smooth rapport. This is as important as expressing respect and acknowledging one's social relationship to the addressee. The following table shows Kikuchi's model for analysing the process of register choices in social contexts.

Table 1. Process Model for Defining Register

[Kikuchi (1994: 60)]

(1) Social factors

A Context: (place and topic)	B Human relationships: among participants A1) & 2)
1) Human participants	1) Status rank
2) Physical features factors	2) Situation/position
3) Topic	3) Degree of intimacy
	4) In/out group

TABLE OF 'AWARENESS' OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONVENTION

(2) Psychological factors Decision as to whether to adopt the level of politeness appropriate for the context or not

A Communicative intent: affective (how speaker wishes to treat addressee)

B Extra factors (background)

1) General communicative intent
2) Degree of relative imposition implied
3) Degree of intimacy
4) Communication of exclusivity/inclusivity
5) Particular communicative intent

Speaker's personal feeling about addressee

Intent of speakers desired level of smoothness of encounter

(person-specific) Idiolect

C Illocutionary force: skill in choice of register and effect of communication on addressee

REGISTER CHOICE

1) Social status
2) Polite ⟶ Rude
3) Formal ⟶ Informal
4) Refined ⟶ Vulgarity
5) Like ⟶ Dislike
6) Acknowledgement of imposition implied

Selection of appropriate expression taking into account 1)➤6)

5   Politeness markers in the Japanese language

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals in some detail with aspects of the construction of honorific language forms expressed in Japanese in the grammar and morphology of the spoken language. Other aspects relating to honorification, for example, features such as voice intonation, non-verbal behaviour, and so on, are not dealt with. Furthermore, while it is possible to distinguish several levels of honorification in Japanese, the following discussion will only distinguish between N (nonpolite/informal) lexico-syntactic structures and P structures. (The latter are mainly honorific, but occasionally include a fairly neutral level of formality/politeness. The border between neutral-polite and honorific-polite is often a very complex one and occasionally overlaps, and so a deliberate choice has been made to blur them for the purposes of the following discussion). No discussion has been included of structures relating to extremely high levels of politeness. The levels of politeness discussed below, and the linguistic knowledge that would be required to produce them, are roughly within the cognitive grasp of students of Japanese who have completed two or three years of university level Japanese, or slightly advanced high school students who have completed at least five years study of Japanese. Much of the discussion below is a synthesis of the work published by Niyekawa (1991), Mizutani and Misutani (1987) and Goldstein and Tamura (1975).

As noted in Section 4.4 above, even native speakers have difficulty in their construction and use of *keigo*, or honorific, P-level speech in Japanese. However, it is generally felt that this is not a good excuse to avoid the use of *keigo*. Older Japanese children and young adults, in particular, are encouraged to develop skill and accuracy in using it. In the same way, though, it is difficult to acquire fluency and consistent competence in the use of *keigo* for a foreigner, and it is not necessary that foreign learners of Japanese become so 'completely' Japanese that they lose a sense of identity with their own language and culture, nonetheless, an error in the use of *keigo* will cause an instantaneous emotional reaction in a native speaker, much as the use of a four-letter swear word by a learner of English will to a native speaker of English. Grammatical mistakes by foreign speakers of Japanese are tolerated and easily ignored where they do not interfere with comprehension or communication of meaning; rudeness stemming from

non-use or incorrect use of *keigo* in a context where it must be used may not always be acceptable.

In this chapter, I discuss the essential features of politeness structures under the following 8 headings.

1) Neutral polite style
2) Address terms
3) Honorific verb structures
4) Honorific prefixes for nouns
5) Kinship terms
6) Donatory verbs
7) Humbling verbs
8) 'Refined' Demonstratives.

5.2 Essential components of politeness indicators in order of importance

5.2.1 Neutral polite style

I have taken some of the material in the following section from the work of Mizutani and Mizutani (1987) in which the issues relevant to this chapter have been thoroughly explored.

The first and most important indicator of the use of a polite level of speech is the sentence ending *desu/-masu* (and derivatives). Sentences that end in verb phrases without *desu/-masu* are in the non-polite or plain style and are immediately insulting if used by adults in speaking to someone other than a child who is not an intimate friend nor a subordinate. Their primary function is to reinforce to the listener(s) the power relationship between the speaker and his or her interlocutor(s), and that relationship is either one of the equality understood and enjoyed by small children before they have acquired a full understanding of their place in society, or else it is forcefully 'downwards' and indicates that the interlocutor is inferior or a subordinate.

Every Japanese sentence bears either the *da* (informal, non-polite) style or the *desu/-masu* (formal, polite) style. The distinction between the two styles is fundamental to the *keigo* system. Sentences with the formal *desu/-masu* ending, or with a derivative ending such as *deshita, -masen*, or *-mashoo*, are

desu/-masu-style sentences: those without the ending are informal *da* style sentences. The *desu/-masu* style will be referred to from here on as P, for polite, and the *da* style as N, for nonpolite.

> Acquaintance A: *Ii otenki **desu** ne.* (Fine day, isn't it?)
> Acquaintance B: *Ee, soo **desu** ne.* (Yes, isn't it?)

> Passenger: *Kono basu, yuubinkyoku no mae de tomarimasuka.*
> Bus Driver: *Hai, tomarimasuyo.* (Yes, it does.)

In informal speech between close friends, relatives, and youngsters, sentences end in plain form - that is, the dictionary form of adjectives and verbs and '*da*':

> Student A: *Ashita, daigaku ni **iku**?* (Are you going university
> tomorrow?)
> Student B: *Ashita wa **ikanai**.* (I am not going [to the University]
> tomorrow.)

> Husband: *Kyoo mo **amedane**.* (Rain again today.)
> Wife: *Moo **yokkamedawane**.* (This is the fourth day, isn't it?)

a) Verbs

Morphologically, the difference between polite forms (P) and plain forms (N) is as follows. Derivatives of *-masu*, which all carry the same socio-pragmatic value, include *masen* (negative non past), *-mashita* (past), *-masendeshita* (negative past).

Polite: 1. *Ashita ikimasu.* (I'm going tomorrow.)
        2. *Ashita-wa ikimasen.* (I'm not going tomorrow.)
        3. *Kinoo ikimashita.* (I went yesterday.)
        4. *Kinoo-wa ikimasen-deshita.* (I didn't go yesterday.)

The plain speech (N) counterparts of 1-5 are listed below. These N forms are morphologically distinct from each other, and not derivations of a single basic inflection, as is the case with the *-masu* forms.

Plain: 1. *Ashita iku.*
     2. *Ashita-wa ikanai.*
     3. *Kinoo itta.*
     4. *Kinoo-wa ikanakatta.*

b) *I-* adjectives

Adjectives in Japanese belong to morphologically distinct groups: the *i-* adjectives which can carry markers of tense and polarity like verbs, and the *na-* adjectives which have nominal properties. Like verbs, the *i-* adjectives require the use of *desu* or a *-masu* derivative to distinguish an utterance as P or N. *I* -adjectives are used with *desu* (present), *deshita* (past), *-ku arimasen* (present negative) and *-ku arimasen-deshita* (past negative). In plain speech, they are used without *desu* or *deshita*, and *deshoo* is replaced by *daroo* in plain speech. The following pairs of examples show how *-desu* is required almost as a politeness suffix to an *i-* adjective when an utterance is at P level, and is omitted when an utterance is at N level :

Polite: 1. *Samui desu.* (It's cold.)
     2. *Samukunai desu.* (It's not cold.)
     3. *Samukatta desu.* (It was cold.)
     4. *Samukunakatta desu.* (It wasn't cold.)

Plain: 1. *Samui.*
     2. *Samukunai.*
     3. *Samukatta.*
     4. *Samukunakatta.*

c) *Na-* adjectives

In contrast, the so-called *na-* adjectives which, like nouns, carry no markers of tense or polarity, are treated structurally, in the context of P or N level of speech, like nouns (see below), as far as sentence endings are concerned.

Polite: 1. *Shizuka desu.* (It's quiet.)
     2. *Shizuka-dewa-arimasen,* (It isn't quiet.)
     3. *Shizuka deshita.* (It was quiet.)
     4. *Shizuka-dewa-arimasen deshita.* (It wasn't quiet.)

Plain: 1. *Shisuka da.*
2. *Shisuka-dewa-nai.*
3. *Shizuka datta.*
4. *Shizuka-dewa nakatta.*

d) Noun plus *'desu'* or derivative *'da'*

In polite speech *desu* or its past tense *deshita* is used with nouns and *na*-adjectives, while *da* or its derivatives *-datta* or its plain form verbs or equivalents *nai/nakatta* are used in plain or non-polite speech.

Polite: 1. *Ii otenki desu.* (It's a fine day.)
2. *Ii otenki-dewa-arimasen.* (It isn't a fine day.)
3. *Ii otenki-deshita.* (It was a fine day.)
4. *Ii otenki-dewa-arimasen deshita.* (It wasn't a fine day.)

Plain: 1. *Ii tenki da.*
2. *Ii tenki-dewa nai.*
3. *Ii tenki datta.*
4. *Ii tenki-dewa nakatta.*

e) Other features

In polite speech, as seen above, sentences usually end in *-masu* or *desu*, while in plain speech sometimes just phrases or single words are used.

Polite: A: *Itsu odekake-desu-ka.* (When are you leaving?)
B: *Ashita dekakemasu.* (I'm leaving tomorrow.)

Plain: A: *Itsu dekakeru?* (When are you leaving?)
B: *Ashita.* (Tomorrow.)

When speaking politely, one should avoid verbless sentences like the following:

Ato-de (kimasu)*. (I'll come later.)
Sakki (kimashita)*. (He came a while ago.)

---

* ( ) is on optional element.

An exception can be made, however, when a polite expression precedes the verb as in

> *Nochi-hodo (mairimasu)*[*]. (I'll come later.)
> *Saki-hodo (omie-ni narimashita)* [*]. (He came a while ago.)

In these examples, *nochi-hodo* and *saki-hodo* are P equivalents of *ato-de* and *sakki* used above.

5.2.2 Address terms

Anata, whose functional status is as innocuous as that of a second person pronoun, though it is etymologically derived from *ano kata*, 'that [hon] person, is absolutely taboo in polite speech. In its place, either the addressee's title, last name with *-san*, or an honorific must be used. The word 'you' (*anata, kimi,* LN-*san/sensei*) is implicit in all Japanese sentences if the question does not contain the meaning 'also'. *Anata* has a very narrow usage, and is soon replaced by last name plus *-san*, or title, when appropriate.

The main things to know about the use of address systems in Japanese are :

> 1. Using the second person pronoun *anata* is inappropriate in most polite level speech. *Anata* is an N level second person pronoun that is used in addressing someone definitely younger or lower in status, or an intimate equal.
> 2. The most general way to address an adult is by the last name (LN) plus *-san*, except those who are addressed by their titles, and intimate friends, who may be addressed in various ways.
> 3. In sentences, the word 'you' is replaced by whatever address term is used for that particular person. This is a requirement at the P level of speech, and optional at the N level.

Further discussion of this point is undertaken in Chapter 7.

a) An American address system

Ervin-Tripp (1984: 226) explains that the person whose knowledge of address is represented in Figure 1 above is assumed to be a competent adult member of a western American academic community.

In the American system described in Figure 1, age difference is not significant until it spans a generation, which suggests its origin in the family. The presence of options, or dispensation, creates a locus for the expression of individual and situational nuances. The form of address can reveal dispensation, and therefore be a matter for display or concealment of third parties. No-naming or Ø is an outcome of uncertainty among these options.

Figure 1. An American Address System (Ervin-Tripp 1984:226)

[LN = Last Name; FN = First Name]
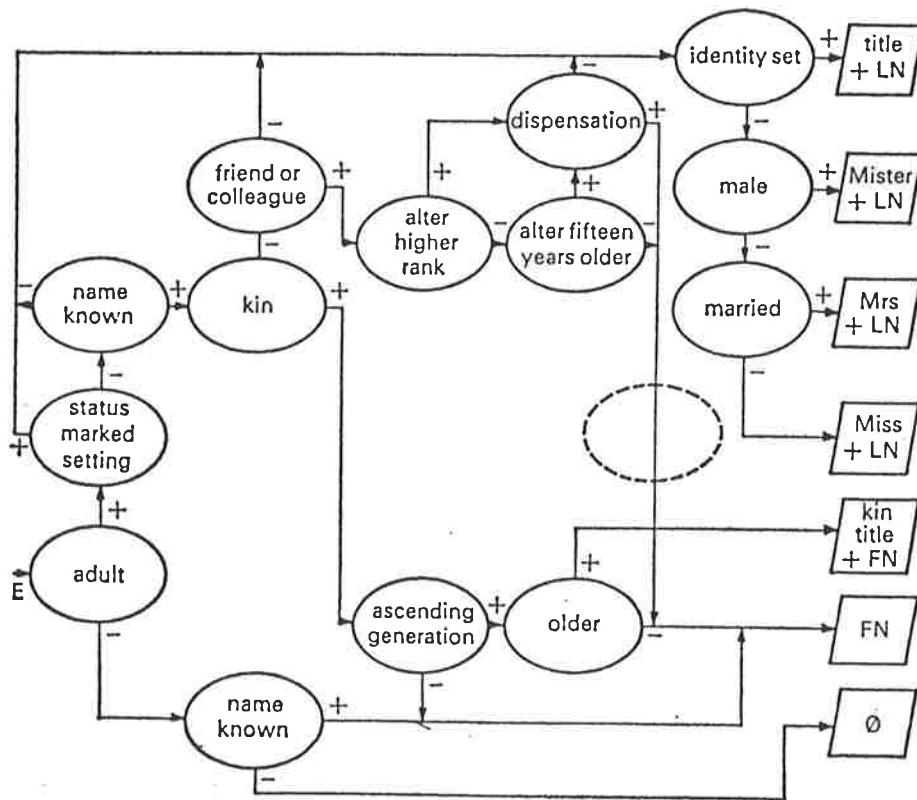
The identity set refers to a list of occupational titles or courtesy titles accorded people of a certain status. Examples are Judge, Doctor and Professor. In American English, a priest, physician, dentist, or judge may be addressed by title alone, but a plain citizen or an academic below the level of professor may not. In the latter cases, if the name is unknown, there is no address form (or zero, Ø) available and the addressee is simply 'no-named'. The parentheses below refer to optional elements, the bracketed elements to social selectional categories.

Cardinal	Your excellency
U.S. President	Mr President
Priest	Father (+ LN)
Nun	Sister (+ religious name)
Physician	Doctor (+ LN)
Ph.D., Ed.D., etc.	Doctor (+ LN)
Professor	Professor (+ LN)
Adult, etc.	Mister (+ LN)
	Mrs (+ LN)
	Miss (+ LN)

<div align="right">(Ervin-Tripp 1984: 228)</div>

Wherever the parenthetical items cannot be fully realized, as when last name (LN) is unknown, and there is no lone title, the addressee is no - name by a set of rules of the form as follows : Father + Ø—> Father, Professor + Ø—>Ø, Mister + Ø—>Ø, etc. An older male addressee may be called 'sir' if deference is intended, as an optional extra marking.

Ervin-Tripp acknowledges that these are her rules,
> '..... and seem to apply fairly narrowly within the academic circle I know. Non-academic university personnel can be heard saying 'Professor' or 'Doctor' without LN, as can school teachers. These delicate differences in sociolinguistic rules are sensitive indicators of the communication net.' (1984: 228)

b) The Japanese address system

In Japanese, various linguistic means are available to refer to or address a person. These include pronouns, kin/role terms and suffixes (a simple flow chart of the suffix patterns used in address appears in Figure 2 below).

Included in these are elevatory and deferential forms which are traditionally viewed as part of the honorific system. The fact that Japanese has many words corresponding to 'I' and 'you' has been widely reported but, in fact, they are more frequently avoided than employed, particularly in the case of third person pronouns (cf. Hinds 1975). Russel's (1981) research on the use of second person pronouns among college students reveals that men and women usually use the first name, nickname, last name, kinship or occupational title in second person reference. Ishikawa et al. (1981) provide the most comprehensive account so far of Japanese address terms as a system with a highly complex flow chart which involves six categories: kin terms, first and last names, professional names (e.g. 'teacher'), post-designating terms (e.g. 'section chief'), second person pronouns and fictives. These authors note how the address system reflects 'the hierarchical characterization of relationships as higher and lower with regard to age, sex and role . . . (with) power semantics as its most fundamental property' (1981: 139). Pronouns appear only appropriate to persons of equal or lower rank.

Figure 2. Flowchart of Japanese Suffixes of Address and Reference
(Loveday 1986: 7)
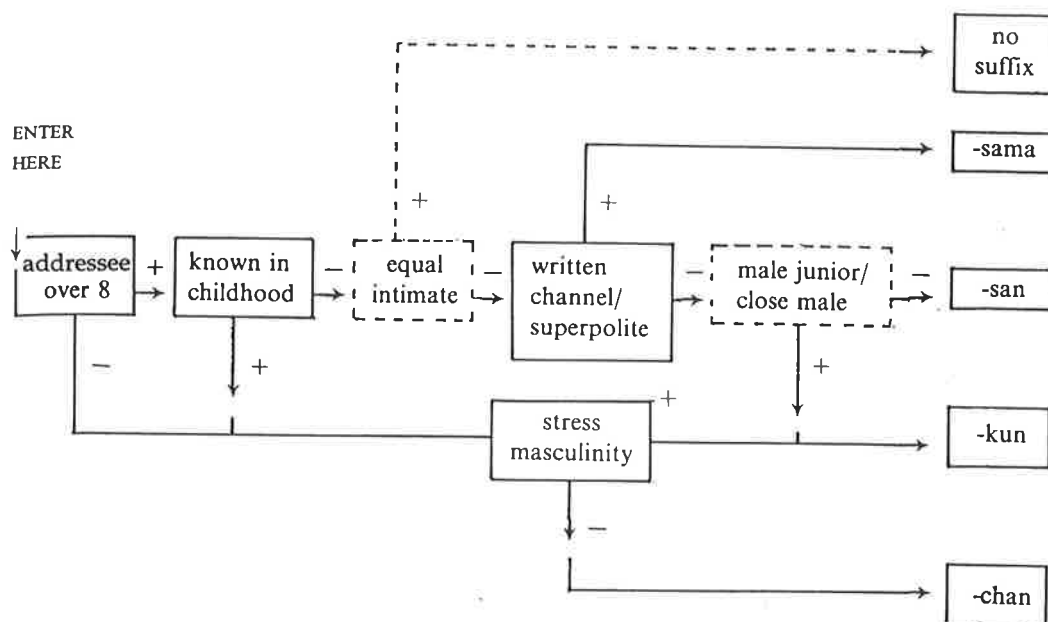
(The dotted lines and boxes are only entered when a male is addressing another male). This is only an abstract formalization of the general patterns. A speaker might well proceed to -san in every case. What is discernible is how significant ranking on the basis of age (-kun/-chan), sex (-kun, -san, no suffix) and superiority/inferiority (-kun, -san, -sama) features, all of which are fundamental themes of Japanese social organization.

Terms of address and reference should not be thought of as limited to pronouns, titles, name suffixes or honorific verbal devices. There exist, for example, a set of five lexemes in Japanese which correspond to the one English verb 'give'. (see section 5.2.6 below) These donatory verbs clearly indicate group affiliation, social position and other aspects of interpersonal relations; they occur frequently in requests and orders, often being employed in cases where Western languages would use pronouns. All in all, the area of Japanese terms of address and reference seems to have undergone extensive research and a considerable amount of information is available on the subject.

Apart from titles defining kinship or hierarchical relationships, occupational status or nature, etc, there is a general Japanese 'title', used almost always when addressing a person by name, unless that person is significantly inferior in age or some other form of status, and very often when talking about someone and using their name to identify them. It corresponds roughly to English 'Mr.', 'Mrs.', 'Ms' and 'Miss', but does not discriminate or specify sex or marital status as the 'corresponding' English titles do, and as indicated above is much more commonly and widely used in Japan than 'Mr.', 'Mrs.', 'Ms' and 'Miss', are in most English-speaking societies. It also has a range of lexical variants as shown below:

Noun suffixes (Adapted from Harada 1975:509)

sama	(very polite)
san	(neutral polite)
kun	(neutral - used for men only)
chan	(diminutive)
sensei	(to be explained below)

The items above are used for both sexes, for both married and unmarried people. They are suffixable either to a given name (e.g., *Shinichi-san)*, a surname (e.g., *Harada-san)*, or their combination (e.g., *Harada Shinichi-san)*. The formality and politeness increase in this order. The suffix -*chan* is phonologically related to -*san* (which is itself a weakened form of -*sama*), but is not an honorific title; hence, it is almost never suffixed to a surname. The title *sensei* has a peculiar status. Etymologically, it means a person who was 'born earlier', that is, a person who is older and more experienced and thereby deserving of respect, but contemporary usage confines it to a person

who is respected for his or her capabilities, mainly in intellectual work. As a common noun it means primarily 'teacher', but as a title it covers not only teachers or professors but also authors, movie directors, artists, medical doctors, politicians, and so on. Its translation into English will, thus, vary from context to context, and it is therefore not possible to assign it any single gloss.

A further example in the Japanese paradigm which clearly shows the differences with many of its European language counterparts, is the use of 'noun suffixes' as address forms. Noun suffixes are not organized to denote gender or marital status. They demonstrate more than a title or a name. The Japanese suffixes cannot be used to denote the self or anyone within the speaker's group. Their use or non-use conveys with absolute clarity the relative 'professional' kinship or relationship, just as the lexical choice of a word for 'father' [chichi. /otoosan] as discussed above defines whether the father being discussed is 'my' father rather than 'your' father. The important distinctions within social encounters are totally comprehensible within Japanese society yet rarely understood clearly by outsiders.

c) Occupational terms

Japanese Language is very rich in category terms for direct address. These categories include and apply to age, gender, and position, and within a position, terms for occupational groups are more widely applicable in direct address than those in English. Goldstein and Tamura (1975: 64) point out that this is another aspect minimising personal or family name usage as compared to their use in English.

Table 2:Titles for Heads of Organizations and Institutions
(Niyekawa 1991: 78)

Title	Meaning	Address Term
shachoo	president of a company	Shachoo-[san]
shochoo	head of a police station	Shochoo-[san]

Title	Meaning	Address Term
shochoo	director of an institute	Shochoo-san
	kenkyuujo: research inst.	Shochoo-sensei
kaichoo	association president	Kaichoo(-san)
kyokuchoo	head of a post office	Kyokuchoo-san
shichoo	mayor of a city	Shichoo-san
choochoo	mayor of a town	Choochoo-san
sonchoo	mayor of a village	Sonchoo-san
inchoo	head of a hospital/clinic	Inchoo-sensei
ichoo	head physician of a medical division in a hospital	Ichoo-sensei
fuchoo	head nurse	Fuchoo-san
gakuchoo	president of a university	Gakuchoo(-sensei)
koochoo	principal of a school	Koochoo-sensei

This list is not exhaustive.

5.2.3 Honorific verb structures

In order to acknowledge the superiority of the addressee and one's willingness to respect that difference of status, it is essential to use honorific or exalting verbs. These verbs are also used to refer to any members of the addressee's group, whether that comprises family, colleagues or other associates. Starting with the lexical substitutes of frequently used verbs, such as *irassharu* (for *iku/kuru/iru*) and *ossharu* (for *hanasu*), and then using the *o*-[verb-stem] *ni naru* form or the infix *-are-/-rare-* for other verbs, one should eventually put every verb related to the action of the addressee in the honorific form. Much of the content of the following section has been adapted from the work of Niyekawa (1991).

a) Expressing respect: Honorific and humbling words

In order to specify relative status and social distance, various distinct lexical choices exist to express the one basic notion. There are often a number of morphological variations of a single lexical base which are chosen by the speaker to state and confirm the social distance, and degree of respect, which he or she wishes to express. In the construction and use of honorific and humble terms in Japanese, *sonkeigo* (honorific) and *(kenjoogo)* humble verb forms can be difficult for foreigners - and young native-speaking Japanese children- to understand and choose correctly. Honorific verbs are sometimes wrongly associated with 'polite' speech and humbling verbs with 'nonpolite' speech. While honorific verbs are, of course, a high level of polite speech choices, nonpolite or plain speech (N) dispenses with both honorific and humble verb forms. Humbling verb forms, like their honorific partners, are in fact a feature of (high level) polite speech, and frequently appear in the same sentence, reinforcing the relative status of addresser and addressee:

> *oide ni naru no deshitara, watakushi mo mairimasu*
> **'If you go** (hon) **I will go** (humble), **too.'**

In formal or polite contexts, the addressee will always refer to himself or his ingroup using humble, self deprecatory verb forms, and correspondingly elevate the addressee by using honorifics. There are honorific and humbling words and morphemes in almost all the various parts of speech, some of which are lexical alternatives to their (neutral)-polite equivalents, and others of which are grammatically generated inflections or infixes.

b) Verbs
b).1 Lexical substitution

Frequently used verbs tend to have lexical substitutes as both honorific and humble forms. As Table 3 shows, the substitution is by no means entirely symmetrical:

Table 3: Honorific and Humbling Verbs: Lexical Substitutes
(Niyekawa 1991: 54)

English	Neutral	Honorific	Humbling
to do	*suru*	*nasaru*	*itasu*
to be at a place	*iru*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru*	*oru*
to go	*iku*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru*	*mairu*
to come	*kuru*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru* *o-mie ni naru*	*mairu*
to say	*iu*	*ossharu*	*moosu* *mooshiageru*
to know	*shitte iru*	*go-zonji de* *irassharu*	*zonjite oru*
to look at	*miru*	*goran ni naru*	*haiken suru*
to go to bed	*neru*	*o-yasumi ni naru*	—
to die	*shinu*	*o-nakunari ni naru*	—
to put on (clothes)	*kiru*	(*o-meshi ni naru*)*	—
to eat	*taberu*	*meshiagaru* *o-agari ni naru*	*itadaku*
to drink	*nomu*	*meshiagaru* *o-agari ni naru*	*itadaku*
to inquire	*kiku* *tazuneru*	—	*ukagau*
to visit	*tazuneru*	—	*ukagau*
to borrow	*kariru*	—	*haishaku suru*
to meet	*au*	—	*o-me ni kakaru*

* Not used much in today's Japanese

b).2 Grammatical devices

o-_____ni naru /, o-_____suru

Honorific and humble forms of verbs which do not have lexical substitutes (ie, verbs other than those listed in Table 3 above), are generated grammatically. The range of options for structures expressing respect

(honorifics) is twice as large as those which express humility, in that two grammatical devices can be employed for the former, and only one for the latter: *o-_____ni naru* and the infix *-are-/-rare* will create an honorific form; whereas *o-_____suru* will create a humble form, but is more restricted in usage than either of the honorific structural devices. Both grammatical devices can be applied to some of the neutral forms of the verbs that appear in Table 3, though not all. Table 4 and 10 (in section 5.2.7) show how they can be applied to some of the neutral verbs that have lexical substitutes. Table 5 shows that the formation of the grammatical construction of the honorific form is quite regular for the verbs that do not have lexical substitutes, and that the verbs with one-syllable stems which have lexical substitutes cannot be made into the *o-_____ni naru* form.

Women tend to prefer the *o-_ ni naru* form while men tend to use the *-rare/-are-* form. The *-are-/-rare-* form of honorification is considered to be rather formal, and thus is used in speeches, lectures, and journalistic writing.

Table 4: Verbs with Lexical Substitutes for Honorification
(Niyekawa 1991: 56)

English	Neutral	Substitutes	Grammatically Produced Forms	
			o-__ ni naru	*-are-/-rare-*
to do	*suru*	*nasaru*	—	*s-are-ru*
to be at a place	*iru*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru*	—	*i-rare-ru**
to go	*iku*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru*	—	*ik-are-ru*
to come	*kuru*	*irassharu* *o-ide ni naru* *o-mie ni naru*	—	*ko-rare-ru*
to say	*iu*	*ossharu*	—	*iw-are-ru*
to know	*shitte-iru*	*gozonji de irassharu*	—	*gozonji de ir-are-ru*
to look at	*miru*	*goran ni naru*	—	*mi-rare-ru*
to go to bed	*neru*	*o-yasumi ni naru*	—	*ne-rare-ru*
to die	*shinu*	*o-nakunari ni naru*	—	*nakunara-re-ru*

English	Neutral	Substitutes	Grammatically Produced Forms	
			o-__ ni naru	-are-/-rare-
to put on (clothes)	*kiru*	*(o-meshi ni naru)*	—	*ki-rare-ru*
to eat	*taberu*	*meshiagaru* *o-agari ni naru*	—	*tabe-rare-ru*
to drink	*nomu*	*meshiagaru* *o-agari ni naru*	*o-nomi ni naru*	*nom-are-ru*

* Many people today use *or-are-ru* as an exalting verb instead of *i-rare-ru*. Having been formed from the humbling verb *oru*, it is not exactly correct, although the common usage is leading to its acceptability.

-are-/-rare-

Honorific structures in Japanese are not limited to expression through the above structures and lexical variants. A further complication for the foreign learner of Japanese is that a verb with **the passive** *-are-/-rare-* and one with the **honorific** *-are-/-rare-* have exactly the same morphology. The difference in meaning can be derived only from the sentence structure, and when the understood noun phrase is implicit from the context, as shown below.

Passive: *(Watashi wa) Tanaka-san ni soo iw-are-mashita.*
            'I was subjected to Tanaka-san saying so (something negative).'

Honorific: *Tanaka-san wa soo iw-are-mashita.*
            = *Tanaka-san wa soo osshaimashita.*
            'Tanaka-san said so.'

o-_____desu.

It should be added that there is a third way to exalt a verb. It is the *o-_ desu* form, where *ni naru* is replaced by *desu*, such as *o-dekake desu* instead of *o-dekake ni narimasu* (to depart/leave). This form, however, has a rather restricted usage. It is used generally in reference to a present or future time period, and mainly in questions addressed to a second person or in speaking about a third person, and not all verbs can be put in this form.

Table 5: Sample Verbs without Honorific Lexical Substitutes
(Niyekawa 1991: 57)

English	Neutral	Grammatically Produced Forms	
		o-___ ni naru	*-are/-rare*
to ask/listen	*kiku*	o-*kiki ni naru*	*kik-are-ru*
to ask/visit	*tazuneru*	o-*tazune ni naru*	*tazune-rare-ru*
to borrow	*kariru*	o-*kari ni naru*	*kari-rare-ru*
to meet	*au*	o-*ai ni naru*	*aw-are-ru*
to read	*yomu*	o-*yomi ni naru*	*yom-are-ru*
to write	*kaku*	o-*kaki ni naru*	*kak-are-ru*
to feel	*omou*	o-*omoi ni naru*	*omow-are-ru*
to take	*toru*	o-*tori ni naru*	*tor-are-ru*
to rejoice	*yorokobu*	o-*yorokobi ni naru*	*yorokob-are-ru*
to get up	*okiru*	o-*oki ni naru*	*oki-rare-ru*
to think	*kangaeru*	o-*kangae ni naru*	*kangae-rare-ru*
to obtain	*eru*	—	*e-rare-ru*

5.2.4 Honorific Prefix for Nouns

For nouns relating to the addressee, the *o-* or *go-* prefix must be attached. This practice is not restricted solely to language use at the honorific level, in that women commonly attach the *o*-prefix to a large number of nouns commonly related to daily life regardless of the level of speech, and it is even found in the speech of men at politeness levels above the plain level. Nouns referring to persons often have the suffix *-san*. Here I will discuss mainly non-person nouns. The discussion which follows is to a large extent an adaptation of the work of Niyekawa (1991).

The honorific prefix *o-* or *go-*, or sometimes *on-*, is attached to things connected in some way to a person to whom the speaker shows **respect**. In practice, of course, this means the addressee, members of the addressee's group, or a third person who is not a member of the speaker's group. All three prefixes have the same meaning, but cannot be used indiscriminately. Their choice with any particular noun depends partly on customary use, and partly on whether the noun is a Chinese compound or not.

go-. The *go-* prefix is attached to words of Chinese origin which have entered the language as learned loan-words, to create exalting nouns. One exception to this is the word *go-han*, in women's everyday speech, referring to 'honourable' 'cooked rice' or 'meal.' Men do not use any variation of the word *han* when talking about meals. Instead when speaking at N level, tend to use the word *meshi*, which is the native Japanese word for 'meal', and which is the alternative Japanese reading of the Chinese ideograph (*Kanji*) for 'cooked rice' or 'meal'. This word *meshi* is rarely used by women.

o-. Japanese-origin nouns (*Yamato kotoba*, native Japanese words) take the *o-* prefix. However, there are a large number of Chinese compounds used so frequently in daily life as not to be perceived as words of Chinese origin and take the *o-* prefix rather than the *go-* prefix.

Words not used with *o-* / *go-*. Public organizations, public buildings and academic institutions are not referred to with *o-* / *go-* . For instance, the following words are not used with either *o-* or *go-* : *gakkoo* (school), *byooin* (hospital), *ginkoo* (bank), *yuubinkyoku* (post office), *toshokan* (library), *eki* (station).

on-. The third variant *on-* is used with only a handful of nouns, and never used in speech, but only in writing. Nouns with the *on-* prefix are used in reference to the addressee only.

Japanese grammarians usually classify the use of these prefixes according to one of three categories: for exaltation; for humbling; and for refinement. In practice, such a grammatical clarification is overly complex, and two categories is more appropriate: Table 6 lists those used specifically to show **respect** to the addressee, a member of the addressee's group, or a third person who is not a member of the speaker's in-group; and Table 7 lists prefixes used in everyday speech for **refinement** by women, and only at the P level by men.

Table 6: Nouns with Honorific Prefix to Show Respect *
(Niyekawa 1991:64-65)

Prefix	Noun	English
go-:	go-iken	"your opinion"
	go-kansoo	"your feeling"
	go-kiboo	"your desire"
	go-shinpai	"your concern/worry"
	go-juusho	"your address"
	go-senmon	"your specialty"
	go-shusseki	"your attendance (at a meeting)"
	go-shukkin	"your attendance (at office)"
	go-jishin	"yourself"
	go-intai	"your retirement"
	go-byooki	"your illness"
	go-hon	"your book"
o-:	o-kotoba	"your word, say"
	o-kangae	"your idea"
	o-namae	"your name"
	o-sumai	"your residence"
	o-umare	"your birth (place or date)"
	o-kuni	"your native country or region"
	o-toshi	"your age"
	o-tsumori	"your intention"
	o-hima	"your free time"
	o-jikan	"your time"
	o-tegami	"your letter" or "my letter to you"
	o-henji	"your answer" or "my answer to you"
	[go-henji]	

Prefix	Noun	English
	o-denwa	"your telephone call" or "my call to you"
	o-shashin	"your photograph"
	o-genki	"your good health"
	o-rusu	"your absence from home"
	o-suki	"your fondness"
	o-kirai	"your dislike"
	o-ki ni iri	"your favorite"
on-:	on-mi	"your body (health)"
	on-rei	"gratitude to you
	on-chi	"your locale"
	on-sha	"your company"
	on-shi	"the magazine you publish"

This list is not exhaustive.

These nouns may be found in the following P level sentences:

(1) 'May I have your opinion on this issue?'

   Kono koto ni tsuite no go-iken o o-ukagai shitai n desu ga .....

(2) 'I am sorry to have caused you worries.'

   Go-shinpai (o) o-kake shite mooshiwake arimasen deshita.

(3) 'Will you attend the next meeting? (Are you willing to do us the favour of attending the next meeting?)'

   Tsugi no kaigoo ni go-shusseki itadakemasu ka.

(4) 'Where do you live?'

   O-sumai wa dochira desu ka.

(5) 'What (part of the) country does your daughter-in-law come from?'

   O-yome-san wa o-kuni wa dochira desu ka.

(6) 'I called you yesterday, but you were not home, so ......'

   Kinoo o-denwa shimashita ga, o-rusu de irasshaimashita node........

(7) 'Please do come when you have time.'

   O-hima no toki wa zehi oide kudasai.

(8) 'I saw your photograph. It came out really well.'

O-shashin (o) haiken shimashita ga, hontoo ni yoku torete imasu ne.
(if addressee took a picture of someone or something)

O-shashin (o) haiken shimashita ga, hontoo ni yoku torete irasshaimasu ne. (if addressee is in the photograph)

(9) 'I am extremely sorry that my answer to your letter is so late.'

O-tegami e no o-henji ga osoku natte, mooshiwake arimasen.

(10) 'I express my gratitude to you.' (in letters only)

On-rei mooshiagemasu.

(11) 'Please take care of yourself (your health).' (mostly in letters)

On-mi go-taisetsu ni nasatte kudasaimase.

These nouns with the *o-* and *go-* prefixes can also be used in reference to a third person when the speaker wants to show respect for him or her, as follows:

(12) 'Prof. Watanabe is sick.'

Watanabe Sensei wa go-byooki desu.

Nouns in everyday female speech for refinement

Women tend to attach the *o-* prefix to commonly used nouns in everyday speech at both the P and N levels, regardless of whether they relate to the addressee or not. In other words, the honorific prefixes are used for **refinement**, as these nouns without the prefix sound too crude otherwise. Men attach the prefix to these nouns mainly in reference to the addressee at the P level and above.

Table 7: Nouns with Honorific Prefix for Refinement* (Niyekawa 1991: 67)

Prefix	Category	Noun	English
go-:		*go-han*	cooked rice, meal
o-:	Annual events:	*o-shoogatsu*	New Year
		o-hinamatsuri	Girl's Day (March 3)
		o-bon	The Buddhist All Souls' Day
		o-matsuri	festival

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Prefix	Category	Noun	English
o-:	Food items:	o-cha	tea
		o-kome	rice (uncooked)
		o-yasai	vegetables
		o-negi	green onions
		o-daikon	turnip
		o-niku	meat
		o-sakana	fish
		o-kashi	sweets
		o-senbei	senbei (rice crackers)
		o-toofu	tofu
		o-tsukemono	pickles
		o-shooyu	soy sauce
		o-sake	rice wine
		o-miso	soybean paste
		o-sushi	sushi
		o-nigiri	rice ball
		o-bentoo	box lunch
		o-ryoori	menu, cooked dishes
		o-shokuji	meal
	Food utensils:	o-hashi	chopsticks
		o-chawan	rice bowl
		o-wan	lacquer soup bowl
	Miscellaneous:	o-yasumi	vacation, time off
		o-tsutome	work, duties
		o-tetsudai	help
		o-tenki	weather
		o-tooban	being on duty
		o-miyage	souvenir gift

Used by women in everyday speech at both N and P levels, but only at P level by men.

The nouns in Table 7 are used with the honorific prefix for refinement all the time by women, even at the N level, in contrast to those for respect in Table 6, which are used only at the P levels. Men generally use the nouns in Table 7 without the o- prefix in N-level speech. The list is by no means exhaustive. There are some nouns that cannot be separated from the prefix o-, such as o-yatsu (a snack between meals), o-kazu (side dishes), o-mairi (a visit to the shrine to pray). These will not be listed here as they are found listed with the o- in the dictionary. Some women, particularly waitresses, attach the prefix o- even to foreign loan words, such as o-biiru (beer). Because there are many nouns that are used without the honorific prefix, in the teaching of Japanese to foreigners it is best to advise that they limit their application of o- to words they themselves have heard in the o- form.

5.2.5 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are a feature of all natural languages, and the categories into which the kinship world is broken up show important cultural concerns and may in fact be the spawning ground for extra-familial linguistic patterns. The Japanese patterns of address inside the family group emphasise age and sex differences, and these kinship terms themselves are used to a much greater degree than those employed in English.

Goldstein and Tamura (1975) present a clear introduction to Japanese kin terms. Comparing them with those of English, they find that in the American family, outside the categories of parents and grandparents, all other relatives are addressed by name and the names of siblings make no age or sex distinctions. In Japanese, on the other hand, there are terms to refer to one's family group when speaking to outsiders of the family. These features 'are a fundamental part of a linguistic world that cuts off one's own family group from others and later cuts off other important groups in a similar way' (1975: 57).

In an earlier but fuller discussion of Japanese kinship terminology, Befu and Norbeck (1958) observe that the choice of alternate terms and variants of kin terms depends upon the operation of a number of factors such as relative social status, degree of intimacy of interactants, patterns of authority applying between relatives, and the formality of the occasion. Furthermore, Peng's (1975) investigation into the sociolinguistic patterns of Japanese kinship behaviour among junior high school students concluded that sex, householder's vocation (e.g. farmer) and attitudes towards communicative distance were significant variables in English.

Differentiation in the use of the humble forms of kinship terms for one's own family members and the honorific forms to refer to the members of someone else's family must be mastered for all levels of speech above the plain form level. These can involve often quite distinct lexical items such as, *sofu* ('my grandfather') and *o-jii-san* ('your honourable grandfather' or 'grandfather!' [vocative]). Non-native speakers as well as native speakers tend to be more familiar with the honorific forms than the humbling forms, because the former are used also to address one's own family members. However, the use of an honorific form such as *o-jii-san* to refer to one's own

family member - as against addressing him directly - is associated with immaturity and lack of education.

Table 8. Kinship Address and Reference Terms (Niyekawa 1991: 92-93)

Relationship	Own Family Reference Term ("my")	Address Term	Others Reference Term ("your," "his," "her")**
grandfather	sofu	o-jii-san	o-jii-san
grandmother	sobo	o-baa-san	o-baa-san
grandparents	sofubo	—	—
father	chichi	o-too-san	o-too-san
mother	haha	o-kaa-san	o-kaa-san
parent	oya	—	—
parents	ryooshin	—	go-ryooshin**
brother, elder	ani	o-nii-san	o-nii-san
younger	otooto	FN (-san)	otooto-san**
sister, elder	ane	o-nee-san	o-nee-san
younger	imooto	FN (-san)	imooto-san**
siblings	kyoodai	—	go-kyoodai**
husband	shujin*/LN	anata FN-san	go-shujin [FN](-san)**
wife	kanai*	FN	oku-san
son	musuko	FN (-san)	musuko-san**/ botchan
daughter	musume	FN (-san)	o-joo-san
child/children	kodomo	—	o-ko-san**
family	kazoku	—	go-kazoku**
uncle	oji	oji-san	oji-san
aunt	oba	oba-san	oba-san
nephew	oi	FN-san	oigo-san**
niece	mei	FN-san	meigo-san**
cousin	itoko	FN-san	itoko-san**

Relationship	Own Family Reference Term ("my")	Address Term	Others Reference Term ("your," "his," "her")**
IN-LAWS			
father-in-law	*shuuto*	*o-too-san*	*o-shuuto-san***
mother-in-law	*shuutome*	*o-kaa-san*	*o-shuutome-san***
son-in-law	*muko*	FN-*san*	*o-muko-san***
daughter-in-law	*yome*	FN-*san*	*o-yome-san***
brother-in-law			
a) elder	*giri no ani*	*o-nii-san*	*giri no o-nii-san***
b) younger	*giri no otooto*	FN-*san*	*giri no otooto-san***
sister-in law			
a) elder	*giri no ane*	*o-nee-san*	*giri no o-nee-san***
b) younger	*giri no imooto*	FN-*san*	*giri no imooto-san***
brothers- & sisters-in law	*kojuuto*		*kojuuto-san***

The honorific suffix -san in all cases can be replaced by -sama, chan, or -chama. "Elder" and "younger" are not determined by absolute age, but by the theoretical hierarchy of the family.

Reference term for one's own family members given in the second column are also neutral dictionary terms except those marked with. The neutral dictionary term for "husband" is *otto*, "wife" *tsuma*.

Reference terms for family members of others can also be used as address terms to them except those marked with

Within the Japanese family context, when children are actually present, the above kinship terms tend to be used regardless of who the speaker is: that is, the grandfather will call his wife *obaasan* ('grandmother') in the presence of children, and the mother may call her husband *otoosan* ([hon] 'father'). The given name itself, therefore, tends to be used in only two categories, that is, in the younger brother and younger sister group. For these relatives it can be shown that the actual manner of addressing the speech-destinee tends to vary somewhat by sex: that is, the elder brother is more likely to call his younger sister or brother by name without *san* (hon. title form) attached, but the elder sister is more likely to append *san* to the names of younger siblings. *-san* is a polite suffix in Japanese that contains all three of the

English titles, Mr., Mrs., and Miss. Thus an elder brother may call a younger brother whose name is *Jiroo*, let us say, by that name only, but the elder sister is more likely to call him *Jiroo-san*. In the same way, the mother and grandmother are more likely to call this younger child *Jiroo-san* than the father and grandfather are. In talking to the eldest son or daughter, the parents and grandparents are likely to use the kinship terms *oniisan* and *oneesan* just as the younger siblings are likely to, though in talking about the same people, of course, they will not. From the preceding discussion we can see that age and sex differences, and a reliance on the kinship terms themselves in direct address, are more pronounced in Japanese than in English.

While the use of *ojiisan* and *obaasan* does not sound quite so strange in talking to people outside the family *about* one's family members (particularly if the grandfather and grandmother have a residence apart from the speaker), all the other terms used within the family sound very awkward if used to refer to/talk about family members to outsiders; the speaker, unless a small child as yet unaware of the niceties of lexical choice in this area, is considered uneducated if he uses these terms in talking to outsiders. Thus, in talking to one's elder brother, *oniisan* is used; in talking about one's elder brother to people outside family, a completely different word which merely specifies the nature of the kin relationship but doesn't 'claim' it , *ani* , is used.

One last example needs to be considered, that is, a situation in which one is talking to an outsider about the latter's family. In this situation the polite terms for direct address within the family are used in talking about the outsider's relatives.

If one is talking to an outsider about one's own father, the term *chichi* must be used; in talking about the outsider's father (either the hearer's or the father of a third party being spoken about), the honorific term *otoosan* is the only possible choice. The same distinction applies to all the other pairs listed above.

Thus we find that while status (age, sex, position) is the dominant factor in talking to or about one's immediate relatives within the family, when the hearer is outside the family group, usage changes to the 'plain' forms which merely define the kin relationship, and which refer to one's family

members without honorific prefixes (*o*: see section 5.2.4 below) or suffixes (*san*), or else they are referred to by different special lexical terms without honorifics appended. However, when one is speaking of the outsider's relatives (either the hearer's or those of a third party being spoken about), the formal-polite terms are used. One's own group, in this case one's own family, is treated linguistically with plain forms. These forms are non-reciprocal in the same manner as the verb forms discussed in the preceding chapter. In English, the standard relationship terms mentioned above may be used about one's own relatives as well as anyone else's (e.g., my grandfather, your grandfather, etc.). Only the pronoun is non-reciprocal. In Japanese the possessive pronoun is once again quite superfluous because the relationship terms themselves are non-reciprocal: the distinction between (my) *sofu* and (your) *ojiisan* is quite clear. If there are several third parties being discussed, family name + *san* + *no* (possessive particle)+ *ojiisan* will make the reference perfectly clear.

It is important to note that this restricted or non-reciprocal usage in Japanese is not the result of either diminutive or slang usage, as may sometimes be the case with English relationship terms. In slang usage a person may say 'my old man', but he is much more likely to say 'your father' unless he knows the hearer very well or is joking. The Japanese terms cited above are not slang but standard forms.

There are many other terms in use, but they are as non-reciprocal as the above groupings. For example, 'my' wife may also be expressed as *waifu* (derived from the English and used mostly by younger husbands), *tsureai*, etc. This 'strategy of neutrality' has perhaps some parallels with the second person pronoun *anda*, address forms constructed for Indonesian in the 1950s (see Appendix 2 below). In the Japanese context, although the terms vary (as will be shown below), the two basic principles outlined thus far appear to operate: within the family the status of the person is the major determinant in choice of term; in speaking to outsiders, the family congeals into a linguistic unit where all members are treated linguistically like the self, that is, with plain forms, whereas the outside hearer and his unit are treated with polite terms.

The following examination of the first principle in relation to the way in which husband and wife address each other inside the family is taken from Goldstein and Tamura (1975: 53).

HUSBAND CALLS WIFE	WIFE CALLS HUSBAND
name without *san*	name with *san*
oi (plain form)	*anata* (polite term for 'you')
omae (plain form)	*omaesan* (polite)
okaasan (if children present)	*otoosan* (if children present)

With the exception of *okaasan* and *otoosan*, which are polite usages for father and mother, the other terms show the difference of position of husband and wife. While the husband may call his wife *oi* (meaning something like 'Hey you') or by name without *san*, the wife calls her husband by the polite term meaning 'you' or by name plus *san*.

In most English-speaking Western contexts, husband and wife generally call each other by first name or by a variety of terms of endearment which do not vary by sex. When one is speaking about one's spouse, a first name is generally used, sometimes even when the person referred to is not known to the hearer. If the reference is not clear, 'my wife, Jane', or 'my husband, John', may be used, or the relationship terms themselves may be used without name but only with a change of pronoun to distinguish the speaker's wife ('my wife') from the hearer's ('your wife'). On a very formal level in English (especially among older and somewhat important men or women), someone's wife may be referred to as 'Mrs. Smith' when speaking to the husband. In this case, 'And how is your wife?' becomes 'And how is Mrs. Smith?' However, the speaker on a similarly formal level may refer to his own wife as 'Mrs. Smith.', the equivalent of which could never occur in natural Japanese between native speakers. Thus these kinds of frequently used terms, that is, 'husband' and 'wife' and the titles 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.', are reciprocal in usage. Only the pronoun is non-reciprocal. In the Japanese case, however, the terms themselves are non-reciprocal:

MY WIFE	OUTSIDER'S WIFE	MY HUSBAND	OUTSIDER'S HUSBAND
kanai	*okusan*	*shujin*	*goshujin*
uchi no yatsu	*okamisan*	*uchi no hito*	*dannasama*
tsureai		*uchi* or *taku*	
waifu		*kare* or name only (first or family name)	

(Goldstein and Tamura 1975: 54)

In the case of speaking about one's children or about outsiders' children (that is, the terms for sons and daughters), Japanese again shows the same non-reciprocal patterns:

	MY	YOUR
son	musuko	musukosan, botchan*
daughter	musume	musumesan, ojoosan
eldest son	choonan	gochoonan
eldest daughter	choojo	ichiban ue no ojoosan
		ichiban ue no musumesan
second son	jinan	nibanme no musukosan
		nibanme no botchan
second daughter	jijo	nibanme no ojoosan
		nibanme no musumesan

(Goldstein and Tamura 1975: 54-55)

Using the proper counter, a speaker can distinguish any number of sons and daughters. In the case of children also, one's sons or daughters may be referred to by name without *san*, and the outsider's sons or daughters by name plus *san*. If the term 'children' is desired, *uchi no kodomo* or *uchi no ko* may be used to talk about one's own children and *otaku** no okosan* for the outsider's children.

In talking to one's in-laws and about outsiders' in-laws, the terms in use for the primary family (as shown in Table 8) generally suffice, and the same distinctions apply in talking about one's in-laws to an outsider and in talking about the outsider's in-laws (see Table 8). In addition, however, two special sets of terms also exist in speaking to outsiders, and these are again non-reciprocal:

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*The term *botchan* is used for young boys. An additional term, *booya*, is almost reciprocal in that it can be used in referring to one's own young son as well as an outsider's. However, in order to sound respectful in talking to an outsider, it needs to be preceded by a non-reciprocal possessive, such as *otaku no booya* ('your son, the son of your honourable house').
**Ouchi* is used only in the case of *ouchi no (o)-kata* ('your people or person,' or 'the person(s) of your honourable house'). Otherwise *otaku* is used.

	MY	YOUR
father-in-law	shuuto[***] or giri no chichi	oshuutosan or giri no otoosan
mother-in-law	shuutome or giri no haha	oshuutomesan or giri no okaasan
daughter-in-law	yome or giri no musume (bride)	oyomesan or giri no musumesan
son-in-law	muko or giri no musuko(groom)	omukosan or giri no musukosan
brothers and sisters-in-law	kojuuto or girino otooto or giri no imooto	kojuutosan or giri no otootosan or giri no imootosan

(Goldstein and Tamura 1975: 55-56)

The above forms are not used as much as the primary family terms alone. The forms *shuuto, shuutome,* and *kojuuto* have the somewhat unpleasant connotation of the feudalistic in-law problem. The primary family terms preceded by *giri no* have two meanings: either in-laws or step-relatives; for example, *giri no haha* may mean either 'my' mother-in-law or 'my' step-mother. Unless the term *muko* is attached to the bride's name (e.g., *Akiko no muko,* meaning 'Akiko's husband', used in reference to the speaker's son-in-law), the term *muko* (groom) often has the special meaning of a son-in-law who married into the bride's house and took her family name. The term *yome* (bride) is still frequently used:

uchi no yome	means 'my' daughter-in-law
otaku no oyomesan	means 'your' daughter-in-law

(Goldstein and Tamura 1975: 56)

Of course, many modifying phrases or clauses are possible to express the above relationships (e.g., 'my' son-in-law may be referred to as the man 'my' daughter married, etc.), but it should be noted that existing terms for in-laws are non-reciprocal in the same way that other categories of relationship terms are.

[***]*Shuuto (oshuutosan)* is often used to mean either father-in-law or mother-in-law. When the speaker is referring to the husband's relatives, *shujin no* + relationship term is preferred, especially when referring to sisters and brothers-in-law, because of the unfavourable connotations of the above terms.

5.2.6 Donatory verbs

Socio-pragmatic imperatives for the use of donatory verbs (expressing notions of giving or receiving) in Japanese are complex and not indicative only of politeness levels in speech, nor used only in contexts where high levels of respect are being expressed. However, at the linguistic/sociolinguistic level, the use of the upper half of each set of donatory verbs (*sashiageru, o-age suru, itadaku,* and *kudasaru*) for in-group/out-group interaction, and the lower half (*yaru, morau,* and *kureru*) for reporting in-group interaction is essential at any level of politeness above the plain-form level. For the foreign learner, mastery of the appropriate use of these forms requires the concurrent development of a new area of perception and interpretation to do with giving and receiving. The Japanese are caught up in an interpersonal network of obligations called *giri*. They owe *giri* (social obligation) to those who have done them favours, and they try to repay their obligations in kind. Gift giving is a way of expressing gratitude for favours received. It is a significant part of the rituals involved in the everyday lives of the Japanese. The Japanese give gifts twice annually to people to whom they are permanently obligated, such as their boss, their immediate superiors, their doctors and dentists, their own or their children's teachers, their go-between in marriage, etc. Not only are the Japanese constantly involved in gift giving, but they also express actions carried out for the sake of others, or actions carried out on their behalf by others, by using language constructions that involve terms of giving or receiving. I have taken some of the illustrative material in the following section from the work of Niyekawa (1991) in which the issues relevant to this chapter have been thoroughly explored. The discussion which follows is limited to an analysis of choice when statements about giving or receiving are made in a context where the speaker can claim or perceive an in-group out-group difference between receiver and giver. This nearly always means an 'I/you' awareness. Genuine third person contexts, where X gives to or receives from Y, and neither has any relationship to the speaker, will require use of a polite form when the context in which the action is spoken of is formal but an N form if it is spoken of between friends.

There are three sets of donatory verbs. The sets are distinguished as follows:

Set 1. 'I' or a member of my group gives something to someone:
sashiageru, o-age suru, ageru, yaru

Set 2. 'I' or a member of my group receives something from someone: *itadaku, morau*

Set 3. Someone gives something to 'me' or a member of my group: *kudasaru, kureru*

The fourth possible set, 'someone receives something from me or a member of my group' is not formally treated by Niyekawa as it is subsumed in set one. A number of complex factors are involved in choosing between these eight verbs, ranging from relatively straightforward contexts - giving and receiving between the speaker and the addressee, and their respective group members - to rather more complex contexts.

1. Giving and Receiving between the Speaker's and Addressee's Group

Sets 1 and 2 have the grammatical subject in common: 'I' give or 'I' receive, while sets 2 and 3 have common *direction* : 'I receive from you' or 'you give me.' Which verb to use within each set depends on the relationship between the giver and receiver. This is shown by the following diagrams, which have been adapted from *Japan and America: A Comparative Study in Language and Culture*, by Goldstein and Tamura (1975).

The arrows in the diagrams indicate the direction of the action, while the angle of each arrow indicates the status relationship of the giver and receiver. Set 1 is more finely differentiated than the other two sets, but in all three sets, verbs in the bottom half of the diagrams - *yaru, morau*, and *kureru* - are generally associated with the giving to and receiving from individuals whom one would address with N when speaking directly to them, while verbs in the top part of the diagrams, namely *oage suru, sashiageru, itadaku,* and *kudasaru*, are associated with those to whom one would speak at one of the P levels.

Figure 3. Giving (Set 1) and Receiving (Set 2) (Niyekawa 1991: 109)

Set 1 "give"   **Set 2** "receive"

e.g.   e.g.

Sensei ni   *sashiageru*   *itadaku*   Sensei ni

Katoo-san ni   *oage suru*   "I" or

Tomodachi ni   ageru   "member(s) of
                          my group"   morau   Tomodachi ni
                          ga

                yaru   *morau*

Imooto ni   Otooto ni
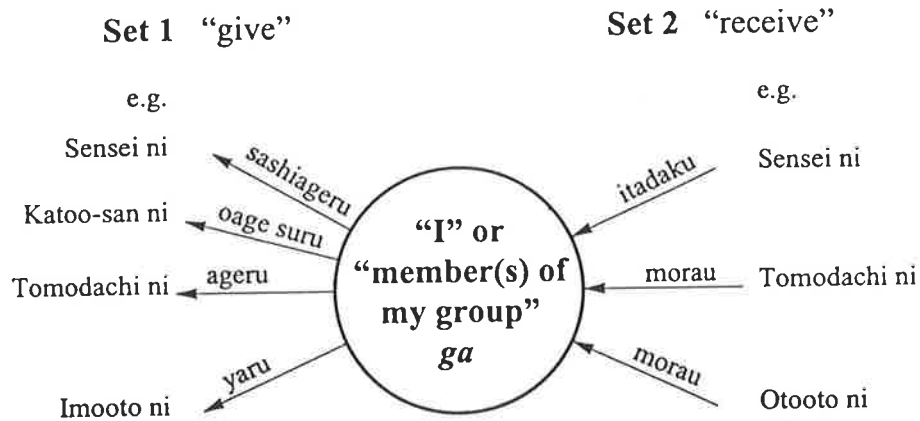
Figure 4. Giving (Set 3) (Niyekawa 1991: 110)

Set 3 "give"

                                            e.g.

                kudasaru   Sensei ga

"me" or
"member(s) of   kureru   Tomodachi ga
my group"
ni

                kureru

                          Otooto ga
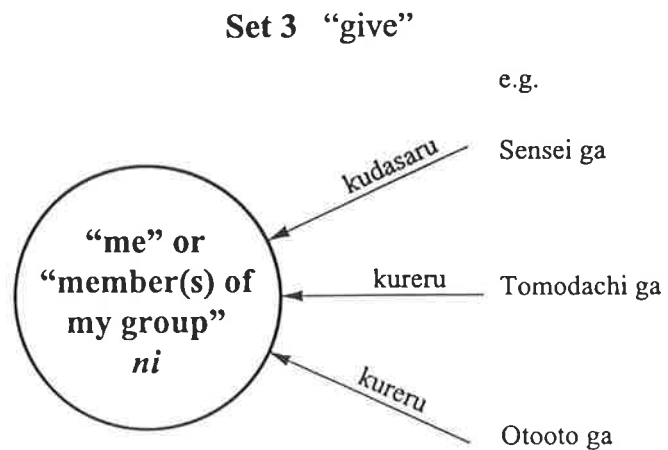
Of the two P-level verbs in Set 1, *oage suru* is more often used to mention the act of giving to a third person, and not to the addressee him- or herself.

Ageru in Set 1 is usually used in giving to someone more or less equal in status, or someone, like one's own father, who is higher in status but who would normally be addressed in N. It is interesting to note, however, that the verbs used in *receiving* from someone who is equal in status are the same as those used when referring to receiving from someone lower in status.

There is hardly any verb that is completely neutral in its meaning. Practically all of them have the connotation of either an upward or downward movement. *Ageru* comes closest to neutrality, being the only verb used solely in the horizontal direction, but if one asks a Japanese person about the usage of *ageru*, many say that it is used in giving upwards, being influenced by the kanji by which it is represented in writing, whose other primary (locatory, non verbal) meaning is 'up'/'on top of'.

Thus one can say that there is no neutral word in Japanese to transmit the concept of 'giving' or 'receiving'. The verbs in the top portion of the diagrams, namely *oage suru* and *sashiageru* of Set 1, and *itadaku* of Set 2, which have 'I' (or members of my group) as the grammatical subject, are humbling verbs, while *kudasaru* of Set 3, which has an out-group member or a higher-status person as the subject, is an honorific verb.

An important point to be noted about the diagrams is that 'I', the speaker, is in the centre and the giving/receiving action is viewed from the position of 'I' in the circle. 'I' can never be placed outside the circle. Hence, to say 'Haruko gave me this book,' one cannot say '*Haruko ga watashi ni kono hon o ageta/yatta*'. To do so would mean placing 'Haruko' in the circle, and 'me' outside. The speaker must put himself in the circle and use a verb from Set 3 rather than Set 1, and say *Haruko ga kono hon o (watashi ni) kureta*.

Example Sentences

The first example of each set below is about the giving or receiving of objects, while the second involves the giving and receiving of a favour. The use of bold print indicates that the sentence in bold is the politely worded version.

Set 1 Verbs: *sashiageru, o-age suru, ageru, yaru*
('I' or members of my group **give** something to someone)

(1) 'Did you read the book I gave you the other day?'

N: M:	*Kono-aida*	*yatta*	*hon*	*wa*	*yonda*	*ka*	*?*
	other day	give+PAST	book	TOP	read+PAST	Q	

F:	*Kono-aida*	*ageta*	*hon*	*wa*	*yonda*	*?*
	other day	give+PAST	book	TOP	read+PAST	

P: *Kono-aida sashiageta hon wa   oyomi-ni-narimashita   ka?*

    other day   give+PAST book TOP HON+read ADV become+PAST+POLITE Q

(2) 'I'll go and buy it for you right now. (I will do you the favour of buying it and coming back right away).'

    N: M: *Ima sugu   katte-kite-yaru   yo.*

        now   right buy+CONJ come+PROG give FP

    F: *Ima sugu   katte-kite-ageru   wa.*

     now   right   buy+CONJ come+PROG give FP

    P: *Ima sugu   katte-kite-sashiagemasu.*

     now   right   buy+CONJ come+PROG give+HON

The word *yaru* has come to be perceived as crude, and women today tend to use *ageru* in its place. Some even use *ageru* in reference to animals, such as *Neko ni gohan ageta no?* ('Did you feed the cat?'). Men, however, continue to use *yaru* in 'giving' to people they would address in N, such as their *meshita* (junior) and intimate equals. *Morau* and *kureru*, each being part of a set with only one other alternative, have not suffered the fate of *yaru* and continue to be used with little problem.

Set 2 Verbs: *itadaku, morau*

('**I**' or members of my group **receive** something from someone)

(3) 'The persimmons I received from you were sweet and delicious.'

    N: M: *Moratta   kaki   wa   amakute   umakatta   yo.*

       receive+PAST   persimmons TOP   sweet+PROG delicious+PAST FP

    F: *Itadaita/moratta kaki   wa   amakute   oishikatta   wa.*

     receive+PAST   persimmons TOP sweet+PROG delicious+PAST   FP

    P: *Itadaita   kaki   wa   amakute, oishikatta   desu.*

    receive+PAST   persimmons TOP   sweet+PROG delicious+PAST COP

(4) 'It was of great help to have you translate it for me.' (...... that I received from you the favour of translating)

    N: M: *Honyaku-shite   moratte,   ooini   tasukatta yo.*

       translate+PROG   receive+PROG great help+PAST FP

    F: *Honyaku-shite   itadaite/moratte, totemo   tasukatta wa.*

      translate+PROG   receive+PROG   great   help+PAST FP

    P: *Honyaku-shite itadaite,   taihen   tasukarimashita.*

    translate+PROG receive+PROG great   help+PAST

Set 3 Verbs: *kudasaru, kureru*
(Someone gives something to 'me' or members of my group)

(5) 'Thank you for giving my son Taroo a graduation gift.'

    N: M: *Taroo ni sotsugyoo-iwai kurete,   arigatoo.*

        Taroo DAT graduation gift give+PROG thank you

    F: *Taroo ni sotsugyoo-iwai kudasatte/kurete, arigatoo.*

       Taroo DAT graduation gift   give+PROG   thank you

    P: *Musuko ni sotsugyoo-iwai o kudasaimashite,*

        son   DAT graduation gift ACC give+PAST+PROG

doomo   arigatoo-gozaimashita.

INTENSIVE   thank you-HON

(6) 'Since you explained how to use it so well, I had no problem.'
(Since you did me the favour of explaining it so well, ...)

    N: *M: Tsukaikata (o) yoku setsumei-shite-kureta   kara,*

        how to use (ACC) well   explain+PROG give+PAST   since

mondai nakatta   yo.

problem have+PAST+NEG FP

    F: *Tsukaikata (o) yoku   setsumei-shite-kudasatta/kureta kara,*

       how to use (ACC) well   explain+PROG give+PAST   since

mondai nakatta   wa.

problem have+PAST+NEG FP

    P: *Tsukaikata (o)   yoku setsumei-shite-kudasaimashita node,*

        how to use (ACC) well   explain+PROG give+PAST   since

mondai arimasen-deshita.

    problem   have+PAST+NEG

As can be seen, in N-level speech, directed to an intimate equal or someone lower in status, the exalting or humbling verbs need not be utilized with regard to the addressee, although donatory verbs must still be used to express favours bestowed or received. Women, however, may reserve the lower verbs *morau* and *kureru* for only those who are clearly lower in status, and use the higher verbs *itadaku* (humbling) and *kudasaru* (honorific) when the addressee is a higher-status family member or an intimate equal.

In Sentence (5) above, we have a case where the giving by the addressee is to a member of the speaker's family. There it appears perfectly natural that it is expressed as 'giving downwards,' because it is from an adult to a youngster. This, however, is not the reason for the 'downward' motion. The true reason is the in-group/out-group principle, by which **all in-group members are humbled, and all out-group members are accorded honorific status, regardless of age or actual status.** In other words, across groups, hierarchy within each group is completely ignored, and people of the addressee's group are treated as if they are all of higher status, while all members of the speaker's group are treated as lower in status. As it applies to donatory verbs, the principle means always giving upwards to the addressee, and downwards to the speaker. Thus the speaker must, for instance, treat the addressee's child, who may be only five years old, in the same way as the addressee him- or herself, and use *sashiageru, itadaku,* or *kudasaru* in reference to the child's action, as shown in the following examples:

(7) 'Yesterday I received this from your son.'

P: *Kinoo (otaku no) botchan ni kore (o)   itadaita-n-*desu   yo.*

   yesterday   (your)   son   DAT this (ACC) receive+PAST COP FP

Similarly, the giving by the speaker's 70-year-old mother to the addressee's child is expressed upwards rather than downwards, as follows:

(8) 'I understand that my mother will read (do me the favour of reading) fairy tales to your daughter again.'

P: *Haha   ga   mata   ojoosan   ni   otogibanashi   (o)*

  (my) mother NOM again (your) daughter DAT fairy tales   (ACC)

yonde-sashiageru   soo-desu.

  read+PROG give   understand

To an intimate equal with whom one exchanges mutual N, one may dispense with honorific and humbling terms. Women of better social background, however, may still use the humbling donatory verbs and change only the *desu* ending of the above two sentences. As intimates, they are also likely to know the first name of the child, and refer to them with -chan as follows:

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* *n* and *no* are softening interjections which are used in polite interactions to further emphasise the speaker's desire to show empathy and respect.

(7) N: F+: *Kinoo   Ken-chan   ni   kore itadaita-no* * *yo.*

        yesterday Kenji-ADD   DAT this receive+PAST FP

(8) N: F+: *Haha   ga   mata Miyoko-chan ni otogibanashi yonde-sashiageru*

       (my) mother NOM again Miyoko-ADD DAT   fairy tales   read+PROG give

soo   yo.

understand   FP

Others may speak to an intimate equal as if to a family member, ignoring the in-group/out-group principle, or rather treating the addressee as an in-group member, and say,

(7) N: M: *Kinoo Kenji-kun ni kore   moratta   yo.*

        yesterday Kenji-ADD DAT this   receive+PAST FP

    F: *Kinoo Ken-chan   ni   kore   moratta-no* * yo.*

        yesterday Kenji+ADD DAT this receive+PAST   FP

Generally, it can be said that in N-level speech, whether of intimacy or condescension (hierarchy), the speaker has the choice of either applying or ignoring the in-group/out-group principle, except the kinship terms, which are generally used even at this level. Women tend to observe the principle, while men tend to ignore it. **In P-level speech, however, it is essential that the in-group/out-group principle be observed by both parties, each treating the other as if the other is of higher status.**

2. Reporting of In-Group Action to Out-Group Person

The top verbs of each set in the diagrams, *sashiageru, itadaku, kudasaru,* as shown above, are reserved for reference to giving to and receiving from an out-group person. One sometimes hears a non-native speaker of Japanese say, *Kore wa otoosan ga kudasatta mono desu* ('This is something my father gave me'). Within one's own family, it is fine to use *kudasaru* for one's father, but outside the family it is not permissible to use such an exalted verb form, or even term of reference, (*otoosan* rather than *chichi*) for one's own father. The in-group/out-group principle must be observed, and the above person should have said, *Kore wa chichi ga kureta (or chichi ni moratta) mono desu.*

To report the giving and receiving action of family members to or from an out-group person, one must therefore choose the verbs at the bottom of each set, namely *yaru, morau,* and *kureru.* There is a general resistance to use *yaru,* particularly in the context of giving to one's own parents. On the other hand, even though *ageru* is used by some women in 'giving' to animals, it is still considered too honorific to be used with regard to one's parents in speaking to an outsider. People find ways to get around it, as follows:

(9) 'For Christmas, I gave my father a tie.'

      P: *Kurisumasu ni wa   chichi   ni   nekutai o kaimashita.*

          Christmas   DAT TOP (my) father DAT   tie   ACC   buy+PAST

      ('For Christmas I bought a tie for my father.')

      Kurisumasu ni wa   chichi   ni   nekutai o purezento-shimashita.

          Christmas   DAT   TOP (my) father DAT   tie   ACC   offer+PAST

      ('For Christmas I offered a tie as a gift to my father.')

When one is not involved in the action oneself, but both giver and receiver are members of one's family, then they are both 'third persons,' as is discussed below.

3. Both Giver and Receiver are Third Persons

As shown above, if the action of giving or receiving takes place between a member of the speaker's group and a member of the addressee's group, the third person in such a case is treated exactly the same as either the addressee or the speaker, depending on the group to which he belongs. Thus the giving action between the speaker's mother and the addressee's daughter is expressed in the same way as between the speaker and addressee as seen in example (8) above. However, when the action does not involve in-goup/out-group interaction, and takes place between two individuals, neither of whom belong to the speaker's group, or in the opposite case where both belong to the speaker's group, additional factors besides the direction and status (upwards or downwards) need to be taken into consideration. In such cases, the giver and the receiver will be referred to as third persons, even though one of them may be a member of the addressee's (second person's) group.

In the simpler cases discussed previously, the giving and receiving action places the speaker in the centre in the two diagrams. When A gives

something to B, but neither A nor B is a member of the speaker's group, or both of them are members of the speaker's family, one of the two must be put in the circle 'I' in order to express the giving/receiving action. The factors to be considered in choosing between the two individuals are **identification and proximity.**

Identification

The person whom the speaker is identified with, or is psychologically closer to, is put in the circle for 'I'.

(10) 'Kazuko had the letter translated by Mr Yamanaka-san.
(Kazuko received the favour of translating from Mr Yamanaka)'

> N: F: *Kazuko-san wa Yamanaka-san ni tegami o*
>> Kazuko-ADD   Top   Mr Yamanaka DAT letter ACC
>> *honyaku-shite-moratta   no.*
>> translate+PROG receive+PAST FP

The person the speaker refers to as Kazuko-san is obviously closer to the speaker. The fact that the speaker refers to her by the first name plus *-san* as opposed to the last name plus *-san* of Yamanaka-san suggests the closeness. If Kazuko-san is replaced by Tanaka-san, the verb *morau* becomes the only clue for Tanaka being closer to the speaker.

(11) 'Teacher Suzuki loaned (did the favour of loaning) a book to Murayama.'

> P: *Suzuki Sensei wa Murayama-san ni hon o*
>> Suzuki teacher TOP Mr/Ms Murayama DAT book ACC
> *kashite-kudasaimashita.*
>> loan+PROG give-PAST

Here Murayama is placed inside the circle, and the arrow comes downward from Suzuki Sensei. The speaker is closer to Murayama, a fellow student, and is identified with him/her. Suppose the speaker is a fellow teacher of Suzuki Sensei. The same event would be reported differently.

(12)   P: *Suzuki Sensei wa Murayama-san ni hon o   kashite-yarimashita.*
>> Suzuki teacher TOP Murayama-ADD DAT book ACC loan+PROG give+PAST
> or

Suzuki Sensei wa Murayama-san ni hon o

Suzuki teacher   TOP   Mr/Ms Murayama DAT book ACC

kashite-oyari-ni-narimashita.

loan+PROG HON-give ADV become+PAST+POLITE

The speaker here is identified with Suzuki Sensei and Suzuki Sensei is placed into the circle with the arrow going downwards away from the circle. The second sentence with the honorific *oyari ni naru* form may be assumed to have been uttered by a female teacher. It was mentioned earlier that women avoid using *yaru* these days, and replace it with *ageru*. The honorific form, *o-yari ni naru*, however, does not meet with this resistance.

Addressee with Third Person: Suppose the addressee is the giver or recipient in an interaction with a third person. In P-level speech, one always puts the addressee on a pedestal. If one puts the addressee in the center circle and uses verbs in the top part of the two diagrams, namely *sashiageru, itadaku*, and *kudasaru* in reference to the addressee, it would imply putting the addressee below the partner in action, resulting in rudeness. **The safe way of referring to the addressee's giving and receiving action would be to use *o-age ni naru*, and *o-morai ni naru*,** but the use of Set 3 verbs, *kudasaru* and *kureru*, should be avoided, for reasons to be explained below. When one incorrectly uses the exalting or humbling verbs for the addressee's action, the following complications occur:

(13)   'I understand that you gave two kittens to Yamada.'

    P: **Yamada-san   ni   koneko   o   nihiki sashiageta   soo-desu   ne.*

        Yamada-ADD   DAT kitten ACC two-CL   give+PAST   understand   FP

    (Incorrect)

The use of the humbling verb *sashiageru* means 'You gave upwards to Yamada-san,' with the resulting implication that the addressee 'you' is lower in status than Yamada-san. In other words, the statement puts the addressee down. The proper way to express the same idea is as follows.

(13) **P:** *Yamada-san ni koneko o nihiki   o-age-ni-natta*

      Yamada-ADD DAT kitten ACC two-CL   HON give ADV become+PAST

soo-desu   ne.

understand   FP

The use of *o-age ni natta*, which is an honorific verb, shows respect to the addressee.

In the case of Set 3 verbs, *kudasaru* would have the same rude implication of putting the addressee down when the addressee is the recipient. *Kureru*, on the other hand, sounds too unrefined and thus rude to use in reference to the addressee. One would therefore say, 'You will receive (*o-morai ni naru*) from X' instead of 'X will give (*kudasaru*) you' to avoid using the Set 3 verbs. One exception might be the following.

(14) 'I hear that Yamamoto Sensei loaned (did the favour of loaning) a book to your husband.'

    P: *Yamamoto Sensei ga otaku-no- goshujin ni hon o*

      Yamamoto teacher NOM   your HON-husband DAT book ACC

    kashite-kudasatta   soo-de-gozaimasu ne.

    loan +PROG give+PAST   hear-HON   FP

This would be acceptable under special circumstances where Yamamoto Sensei is known not to let his books out of his library. In this particular situation, the addressee's husband and the speaker have been subjected to the same inconvenience of never being able to borrow Yamamoto Sensei's books. The addressee's husband thus belongs to the same group of people as the speaker in this respect, and is thus put in the circle of 'my' group, resulting in the use of *kudasatta*, with Yamamoto Sensei having the higher status.

In N-level speech between intimates, such as between family members or close friends, whether an honorific verb is used when referring to a third person of higher status, such as Suzuki Sensei in (12) above, depends to a large extent on the feeling of the speaker towards Suzuki Sensei or the personal speech style of the speaker. We have already seen that some women use honorific and humbling terms in their N-level speech as a personal style. While older people tend to express respect by applying honorific terms, the trend among younger people today is not to use honorific terms for a third person as long as he or his close associates are not present as listeners. Suppose Murayama-san is a close friend of the family. A younger person is likely to state (11) as follows:

(15) N: *Suzuki Sensei wa Murayama-san ni   hon o   kashite-kureta,*

      Suzuki teacher TOP Murayame-ADD DAT book ACC loan+PROG give+PAST

while an older person would more likely use *kudasatta* instead of *kureta*, unless he does not like Suzuki Sensei.

Between Speaker's Family Members: When the two participants in the action are both members of the speaker's family, again one has to choose one of the two to place inside the circle. There is no rule that applies to all situations. In each situation, the speaker chooses the one with whom he feels psychologically closer to at the time. Examples follow.

(16) 'That thing is something that Oniisan (elder brother) bought for Yooko.'
> N: *Sore   wa   onii-san   ga   Yooko ni   katte-kureta   no.*
> that thing TOP elder brother NOM Yooko DAT buy+PROG give+PAST FP

Here reference by name to Yooko makes it obvious that Yooko is either the younger sister or daughter of the speaker, and *kureta* indicates that the speaker feels closer to Yooko than to Onii-san in this context. However, the same speaker could say,

(17) 'Oniisan, let Yooko use your bicycle. (Please do the favour of loaning the bicycle to Yoko.')

> N: *Onii-san   Yooko ni jitensha kashite-yatte   yo.*
> elder brother, Yooko DAT bicycle loan+PROG give+PAST FP

Double Use: Sometimes donatory verbs are coupled to produce sentences like the following:

(18) 'Oniisan, won't you loan (do **me** the favour of loaning) your bicycle to Yooko?'
> N: *Onii-san, Yooko ni jitensha   kashite-yatte-kurenai?*
> elder brother, Yooko DAT   bicycle   loan+PROG give+PROG give+NEG

The two donatory verbs here, *yatte* and *kurenai*, used in succession do not function as a compound verb. Rather *yatte* is a donatory verb of the embedded sentence:
> *Onii-san ga Yooko ni jitensha o kashite yaru.*
> (Elder brother does a favour for Yooko in loaning her his bicycle.)

The *-te kurenai?* in example (18) therefore means 'Won't you do **me** the favour of the action?'

where the action refers to the embedded sentence. To put the whole sentence in natural English, it becomes:

'Elder brother, do me a favour and loan your bicycle to Yooko, won't you?'

The essential message of the sentence, therefore, is not much different from the following sentence, making use of a single donatory verb:

(19) 'Elder brother, won't you loan (do the favour of loaning) your bicycle to Yoko?:

> N: *Onii-san, Yooko ni jitensha kashite-kurenai?*
>
> elder brother, Yooko DAT bicycle   loan+PROG give+NEG

4. Refined Expression at P level: *-sasete itadaku*

As Niyekawa (1991) notes, the equivalent of the 'Closed' sign at a store in Japan is often a notice that reads:

(20) P: *Honjitsu wa   kyuugyoo-sasete-itadakimasu.*

> today   TOP   close+CAUS receive-POLITE

This simply means 'Closed Today,' but is put in an extremely polite form. The literal meaning is, 'We respectfully receive from you permission to take a break from business today,' or 'We trust that you permit us to be closed today,' with the resultant meaning 'We are taking the liberty of being closed today.' *Saseru* means 'to let do' or 'to make one do.' Combined with the humble level donatory verb *itadaku*, the phrase *sasete itadaku* is the polite way of saying 'I will do' with the additional meaning, 'With your permission' or 'Presuming on your permission.'

To create this construction, one must first put the verb into *-te* form (gerund) of the causative, and then attach *itadaku*.

Table 9: Causative Gerunds (Niyekawa 1991: 125-127)

English	Dictionary Citation Form	Causative Gerund
U Verbs		
to say	*i-u*	*iw-ase-te*
to meet	*a-u*	*aw-ase-te*
to buy	*ka-u*	*kaw-ase-te*
to think, feel	*omo-u*	*omow-ase-te*
to visit, to ask	*ukaga-u*	*ukagaw-ase-te*
to go	*ik-u*	*ik-ase-te*
to listen, ask	*kik-u*	*kik-ase-te*
to write	*kak-u*	*kak-ase-te*
to erase, turn off	*kes-u*	*kes-ase-te*
to depart	*tats-u*	*tat-ase-te*
to win	*kats-u*	*kat-ase-te*
to wait	*mats-u*	*mat-ase-te*
to read	*yom-u*	*yom-ase-te*
to drink	*nom-u*	*nom-ase-te*
to carry out, do	*yar-u*	*yar-ase-te*
to cut	*kir-u*	*kir-ase-te*
to take	*tor-u*	*tor-ase-te*
RU Verbs		
to be (at a place)	*i-ru*	*i-sase-te*
to think	*kangae-ru*	*kangae-sase-te*
to get up	*oki-ru*	*oki-sase-te*
to put on (clothes)	*ki-ru*	*ki-sase-te*
to look at	*mi-ru*	*mi-sase-te*
		haiken sase-te
to borrow	*kari-ru*	*kari-sase-te*
to eat	*tabe-ru*	*tabe-sase-te*
to go to bed	*ne-ru*	*ne-sase-te*
Irregular Verbs		
to come	*ku-ru*	*ko-sase-te*
to do	*su-ru*	*s-ase-te*

Sasete, the last on the list above, being the causative gerund of *suru*, is used with humbling verbs of the *o-___ suru* type as follows.

Neutral	Humbling Verb *o-_____ suru*	Causative Gerund
kari-ru	*o-kari suru*	*o-kari sase-te*
ukaga-u	*o-ukagai suru*	*o-ukagai sase-te*
okur-u (to send)	*o-okuri suru*	*o-okuri sase-te*

In honorific speech at P level, this form is frequently used, particularly in speaking to a person of higher status in a hierarchical relationship. For instance, the answer in P to (1) 'Did you read the book I gave you the other day?' would be:

(21) 'Yes, I read it.'

    P *Hai, yomasete itadakimashita.*

        yes, read-CAUS receive-PAST-POLITE

('Yes, I received the honour of being permitted (by you) to read it.') in contrast to straight answers at lower levels of speech:

    N: M: *Un, yonda yo.*

        yes, read-PAST FP

    F: *Ee, yonda wa.*

        yes, read-PAST FP

    P: *Ee, yomimashita.*

        yes, read-PAST-POLITE

The question 'May I?' addressed to a higher-status person, or an out-group member, is often put in this form with *itadaku* in the potential form *itadakeru*. The literal meaning of such a phrase is, 'Would (*deshoo*) it be possible for me to receive your permission to . . .?' Examples follow.

(22) 'May I visit you'

    P: *O-ukagai-shite mo yoroshii deshoo ka?*

    HON-visit+PROG even good be-PERM Q

        O-ukagai-sasete itadakemasu ka?

        HON-visit+CAUS+PROG receive+POT+NEG Q

        O-ukagai-sasete itadakemasen deshoo ka?

        HON-visit+CAUS receive+POT+NEG be-PERM Q

(23) 'May I have a look?'

    P: *Misete-moraemasu ka?*

        show+PROG receive+POT Q

        Misete-moraemasen ka?

        show+PROG receive+POT+NEG Q

        Misete-itadakemasu ka?

        show+PROG receive+POT Q

        Misete-itadakemasen ka?

        show+PROG receive+POT+NEG Q

        Haiken-sasete itadakemasu ka?

look+CAUS+PROG receive+POT   Q

Haiken-sasete itadakemasen   ka?

look+CAUS+PROG receive+POT+NEG Q

Haiken-sasete i tadakemasu deshoo ka?

look+CAUS+PROG receive+POT   be-PERM   Q

Haiken-sasete   itadakemasen deshoo ka?

look+CAUS+PROG receive+POT+NEG be-PERM Q

Even though donatory verbs of Set 2 are used in all the sentences, the verb *misete* ('to show') is not in the causative *(s)asete* form. These sentences, therefore, do not contain the meaning 'with your permission.' The donatory verbs, however, are in the potential form (*itadake-, morae-* above) with the meaning, 'is it possible' (to receive the favour of your showing it to me), and thus is more polite than the straight request *Misete kudasai* ('Please show me'). The use of the more formal, polite noun *haiken* with the more formal, polite compound verb *sasete itadakimasu* increases the level of politeness of the request.

5.2.7 Self humbling verbs

Humbling verbs exist as a sort of parallel with the honorific or exalting verbs, and, like the honorific verbs, can be lexically distinct from their 'neutral-polite' partner (i.e. *kuru/mairu*, both meaning 'to come'), or can be constructed from the same lexical base but with a morphology that signals distinctly their humble/first person level in the presence of an interlocutor of superior status (i.e. *yomu/o-yomi-suru*). However, as noted immediately above, Japanese psycho-socialization often seeks to perceive and report any interaction between people of different status levels in a context of acknowledging obligation, and so expressing humbly the notion of 'I will read it' in Japanese is at least as likely to be rendered by a construction that translates roughly as 'I will humbly accept the honour of being permitted by you to read it' (*yomasete itadakimasu*) as by the more straightforwardly humble structure *o-yomi-shimasu*. In fact, if careful attention is paid to the use of honorific constructions in the presence of a superior, not every action of the speaker (and members of the speaker's group) need be expressed using a humble construction, except those actions which can be expressed by humbling lexical substitutes, such as *oru, itasu, mairu*, etc. The *o-_suru* form is used mainly when an action is carried out on behalf of the addressee and members of his group.

o-_suru: The humbling *o-_ suru* is formed in a similar manner to the exalting *o-_ ni naru* form.

Restricted Use of Humbling Verbs: Humbling verbs that consist of **lexical substitutes** are used indiscriminately as long as the action refers to oneself, namely the speaker or in-group members of the speaker. In contrast to the lexical substitutes, **humbling verbs produced by grammatical means** generally have the connotation that the action is carried out on behalf of the addressee or members of the addressee's group, or a third person who is the topic. Consequently, it has a rather restricted usage. It is for this reason that not every verb can be put in this form.

To give an example, *o-kaki suru*, or the sentence *o-kaki shimasu*, does not simply mean 'I will write', but rather 'I will write for you.' Suppose two people not very intimate, speaking in mutual P, have been discussing a book, and one asks the other whether he/she has read it.

A: *Ano hon o o-yomi ni narimashita ka*
'Did you read that book?'

B: *Ee, yomimashita.*
'Yes, I did.'

Note that while *yomu* is in the exalting form of *o-yomi ni narimashita* in the question, the answer referring to the speaker's action is not in the humbling form. If the humbling form were used, it would be in an answer to a question in a context such as the following:

A: *Ano hon o Hanako ni yonde kuremashita ka?*
'Did you read that book for my Hanako?'
B: *Ee o-yomi shimashita.*
'Yes, I read it for you (or a member of your group)'.

Because of this extra connotation of the *o-_ suru* form, it can usually be replaced with the *_-te ageru* form (discussed in the section on Donatory Verbs in Chapter 5.2.6). Thus *o-yomi suru* has the same meaning as *yonde ageru* or *yonde sashiageru*.

It should also be noted that *suru* has the humbling substitute word *itasu*, making it possible to increase the degree of humbling, and thus politeness, from *o-yomi shimashita* to *o-yomi itashi-mashita*.

Table 10. Verbs with Lexical Substitutes for Humbling
(Niyekawa 1991:59)

English	Neutral	Substitute	Grammatically Produced Form
			o-___ suru
to do	*suru*	*itasu*	—
to be at a place	*iru*	*oru*	—
to go	*iku*	*mairu*	—
to come	*kuru*	*mairu*	—
to say	*iu*	*moosu*	
		mooshiageru	—

English	Neutral	Substitute	Grammatically Produced Form
			o-___ suru
to know	*shitte iru*	*zonjite oru*	—
to look at	*miru*	*haiken suru*	—
to eat	*taberu*	*itadaku*	—
to drink	*nomu*	*itadaku*	—
to inquire	*kiku*	*ukagau*	*o-kiki suru*
			o-ukagai suru
to visit/inquire	*tazuneru*	*ukagau*	*o-tazune suru*
			o-ukagai suru
to borrow	*kariru*	*haishaku suru*	*o-kari suru*
to meet	*au*	*o-me ni kakaru*	*o-ai suru*

Table 11. Sample Verbs without Humbling Lexical Substitutes
(Niyekawa 1991: 59)

English	Neutral	Grammatically Produced Form
		o-___ suru
to read	*yomu*	*o-yomi suru*
to write	*kaku*	*o-kaki suru*
to feel/think	*omou*	—
to rejoice	*yorokobu*	*o-yorokobi suru*
to get up	*okiru*	—
to think	*kangaeru*	—

Compound verb phrases

When two verbs are joined to form a compound verb phrase, the first verb is a gerund in -*te* form and the second verb functions grammatically as the main verb. The gerund remains intact, and the second verb undergoes grammatical changes to indicate tense and aspect, as well as honorification and humility.

Verbs such as *iru*, *iku*, and *kuru*, used frequently as the second verb in compound verb phrases, have all the lexical substitutes as well as the

grammatically produced equivalents of honorification and humility available. Examples of verbal expressions of honorification and humility are given in Table 12.

The examples in Chart 19 also show the difference in usage of the honorific verbs and the humbling verbs. As discussed above, in contrast to the broad applicability of honorification, the use of humbling verbs is extremely limited. When there are lexical substitutes for the main verb, there are no problems. The grammatically formed *o-_ suru* form, however, cannot be used except for the special meaning of 'doing for you.' Hence *motte kaeru* cannot be put in the *o-_ suru* form. In the context 'I will take it to my home for you,' one would have to say *motte kaette (sashi) agemashoo*, enlisting the help of a donatory verb.

Table 12. Compound Verb Phrases (Niyekawa 1991: 61)

Neutral (English)	Honorific	Humbling
yonde iru (to be reading)	*yonde irassharu* *yonde o-ide ni naru* *yonde i-rare-ru*	*yonde oru*
katte iku (to buy on the way)	*katte irassharu* *katte o-ide ni naru* *katte ik-are-ru*	*katte mairu*
katte kuru (to go buy and come back)	*katte irassharu* *katte o-ide ni naru* *katte ko-rare-ru*	*katte mairu*
motte kaeru (to take it home)	*motte o-kaeri ni naru* *motte kaer-are-ru*	—
Shimete oku (to keep it closed)	*shimete o-oki ni naru* *shimete ok-are-ru*	*(shimete o-oki suru)**
wasurete shimau (to end up forgetting)	*wasurete o-shimai ni naru* *wasurete shimaw-are-ru*	—

* Shimete o-oki suru means "I will keep it closed for you" or "at your request."

Summary of Honorific and Humbling Verbs

The fact that honorific expressions are used for the addressee, and humbling expressions for the speaker, means that the verb phrase used in a question directed to the addressee is not repeated in the answer.

(1) A: 'Did you go to last week's alumni reunion?'
   *Senshuu no doosookai ni **oide ni narimashita** ka.*
   B: 'Unfortunately I was busy and couldn't go.'
   *Zannen nagara isogashikute **mairemasen** deshita.*

(2) A: 'Is your father well?'
   *Otoo-sama wa o-genki de **irasshaimasu** ka.*
   B: 'Thank you. He's been fine since he had the surgery.'
   *Okagesama de shujutsu shite kara wa zutto genki de **orimasu**.*

On the other hand, if the question does not relate to the addressee, the same verb phrase can be used in the answer.

(3) A: 'I wonder if Prof. Watanabe is already back (= has already returned) from America.'
   *Watanabe Sensei wa moo Amerika kara kaette **irasshatta** n deshoo ka.*
   B: 'I think he is already back.'
   *Moo kaette **irasshatta** n da to omoimasu.*

(4) A: 'How does one say 'gozen, gogo' in English?'
   Eigo de gozen, gogo tte doo iimasu ka.
   B: 'One says 'a.m., p.m.'
   *Ee emu, pii emu tte **iimasu**.*

5.2.8 'Refined' demonstratives

Demonstrative sets of words, whether adjectival or nominal, (the *ko-, so-, a-do-* words) should be replaced by the refined versions *kochira, sochira, achira, dochira,* and *ikaga* whenever possible. Similarly *kata* should be used instead of *hito* to indicate the notion of 'person'.

In N-level language, Japanese distinguishes lexically between the demonstrative pronoun set *(kore, sore, are, dore:* this, that, that over there, which), the pronouns of place *(koko, soko, asoko, doko:* here, there, over there, where) and pronouns of direction and choice *(kotchi, sotchi, atchi* and *dotchi).* All of these pronouns at N level can be replaced by a P set which maintains the *ko/so/a/do* feature, but acts as a versatile and 'one size fits all' refined substitute for the various N forms.

Related to these sets of demonstrative pronouns is the set of demonstrative adverbs meaning 'in this/that/what way,' *koo, soo, aa, doo.* These are the colloquial ways of saying *kono yoo ni, sono yoo ni,* and so on. Only the interrogative *doo* or *dono yoo ni* has the refined substitute *ikaga,* which appears in (30) below.

Some examples of usage follow. All sentences are P except where otherwise noted.

(1) 'This person here is Wantanabe Sensei.' (in an introduction)

Kochira (=kono kata) wa Watanabe Sensei desu.

cf. 'This person here is my wife.'

Kore (=kono hito) wa kanai desu.

Table 13: *ko-, so-, a-, do-* Words (Niyekawa 1991: 71)

	"this"	"that"	"that in far distance"	interrogative
Pronoun "thing"	*kore*	*sore*	*are*	*dore*
Place pronoun	*koko*	*soko*	*asoko*	*doko*
Pronoun of direction or choice between two	*kotchi*	*sotchi*	*atchi*	*dotchi*

	"this"	"that"	"that in far distance"	interrogative
Refined substitutes for all of the above	*kochira*	*sochira*	*achira*	*dochira*
Adverbial "in such a way"	*koo*	*soo*	*aa*	*doo*
Refined substitute for the above	—	—	—	*ikaga*

(2) 'How quiet this place is!'
> *Kochira wa o-shizuka de gozaimasu nee.*

(3) 'The station is in that direction'.
> *Eki wa achira no hoo desu.*

(4) 'How about this one?'
> *Kochira wa ikaga desu ka?*

In (1), it should be noted that *kochira* is definitely an honorific term. In referring to an out-group or higher status person, one would use *kochira*, while *kore* is used in referring to an in-group member. It should also be noted that the term 'person' has exalting and humble substitutes.

neutral: *hito*
exalting: *kata*
humbling: *mono*

The humbling term *mono* is not used much except by sales representatives, and older people. In (1) cf. *kore* can be replaced by *kono hito,* but not by *kono mono. Mono* is used most frequently in business contexts like the following:

(5) 'This is who I am.' (handing over a business card)
> *Koo iu mono desu ga ....*

(6) 'Someone from our company will deliver it to you.'
> *Uchi no mono ga o-todoke itashimasu.*

5.3 Summary

In working with students of Japanese whose level of communicative ability is at a point where they can give some attention to form and style rather than focusing purely on the communication of meaning, there are two important things to make clear. Firstly, they must realise that in speaking to a stranger, a non-intimate equal, or an out-group member, as well as to someone older or higher in status than themselves, not using the *desu/-masu* style will be interpreted as being at the very least inappropriate, and, more than likely, cheekily intimate, rude, or arrogant. This is a particularly important concern in the teaching of Japanese at reasonably advanced levels to young people who have returned to Australia after some months of living and/or studying in Japan. Almost invariably, these young people have had extensive homestay experience living within a Japanese family, and the language that they have heard and predominantly used is the style of language that is appropriate and acceptable within the confines of a family unit ('*uchi*'). It is often abrupt, elliptical, and entirely in plain-style, or at N level. While female exchange students sometimes pick up on the politer styles favoured by women in dealing with outsiders (ie, neighbours who drop in for a coffee, telephone-level language with acquaintances or tradespeople, casual polite interaction on shopping trips, etc) males rarely do, and in any case if they do consciously or subconsciously pick a model it will be their Japanese host-father or host-brother, in whose company they are unlikely to ever hear or be required to function in P-level language. These lads return to Australia fluent, extremely competent in comprehension and communication, and appallingly, shockingly, rude. It is vitally important to teach them that real functioning in Japanese is far more complex than just comprehending and communicating meaning, especially since so many of them eventually find themselves in an employment context which innocently and proudly avails itself of their wonderful fluency. Intentional use of the despised *desu/masu* levels of sentence construction - learnt so thoroughly at school and then abandoned in Japan where real-life experience of the language in the school or home context rarely uses it - is something these students must re-learn, and understand the need for.

Secondly, address forms and the reference terms must be very thoroughly introduced, discussed, and worked with. In particular, students must be encouraged to reduce their psychological dependence on personal pronoun

word for 'you' and 'I'.   A whole new psychosocial mindset must be intentionally created and worked within: titles indicating relative status or defining occupation must be automatically sought and used, first names must almost never be used, polite circumlocutions such as 'o-taku-wa' 'sochira-wa' can replace the dreaded, and rude, 'anata-wa'.

Summary guide

The step-by-step guide given below will enable most learners to acquire and transmit in their use of Japanese a minimum essential level of politeness that will not offend the addressee. Any learner of Japanese who is likely to be actively and extensively using the language in their daily life or employment circumstances must have both a thorough understanding of the sociocultural imperatives that determine these choices, and comfortable technical acquisition of the structural and lexical complexities that are implied in their unforced use.
The learner must:

1. Memorise the frequently used honorific and humbling verbs dealt with in this chapter.

2. Master either the *o-_ ni naru* or *-are-/-rare-* forms of constructing honorific verbs out of neutral verbs. Male learners are encouraged to choose the *-are-/-rare-* form.

3. Incorporate into his/her speech, honorific prefixes used with nouns for expressing respect to the addressee.

4. Work intensively at understanding and using the donatory verbs correctly by:

> **a. Memorising the diagrams: the directions and angles of the arrows with the verbs in all three sets.**

> **b. Remembering the principles which define the in-group/out-group boundaries.**

> **c. Using the verbs in the upper part of the diagrams for exchanges with the addressee and members of his group, when working at P**

level and interacting with people whom one wishes to or must acknowledge as superior.

5. Use the verbs from the lower halves of the diagrams in reporting to an out-group person the giving and receiving actions within your own family.

6. Women students must familiarize themselves with the use of the *o*-prefix for the refinement of commonly used nouns. Non-use of the *o*-prefix will result in being perceived as an unsophisticated, crude, masculine woman.

7. All students must at least have a general cognitive awareness of other features of polite-level speech referred to throughout this dissertation, including an ability to distinguish *uchi* and *soto* parameters with some degree of sureness.

8. Finally, for use in referring to oneself in the presence of a superior addressee, some use of the *o-_ suru* form which emphasizes the relative humility of the speaker and his/her group, is desirable.

Learners whose use and exprience of Japanese will include (or has included) extensive interaction with Japanese relatives, through marriage or international hosting programs, must familiarize themselves with the information given in the section on giving and receiving among third persons, *and develop competence in their automatic and accurate usage.* When an adequate minimum level of competence and natural use in these forms has been acquired, practice of and extensive conscious work within the *-sasete itadaku* form is appropriate. A word of caution needs to be extended at this point: the form in itself is not all that difficult to master as a structural pattern, and yet it is an indication to native Japanese of a high level of sophistication in the foreigners level of knowledge both *of* their language, and *about* their language, so that a foreigner who can use it is likely to be assumed to have an excellent mastery of the honorific system and politeness markers overall. Such a foreigner is thus much less likely to be excused for making more basic mistakes in politeness expressions, and may in fact even be considered more rude - being interpreted as having been intentionally rude - than the rather more grossly ignorant foreign speaker who can negotiate meaning but shows no awareness at all of linguistic

politeness conventions. It is therefore suggested that other aspects must be thoroughly understood and mastered first.

6 A contrastive study of Degree of Politeness: in American English and Japanese

Hill et al. (1986), Ide et al. (1986b) have reported the results of a Japanese and American study of the sociolinguistic rules of politeness for asking to borrow a pen. The 525 Japanese subjects were students at Tokyo University of Foreign Languages, Tokai University, Meiji Gakuin University, Tokyo Municipal University, and Chiba University. The 490 American subjects were students at Southern Illinois University, Cornell, Yale, Pennsylvania, and Harvard. The aim of this empirical study was to identify and compare the sociolinguistic rules of politeness for making requests in Japanese and in American English.

The questionnaire developed was designed to provide three independent measures. Part I of the questionnaire measures the relative politeness of certain request forms, using a 5-point scale below.

<u>5-point scale used to measure PD (the perceived distance) (1986:353)</u>

```
when being      ┌───┬───┬───┬───┐ when being
most uninhibited │ 1   2   3   4   5│ most careful
                 └───┴───┴───┴───┘
```

Part II measures the relative Perceived Distance of certain categories of addressee in typical situations. Part I, therefore, provides information about linguistic rules of politeness and Part II, about social rules of behaviour based on discernment. Part III measures the relative frequency with which specific request forms are used toward specific categories of addressee in typical situations. For comparability, the expressions and categories are the same as those in Parts I and II, but they are differently ordered; further, Part II was administered after a distractor break of 15-20 minutes. (See Appendix 1 for the complete English version of the questionnaire.)

The responses to the questionnaires were coded, then processed and analyzed by computer using the package program GLAPS (Generalized Linguistic Atlas Printing System) devised by Ogino. This program was devised to analyze quantitative sociolinguistic data. Among other statistical analyses, it facilitates the computation of the degree of politeness attributed to linguistic forms and owed to categories of persons, based on the intensity of correlation of these variables. Analysis of the data obtained from Part III of the questionnaire is summarized in figures 7 and 8. The linguistic forms

(vertical axis) and person categories (horizontal axis) are arranged according to the degree of politeness as computed by GLAPS.

Figure 5. Ranking of Politeness of Request Forms (Part I) (Hill et al.1986: 355)
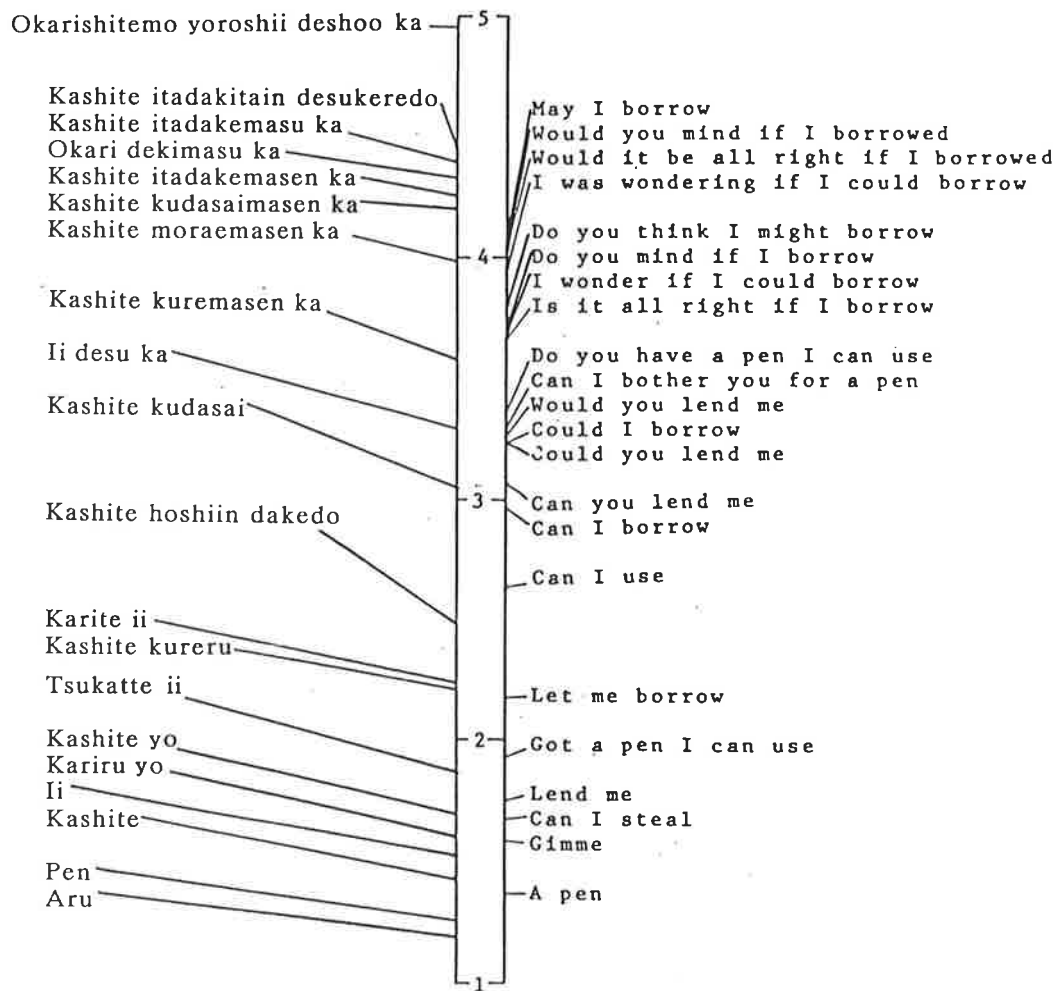
aru	'is (there)'
pen	'pen'
kashi-te	kashi-= 'lend', -te = progressive aspect
ii	'(is it) all right'
kariru-yo	kariru = 'borrow', yo = confirmatory particle
tsukat-	'use'
kureru	'let me'
hoshii	'(I) want'
da-ke(re)do	da = copula, ke(re)do = 'but'
kudasai	imperative of kudasaru, the honorific humble form of kureru
desu-ka	desu = formal form of da, ka = question particle
-masen	-mas- = formal auxiliary, -en- = negative
morae-	'you hand down to do'
itadake-	honorific humble form of morae- 'I humbly receive'
o-	honorific prefix
deki-	'be able'
-tai-	'wish'

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Other empirical studies of the use of politeness structures in language have tended to limit investigation either to questions focusing on who says what to whom in certain conditions (Part III of the Hill et al. study), or to ranking the relative politeness of linguistic forms (Part I of the same study). By including a coordinated investigation of the perceived distance (PD) toward various addressees (Part II), the Hill et al. study has been able to look at the question of sociolinguistic rules of politeness from several different angles. Moreover, having the linguistic evaluation (I) and the social evaluation (II) separate from the sociolinguistic response (III) gives answers that would otherwise be unavailable and helps identify the interaction, if not the precise nature, of still other elements contributing to the whole.

Figure 6. Ranking of Politeness of People/Situation Categories (Part II)
(Hill et al. 1986: 356)

(Japan)		(America)
	— 5	
professor		
middle-aged stranger		professor
physician		police officer
workplace boss	— 4	workplace boss
secretary		
police officer		
		physician
		middle-aged stranger
younger professor		landlady/landlord
landlady/landlord		secretary
post office clerk		younger professor
stranger wearing jeans	— 3	post office clerk
department store clerk		department store clerk
		stranger wearing jeans
small store clerk		small store clerk
waiter/waitress		acquaintance in a class
		waiter/waitress
co-worker	— 2	co-worker
acquaintance in a class		mother
older brother/sister		meaningful other
meaningful other		older brother/sister
mother		younger brother/sister
younger brother/sister		
close friend	— 1	

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Most importantly, Hill and Ide's comparison of one type of request behaviour in Japanese and American English provides empirical evidence that these superficially different sociolinguistic systems share the factor they call Discernment. These findings lend empirical support to the hypotheses of Brown and Levinson (1978) that D(istance) and P(ower) are two major elements operating in all sociolinguistic systems of politeness and that the weights or priorities assigned to each will vary from group to group.

Figure 7. Correlation of Request Forms and People/Situation Categories - Japanese (Part III) (Hill et al. 1986: 357)

Column headers (left to right):
professor, middle-aged stranger, physician, workplace boss, post office clerk, department store clerk, secretary, police officer, stranger wearing jeans, landlady/landlord, small store clerk, younger professor, waiter/waitress, acquaintance in a class, co-worker, mother, meaningful other, older brother/sister, younger brother/sister

Request form	Total
May I borrow	2648
Would you mind if I borrowed	893
Would it be all right if I borrowed	658
I wonder if I could borrow	478
Do you mind if I borrow	1079
I was wondering if I could borrow	503
Do you think I might borrow	642
Do you have a pen I can use	836
Is it all right if I borrow	798
Can I bother you for a pen	449
Could you lend me	1142
Would you lend me	848
Could I borrow	1779
Can I borrow	1855
Can you lend me	874
Can I use	1708
Got a pen I can use	490
Can I steal	508
Let me borrow	722
Lend me	604
A pen	231
Gimme	652

Column totals (bottom): 1090, 1098, 1168, 1150, 1121, 1114, 1015, 748, 1466, 716, 1321, 767, 911, 1267, 1365, 1142, 1155, 838, 945 — 20397

Legend:
- (blank) 0- 49
- · 50- 99
- • 100-149
- ● 150-199
- ● 200-

Column headers (top, vertical):
professor · middle-aged stranger · physician · secretary · stranger wearing jeans · post office clerk · workplace boss · landlady/landlord · police officer · department store clerk · younger professor · small store clerk · waiter/waitress · co-worker · acquaintance in a class · meaningful other · close friend · older brother/sister · mother · younger brother/sister

Request Form	Value
Okarishitemo yoroshii deshoo ka	
Kashite itadakemasen ka	362
Kashite itadakitain desukeredo	855
Okari dekimasuka	274
Kashite itadakemasu ka	678
Kashite kudasaimasu ka	1061
Kashite moraemasen ka	279
Kashite kudasai	697
Kashite kuremasen ka	395
Ii desu ka	393
Kashite hoshiin dakedo	311
Tsukatte ii	66
Karite ii	109
Kashite kureru	316
Kashiteyo	356
Ii	98
Pen	439
Kariruyo	207
Kashitte	184
Aru	963
	260

Bottom row totals: 477 459 474 395 465 478 395 286 357 479 370 475 373 399 503 338 489 256 497 338 8303

Legend:
0- 19
20- 39
40- 59
60- 79
80- 99
100-119
120-139
140-159
160-179
180-199
200-219

The findings of the study also lend empirical support to the theory of Leech (1983), that languages employ the same range of politeness maxims, but differ in the weights assigned and the consequent implementation strategies.

Overall, their research found that in both American English and Japanese: (Ide et al. 1986b:202)

1) The level of honorification in the two languages is often expressed by compound and complex constructions.

2) 'Hedges' are an important way of expressing degrees of politeness.

3) There is a tendency for a greater degree of politeness to be expressed in longer utterances.

4) There is a huge variety of polite expressions.

They found 918 expressions in American English and listed 142 expressions as over frequency 5, which have been reproduced below. Expressions containing the terms 'Will you~?,' ' Won't you~?,' ' Can't you~?' etc. are not included.

Table 14 Differing Degrees of Politeness in Request Expressions
(American English)

[Ide et al. 1986b:197-201]

Frequency	Relative degree of politeness	Expressions
6	8.78	May I borrow your pen for a minute sir?
6	14.68	Excuse me sir, may I borrow a pen?
5	21.95	Excuse me, could I borrow your pen please?
7	30.48	Do you think I might borrow your pen for a minute?
11	47.46	May I borrow your pen, sir?
10	48.96	I was wondering if I could borrow your pen for a minute.
11	51.76	Excuse me, do you have a pen I can borrow?
8	55.90	Excuse me, do you have a pen I could use?
8	56.32	Excuse me, can I borrow a pen?
8	60.37	May I borrow a pen, sir?
5	61.12	Excuse me, do you have a pen I may borrow?
5	66.37	Excuse me , can I use your pen?
5	67.02	May I borrow a pen please sir?
5	67.78	Excuse me, do you have a pen I can borrow for a minute?
33	71.81	Would you mind if I borrowed your pen for a minute?
22	72.69	May I borrow a pen for a minute?
6	74.04	Excuse me, may I borrow a pen please?
5	76.53	Excuse me, may I use your pen?

37	76.63	Would it be all right if I borrowed your pen for a minute?
22	77.30	Excuse me, do you have a pen I could borrow?
10	82.30	Would you mind if I borrowed your pen?
10	84.57	Excuse me, could I borrow your pen for a minute?
23	85.30	Do you mind if I borrow your pen for a minute?
18	85.39	Do you have a pen I may borrow?
13	85.77	Would you mind if I used your pen for a minute?
7	88.30	May I use your pen, sir?
46	89.27	May I borrow your pen for a minute, please?
5	93.18	Do you have a pen I might use?
5	94.34	Would you have a pen I could borrow?
8	95.48	Do you have a pen I might borrow?
22	102.03	Do you have a pen I can use for a minute?
8	102.71	Would you mind if I borrowed a pen?
11	103.38	Excuse me, could I borrow your pen?
5	104.46	Do you have a pen, please?
9	107.33	Hi, may I borrow your pen?
229	110.06	May I borrow your pen, please?
13	111.72	Pardon me, may I borrow your pen for a minute?
5	113.02	I wonder if I could borrow a pen for a minute?
57	113.65	May I use your pen, please?
23	114.59	Excuse me, may I borrow your pen?
7	115.05	I wonder if I could borrow your pen for a minute?
67	118.78	May I use your pen for a minute?
5	118.88	May I borrow your pen please, sir?
368	123.53	May I borrow your pen for a minute?
26	124.49	Do you have a pen I could borrow for a minute?
6	128.25	Could you lend me your pen?
8	132.32	Can I borrow a pen please?
81	132.38	Could I borrow your pen please?
177	134.56	May I borrow a pen, please?
14	134.62	Could I use a pen?
288	134.86	May I borrow a pen?
7	136.54	Can I borrow your pen for a minute, please?
12	137.79	Do you mind if I borrow your pen?
5	138.45	Would you mind if I used your pen?
33	140.21	Could I borrow your pen for a minute please?
9	144.25	May I use a pen please?

17	146.78	Would you please be kind enough to loan me a pen?
17	147.10	Excuse me sir/ms, do you have a pen I can borrow?
7	149.07	Do you have a pen I can borrow for a minute?
486	151.25	May I borrow your pen?
8	155.44	Can I use a pen?
13	156.81	Can I borrow a pen for a minute?
52	160.50	Could I borrow a pen, please?
124	162.85	Do you have a pen I can borrow?
8	163.33	Do you mind if I use your pen?
17	163.82	Do you have an extra pen?
5	164.45	Do you think I could borrow your pen for a minute?
211	165.91	May I use your pen?
17	169.19	May I use a pen?
5	169.98	I need to use your pen.
56	171. 30	Could I use your pen, please?
32	180.82	Would you lend me your pen for a minute?
27	181.63	Can I bother you for a pen?
27	184.43	Could I borrow a pen for a minute?
194	185.83	Do you have a pen I could borrow?
193	188.21	Could I borrow your pen for a minute?
6	195.65	Can I use your pen real quick?
5	198.44	Could I borrow that pen?
168	200.33	Do you have a pen I could use?
144	201.82	Can I borrow a pen?
121	205.21	Could I use your pen?
72	207.02	Could I borrow a pen?
17	207.21	Do you have a pen I could use for a minute?
149	208.70	Could I borrow your pen?
36	211.83	Can I borrow your pen, please?
6	216.07	May I use your pen for a minute, please?
6	220.89	Do you mind if I use your pen for a minute?
7	223.28	Can I use your pen for a minute please?
104	224.63	Do you have a pen I can use?
90	243.04	Could I use your pen for a minute?
20	245.39	Would you loan me a pen?
20	249.22	Could you lend me your pen for a minute?
11	252.51	Got a pen I could borrow?
269	255.26	Can I borrow your pen?
189	259.46	Can I borrow your pen for a minute?

22	291.01	May I have your pen?
241	298.09	Can I use your pen for a minute?
15	329.35	Can you lend me your pen for a minute?
5	350.84	Could I use.........?
268	362.75	Can I use your pen?
38	368.24	Can I use your pen, please?
158	386.63	Do you have a pen?
7	390.12	Have you got a pen?
5	395.37	May I borrow a pen?
7	400.20	Can I borrow that pen for a minute?
5	411.94	Would you lend me your pen?
9	474.49	Can I use that pen for a minute?
6	479.67	Got a pen I can borrow?
199	506.15	Let me borrow your pen for a minute.
41	512.97	Got a pen?
13	518.86	Got a pen I could use?
5	526.78	Give me a pen, please.
5	532.04	Got a pen I can use for a minute?
5	540.61	Give me your pen, please.
13	547.71	I need a pen.
11	568.12	Can I use that pen?
9	593.85	A pen.
6	594.09	You got a pen?
17	601.75	Let me borrow your pen.
9	603.22	Give me that pen.
12	604.27	Can I use your pen?
31	606.57	Give me your pen.
8	606.62	Let me use your pen, please.
6	608.96	Let me borrow your pen, please.
44	628.92	Let me use your pen for a minute.
8	635.13	Give me a pen.
8	645.69	Can I borrow that pen?
9	646.14	I need your pen.
6	663.82	Let me use your pen.
6	675.54	Got a pen I can use?
91	687.91	Let me use your pen.
6	707.43	Can I have your pen?
5	733.63	Let me borrow a pen.
7	734.43	Can I have your pen for a minute?

6	764.39	Hand me a pen, please.
51	774.75	Give me a pen.
5	781.37	Pen.
8	781.43	Let me use that pen for a minute.
16	789.93	Where is a pen?
6	792.84	Let me have your pen for a minute.
39	812.37	Give me your pen for a minute.
6	918.00	Let me use that pen.

Similarly, they found 936 expressions in Japanese and listed 98 expressions as over frequency 5. Of these, 79 can be identified as 'polite', and 19 as non polite. These have been reproduced below.

Table 15. Differing Degrees of Politeness in Request Expressions (Japanese)
[Ide et al. 1986b:187-190]

Frequency	Relative degree of politeness	Expressions
5	2.43	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okashi itadakemasu deshoo ka
6	2.91	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite itadakemasen deshoo ka
12	4.30	Sumimasen ga okari dekimasu deshoo ka
57	5.22	Sumimasen ga okari shite yoroshii deshoo ka
8	5.61	Sumimasen ga okari dekinai deshoo ka
6	5.64	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okari shitaino desu ga yoroshii deshoo ka
11	6.46	Sumimasen ga okashi itadakemasen ka
14	7.03	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okari dekimasen ka
178	7.22	Okarishite yoroshiideshoo ka
12	7.27	mooshiwake arimasen ga okari dekimasu deshoo ka
21	8.04	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okari dekimasu ka
9	8.70	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakemasen deshoo ka
19	9.69	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okari shite yoroshii deshoo ka
5	10.07	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite kudasaimasen ka
7	10.18	Kashite moraenai deshooka
14	10.36	Sumimasen ga okari dekimasen ka
17	10.72	Sumimasen ga okari shite yoroshii desu ka

25	10.92	Kashite itadakenai deshoo ka
27	11.10	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite itadakenai deshoo ka
5	11.19	Okari dekinai deshoo ka
49	11.29	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite itadekemasu ka
52	11.43	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite itadakemasen ka
11	11.69	Okashite itadekemasu deshoo ka
6	12.44	Okari shite iideshoo ka
38	12.54	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakenai deshoou ka
25	13.59	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakitaindesu kedo
9	14,78	Karite yoroshii deshoo ka
11	15.15	Mooshiwake arimasen ga kashite kudasai
39	15.43	Sumimasen ga okari shitainodesu ga
10	15.59	Okashi itadakemasen ka
16	16.48	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakemasu deshoo ka
5	16.48	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okarishitainodesu ga
23	16.58	Okari dekimasu deshoo ka
332	17.61	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakemasen ka
132	18.18	Sumimasen ga okari dekimasu ka
427	19.49	Kashite itadakemasen ka
10	20.44	Kashite itadakimasen ka
375	21.32	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakimasu ka
9	22.05	Mooshiwake arimasen ga okashi itadakemasu ka
54	22.21	Okari shite yoroshii desu ka
38	22.85	Sumimasen ga kashite moraemasen ka
67	23.27	Okari shite ii desu ka
638	23.40	Kashite itadakemasu ka
89	25.06	Okari shitainodesu ga
25	25.32	Okari dekimasen ka
223	25.60	Okari dekimasu ka
21	27.63	Sumimasen ga okari shite ii desu ka
21	28.26	Karite yoroshii desu ka
90	28.67	Kashite kudasaimasen ka
12	30.42	Sumimasen ga kashite kudasaimasu ka
29	32.35	Okari shimasu
58	34.80	Sumimasen ga kashite kuremasen ka
31	34.81	Kashite itadakemasen deshoo ka
348	37.16	Sumimasen ga kashite kudasai
22	37.85	Sumimasen ga kashite kudasaimasen ka
8	39.46	Kashite hoshiindesu kedo

199	40.04	Kashite moraemasen ka
75	44.28	Sumimasen ga kashite moraemasu ka
310	45.94	Kashite moraemasu ka
14	46.81	Okari dekimasu
13	46.91	Sumimasen ga kashite kuremasu ka
24	46.94	Kashite kudasaimasu ka
5	47.38	Sumimasen ga kashite itadakemasu
13	49.95	Kashite kudasaimasu
18	50.59	Karitaindesu ga
10	51.33	Arimasu
994	51.69	Kashite kudasai
49	52.13	Kashite itadakemasu
190	52.22	Kashite kuremasen ka
198	52.39	Karite ii desu ka
8	55.53	Kashite moraemasen
72	55.66	Arimasen ka
12	57.61	Sumimasen ga arimasen ka
86	61.35	Kashite kuremasu ka
56	67.17	Kashite moraemasu
24	76.69	Karimasu
6	82.03	Kashite kuremasen
6	87.85	Onegai shimasu
29	90.93	Kashite kuremasu
19	132.10	Kashite hoshiinda kedo
46	160.26	Kashite moraeru
9	171.34	Kashite choodai
114	193.47	Kashite kurenai
7	199.04	Ii
284	213.38	Kashite kureru
6	223.79	Choodai
6	225.48	Ne kariru yo
140	225.54	Karite ii
89	234.65	Aru
1412	235.93	Kashite
31	238.00	Nee kashite
51	239.73	Kashitekure
23	246.86	Kase
18	249.10	Motteru
140	249.42	Kariru yo

8	253.86	Nee kashite kureru
10	256.54	Nee
13	259.21	Totte

7   Awareness of reference to person

7. 1 The social interpretation of pronoun use in Japanese

Most utterances in Japanese carry social information, particularly regarding the relationship of the speaker and the addressee. This is a major factor in the difficulty of Japanese as a foreign language and in the time required for learners to approach native-like competence. (Backhouse: 1993:166)

Agnes M. Niyekawa (1991: 14-16) observed that:

> An ordinary grammatical error made by the foreigner may simply seem cute to Japanese, but an error in _keigo_ (honorific language) tends to arouse an instantaneous emotional reaction....Most people assume that a person who speaks a foreign language fluently also knows the culture well.   Hence when (s)he does not follow some of the basic cultural rules, they naturally interpret it as an intentional violation of the customs.   Showing deference or respect to a non-intimate conversational partner is one such basic rule in Japan.

Just in learning to speak 'correctly', a Japanese person must learn the local hierarchies of respect and condescension and where he or she belongs within them.   Without that knowledge, correct choice of person-referring words cannot be made (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 133).   Learners of Japanese are required to choose the correct person-referring words.

The European grammatical systems, studied by Japanese linguists, formed the basis of modern Japanese grammatical classification, even though Japanese was structurally different.   The wholesale acceptance of foreign language analyses to classify Japanese grammar resulted in grouping such Japanese words as _watakushi, boku,_ and _ore_ together and calling them 'first-person pronouns,' and such words as _anata, kimi,_ and _kisama_ as 'second-person pronouns'.   Suzuki (1984) claims that calling _watashi, ore, omae,_ and _anata_ personal pronouns is a practice detached from the realities of the Japanese language and merely represents an idea translated verbatim from alien grammars (Suzuki 1984: 89-93).   In fact 'no real pronouns exist that correspond to the Indo-European personal pronouns' (Harada 1975: 510).   In Japanese, semantic equivalents for the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you' are not used as much as in Western languages, in part at least because the

uchi/soto deictic boundaries discussed above are more relevant than the self/other boundaries conveyed by 'I' and 'you', and need not always be defined or acknowledged linguistically. Furthermore, as will be shown below, Japanese has a vast repertoire of language forms and strategies by which to proclaim these boundaries and indeed define degree of social distance along an axis of formality/informality, and pronouns are only one of many such strategies.

English grammar does not denote social relationships in the same way that Japanese grammar does in relation to the use of the pronoun. In Japanese, 'the choice among alternative pronouns is motivated by social considerations such as the relative status of speaker and addressee or the formality or intimacy of the occasion'. In fact, the grammatical basis of forms of address in the Japanese language is representative of many features of the Japanese social system. As Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 133-134) write: 'almost every social distinction possible between speakers, the recognition and display of which is necessary to the smooth development of an encounter, is overtly expressed in language choice, while almost every grammatical nuance carries a social meaning'.
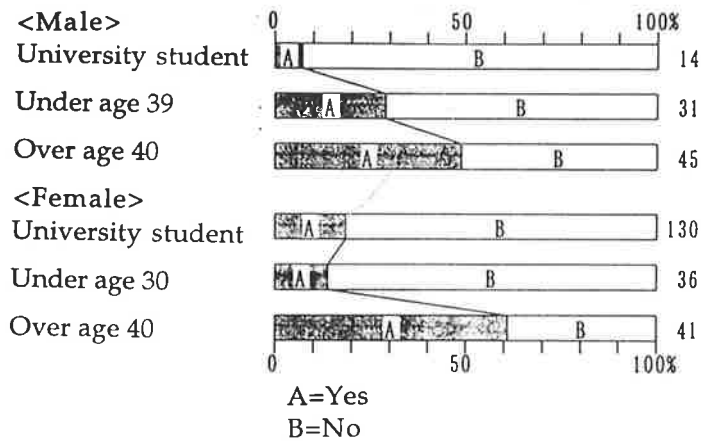
7. 2. Personal pronouns signalling politeness

Personal pronouns in Japanese are complicated because the pronoun used will depend on the person spoken to, the person or thing spoken about, and the situation. There are many words that correspond to personal pronouns and their usage is very different from English usage.
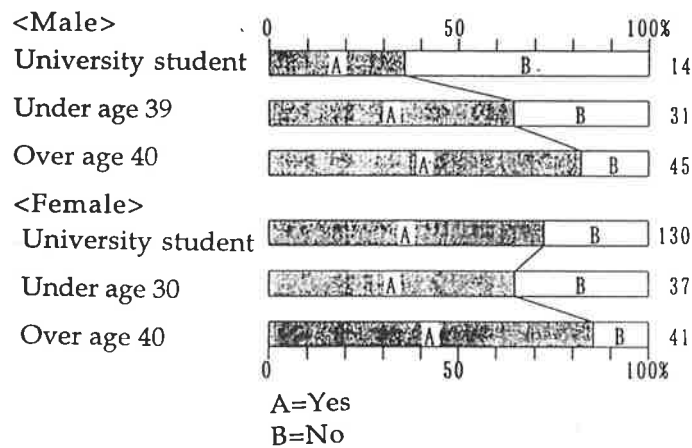
Despite the 1952 recommendation by the Ministry of Education that *anata* be used as a formal 'you', Hagino [1997:25-26] reported the use of '*anata*' by 153 university students and 155 adults, as show in the diagrams below. (See also Appendix 2 for a comment on a parallel attempt to regulate language use in Indonesian.)

The customary usage of '*anata*' has lowered it to a level where it can be used only in addressing an intimate equal, someone distinctly younger or lower in status, or a complete stranger. Addressing someone who does not fall into these categories with the word *anata* thus becomes a serious insult.
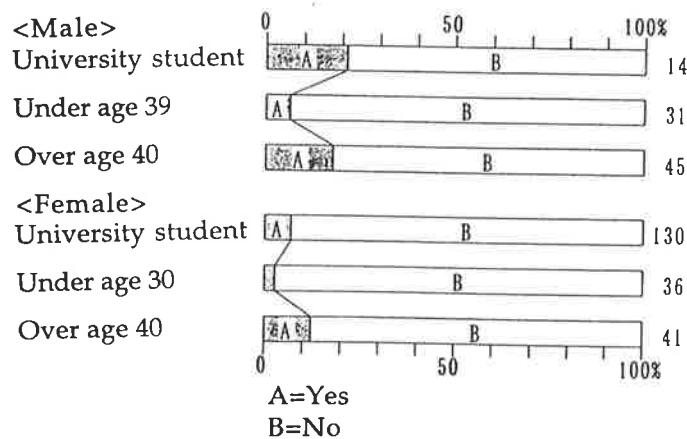
Question: Do you use *'anata'* for addressing your inferior if you know her/his name?
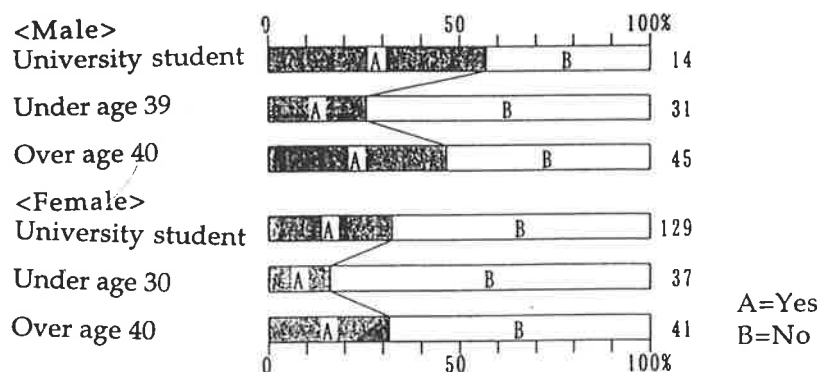
<Male>
University student ... 14

Under age 39 ... 31

Over age 40 ... 45

<Female>
University student ... 130

Under age 30 ... 36

Over age 40 ... 41

A=Yes
B=No

Question: Do you use *'anata'* for addressing your inferior if you don't know her/his name?

<Male>
University student ... 14

Under age 39 ... 31

Over age 40 ... 45

<Female>
University student ... 130

Under age 30 ... 37

Over age 40 ... 41

A=Yes
B=No

Question: Do you use *'anata'* for addressing your superior if you know her/his name ?

<Male>
University student ... 14

Under age 39 ... 31

Over age 40 ... 45

<Female>
University student ... 130

Under age 30 ... 36

Over age 40 ... 41

A=Yes
B=No

Question: Do you use 'anata' for addressing your superior if you don't know her/his name ?

<Male> University student	14
Under age 39	31
Over age 40	45
<Female> University student	129
Under age 30	37
Over age 40	41

A=Yes
B=No

In many European languages, there are two second person pronouns: *tu* and *vos* in Latin; *tu* and *vous* in French; *tu* and *vos* (later *usted*) in Spanish; *tu* and *voi* (now *lei*) in Italian; *du* and *Sie* (originally *Ihr*) in German; *ty* and *vy* in Russian; *du* and *ni* in Swedish; *esi* and *esis* in Greek. English also had *thou* and *ye*, but *thou* is no longer used except in prayers, and *ye* has become *you*. Brown and Gilman (1960) in an article entitled 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,' which has become a classic in sociolinguistics, used T as the familiar second person pronoun, and V for the polite second person pronoun. In the Japanese system, there are similarities to the T/V system, however, there are important linguistic differences. Niyekawa (1991: 152-154) initially points out that:

> Just as speakers of these European languages must make a choice between V and T when speaking to someone, the Japanese also must make a choice between the informal *da* style and the formal *desu/-masu* style, based on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The two dimensions involved in the use of the *da* style and the *desu/-masu* style, hierarchy and intimacy, directly correspond to power and solidarity in the V/T system.

She then continues by highlighting the linguistic differences:

> In the V/T system of the European languages, one is forced to make a choice as to whether to use V or T as the second person pronoun with regard to the particular addressee, while in Japanese one has to make the choice in style - whether to use the informal *da* style or the (neutral)-polite *desu/-masu* style.....The result is that sentences that have nothing to do with the addressee 'you,' are subjected to this

choice....There is another important linguistic difference. The European V/T is an either/or choice, while, as we have seen, the *desu/-masu* style in Japanese has many gradations. European languages do not have lexical substitutes for neutral nouns and verb roots as Japanese does. Nor can one express respect in European languages while speaking in T, as one can in the nonpolite *da* style of Japanese.

As a result of the unclear personal pronoun system, a learner of Japanese as a second language has difficulty understanding the relationship between the speaker and addressee. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:31) address the source of this problem in their examination of Japanese social relations and pronoun grammar.

> '..... referring to Japanese social relations and pronoun grammar,(...) Japanese conversation, for example, ties speech acts to human participants, the points of people space, not by indexicals that target a single individual, the one who performs the relevant speech action as an utterance, but by devices that ensure that the responsibility for what is said and its prolocutionary effects devolve on relevant groups.

Westerners, concentrating on role-independent qualities, cultivate *dispositions and powers*, whereas Japanese cultivate a system of *role-dependent dispositions and moral intuitions* (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:114). In Japan, people act and speak in the roles assigned to them by the social structure, always concerned with their duties and obligations, rather than as individuals. The most important aspects of speaking politely are: how to be polite; how not to be impolite; and how not to be rude.

In *Pronouns and People*, Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:133) denote 'pronouns' as indicators of the complex relationships between selves and the societies these selves live in, and highlight their role in personal, social and other deixis. Friedrich (quoted by Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:131) says 'pronouns display unusual properties of emotional expressiveness, logical abstraction, and frequency in dialogue. Pronominal sets, like those of kinship terminology, are Janus-faced because they are linked into both the linguistic matrix of grammatical paradigms and the cultural matrix of social statuses and group categories.'

7. 3 Differences between the uses of person-designating terms by children in both Japanese and English.

In Japan, of course, as discussed above, group identity, or the awareness of the group one belongs to, is inculcated in children from early childhood. The child is constantly reminded that behaving inappropriately will shame the family or the group to which he or she belongs. Thus, well before entering school, the Japanese child is fully aware of a sense of collective social and personal responsibility.

This is far less likely to be the case with children raised in most societies whose dominant language is English, in that a majority of Anglo-Saxon societies focus on socialization skills and personal development traits which emphasize individuality and individual identity rather than group consciousness.

Naturally, children in either society acquire skill in the use of various person references as their socialization advances. In a study by Ide (1991b), the use of person-designation terms among children was investigated so as to see how they function at the interactional level and to learn something more about the basic human behaviour of personal identity in Japanese and American children. As far back as twenty years ago, it was observed (Kimura 1972: 136) that Japanese children are slower than their American or European counterparts in acquiring personal pronouns. This is because in Japan other person-designating terms are acquired earlier than personal pronouns.

Ide (1991b) examines differences between the uses of Japanese and English person-designating terms by children (six years old and under), coding the data into flow charts. In the flow charts for first- and second-person designations in each language, boys and girls are treated separately. Hence, the findings have been compiled into eight figures, as shown below.

The method she employed consisted of three steps. First came the observation of children at nursery schools and kindergartens and the tape-recorded and transcribed data of the children's speech. The second step was her interviews with teachers at the nursery school. Two questionnaires followed as the third step, one in Japanese and the other in English. Copies of this latter were distributed to parents who had children six years and

under, and who were employed in various vocations. Of 200 copies distributed in Japan, 150 were returned, but only 50 out of 150 copies distributed in the States came back.

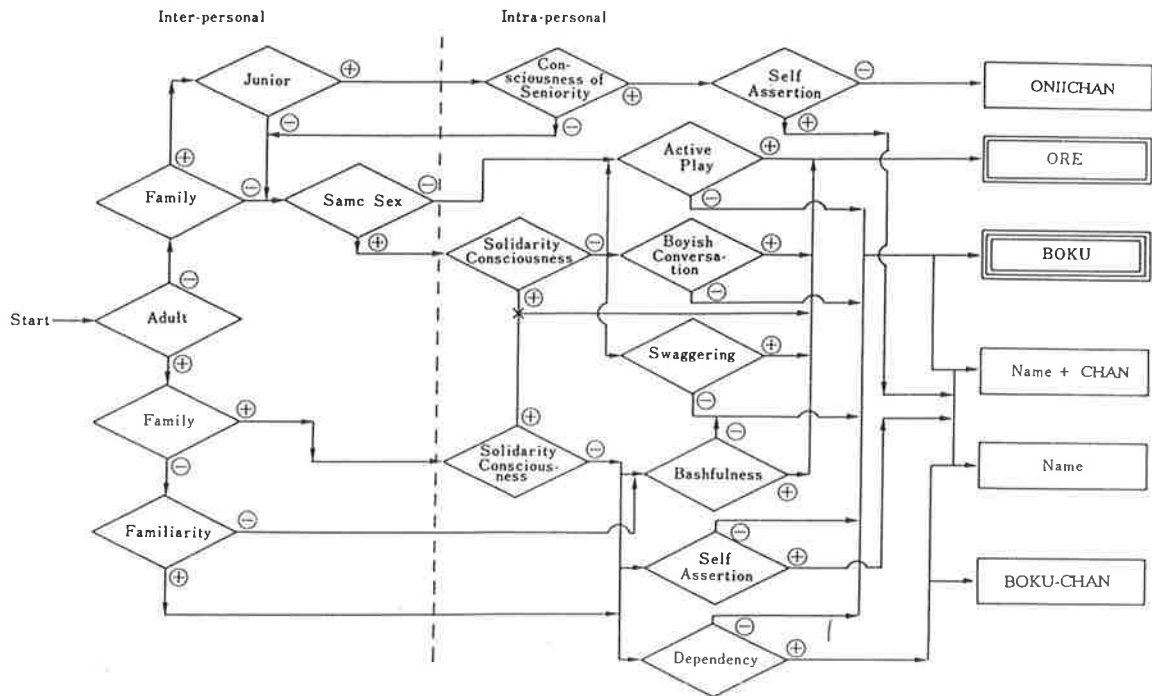Figure 9. Japanese Boys' First Person Reference (Ide 1991b: 47)

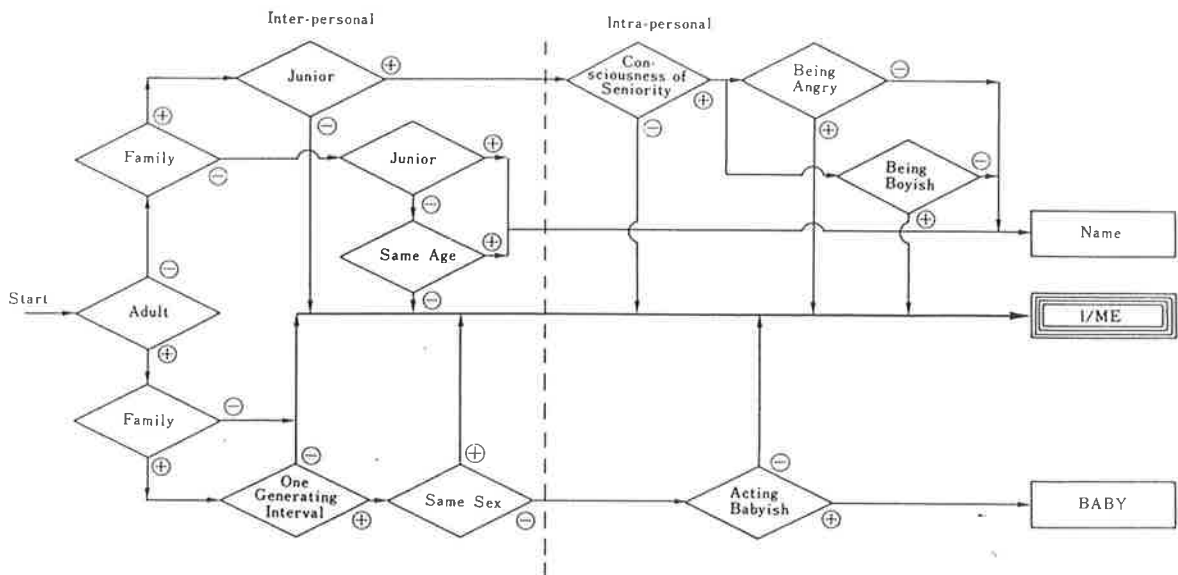Figure 10. American Boys' First Person Reference (Ide 1991b: 48)

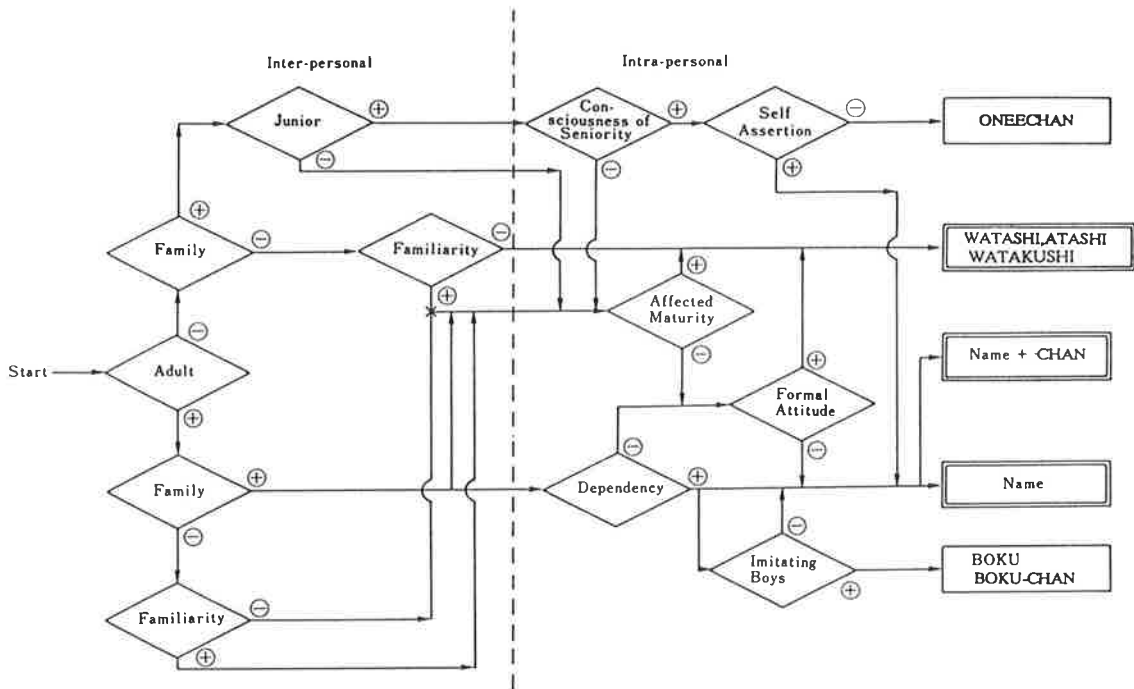## Figure 11 Japanese Girls' First Person Reference (Ide 1991b: 49)

Figure 12 American Girls' First Person Reference (Ide 1991b: 50)
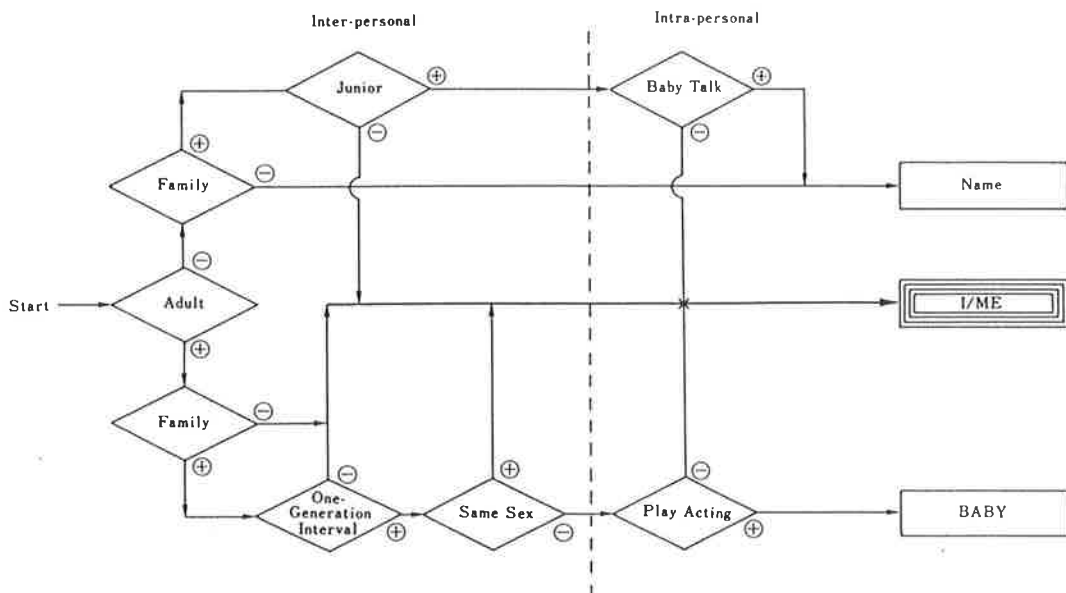
Figure 13. Japanese Boys' Second Person Reference (Ide 1991b:51)
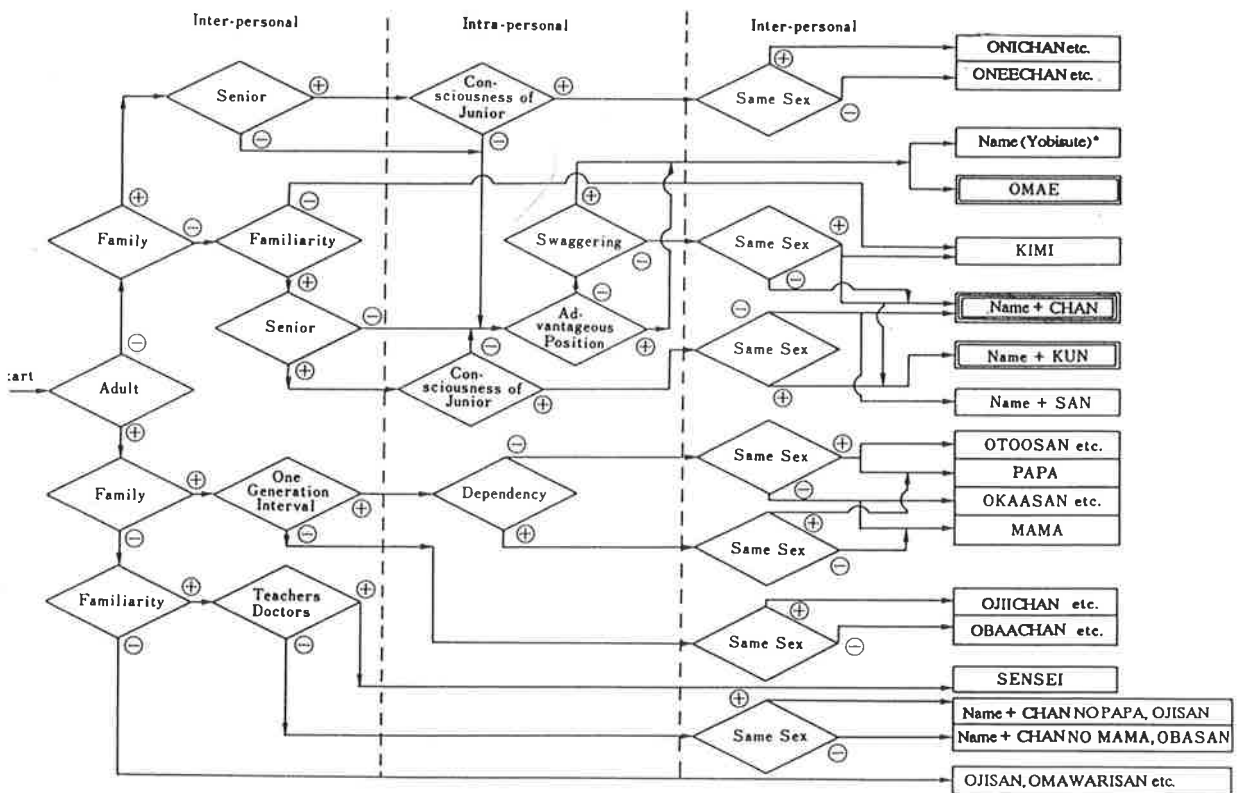

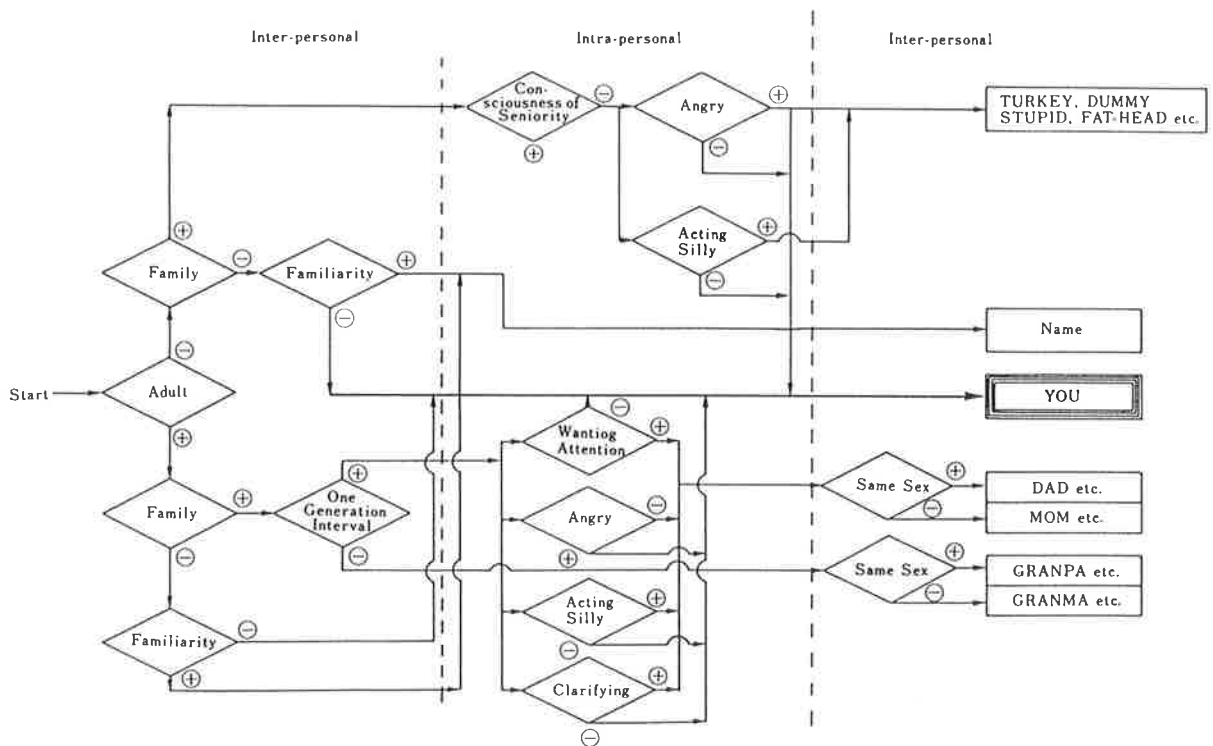## Figure 14. American Boys' Second Person Reference (Ide 1991b: 52)

Figure 15. Japanese Girls' Second Person Reference (Ide 1991b:53)
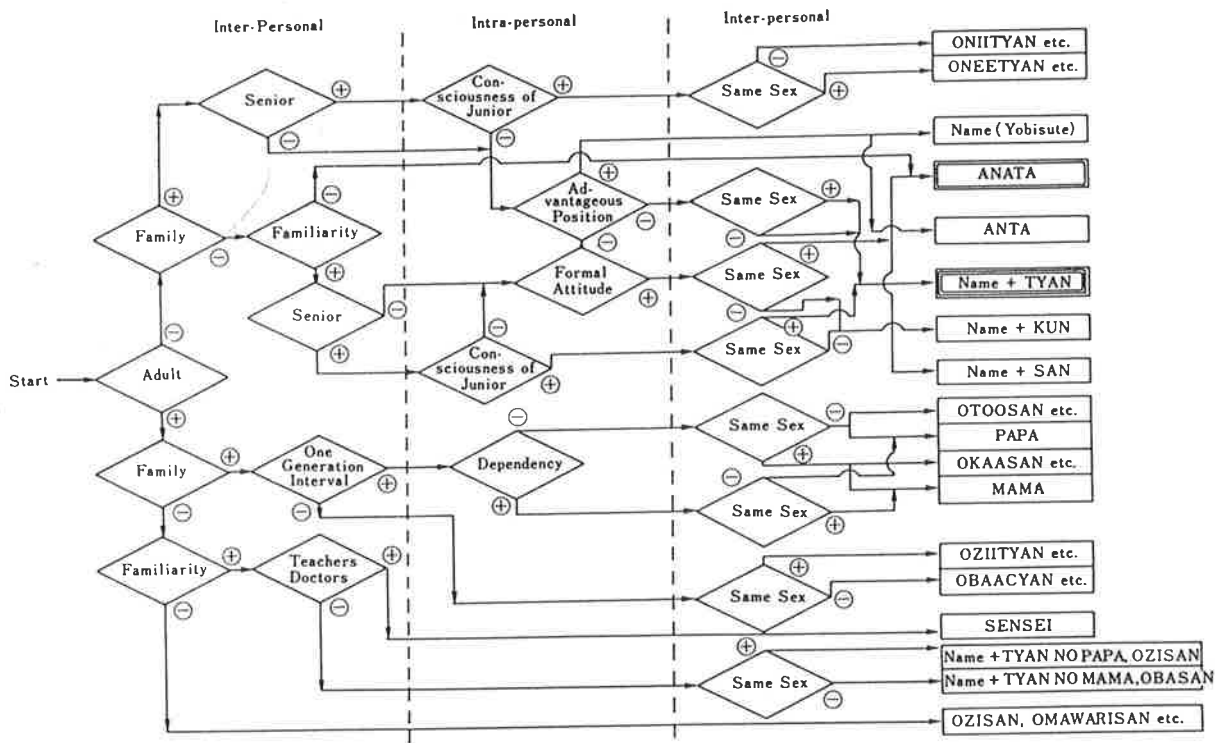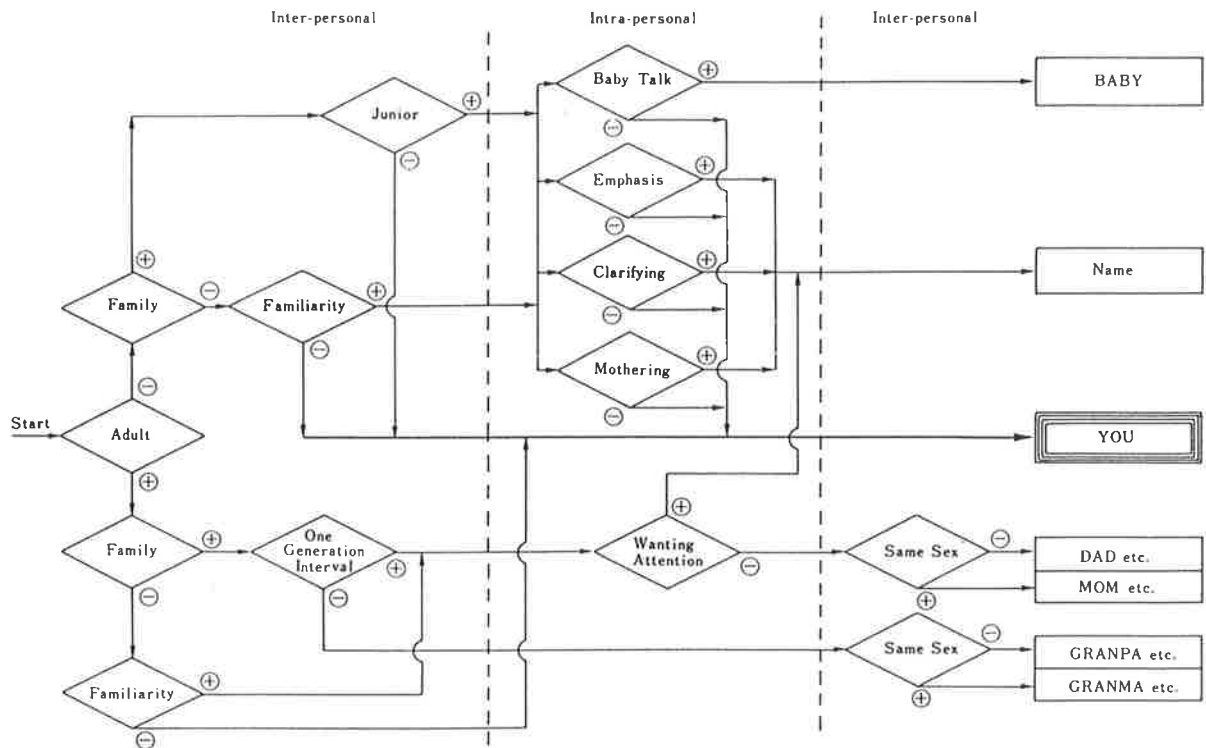

Figure 16. American Girls' Second Person Reference (Ide 1991b:54)

The + and - signs of inter-personal selectors read as follows:

Figure 17. Reading of the ⊕ and ⊖ Signs in the Selectors. (Ide 1991b: 55)

Selectors \ Signs	⊕	⊖
Adult	adult	non-adult
Family	family	non-family
Junior	younger than speaker	same as speaker or older
Senior	older than speaker	same as speaker's age or younger
Same sex	same as speaker's sex	opposite to speaker's sex
Same age	same as speaker's age	different from speaker's age
Familiarity	person familiar to speaker, e.g., teacher, doctor	person unfamiliar to speaker
One generation interval	one generation apart	more than one generation apart

The intra-personal selectors, by contracts, are fairly descriptive of speaker's psychological attributes, so much so that an example will probably suffice to illustrate how to read the ⊕ and ⊖ signs. To wit: ⊕ 'consciousness' of seniority means that the speaker is conscious of being senior to the hearer and ⊖ means without such consciousness.

The degree of frequency of use for each form is roughly indicated by the number of layers in each square box enclosing the form. In English, *I/me* and *you* are used most frequently. By contrast, Japanese children do not seems to prefer any highly particular referential form in either the first or the second person.

In her observations (1991b:57), Ide identifies a major sociolinguistic difference between Japanese and European languages.

Japanese children often do not employ person-designating terms; children at the nursery school would go for as much as half an hour without using any such terms. The same is not true of American

children, however, because English requires the use of personal pronouns as in '*I*'m making X,' 'Look at *me...*,' 'Julia, where are *you*?' To convey the same things, a Japanese child would most like say '*X o tsukutte iru no*,[=X obj make prog. emph: no pronoun used] '*Mitee*,' and '*Jyuria, doko ni iru no*,' [Jyuria, where loc be int: no pronoun used] respectively. Note that these Japanese sentences have no personal pronouns *boku* 'I' or *anata* 'you' but they still carry the same meaning as their English counterparts. If we include 'zero output' as one of the variants, it would have the highest frequency in Japanese, but in English where it is in fact rare. Zero occurrence of person-designating terms is one of the main characteristics which makes Japanese sociolinguistically different from European languages.

Ide also points out that neither American nor Japanese children use personal pronouns when they first begin to talk. Thus, the term for first-person designation that is acquired earliest is the child's own name, because it is the form which also has been used in addressing the child from the time the child was born. (1991b:57)

In Summary, Ide notes:

> .....it should be evident how complicated the choice of personal referential form is in Japanese society. Be that as it may, some similarities have been observed between those two seemingly divergent social organisations of children's language behaviour. One point of interest is that the American children have some flexibility in their language behaviour towards first and second person referents, albeit overshadowed by the predominance of *I* and *you*. It is also true that in both Japanese and American children the sex of speaker seems to be an important condition in the choice of variants (1991b:59).

7.4 English personal pronouns

The prototypical English pronoun paradigm is reproduced from Wales (1996: 13):

Table 16. Prototypical Pronoun Paradigm (Standard English)

			Personal pronouns		Possessive pronouns		Reflexive pronouns
			subjective case	objective case	determiner function	nominal function	
1p	sg.		*I*	*me*	*my*	*mine*	*myself*
	pl.		*we*	*us*	*our*	*ours*	*ourselves*
2p	sg.		*you*		*your*	*yours*	*yourself*
	pl.						*yourselves*
3p		masc.	*he*	*him*	*his*		*himself*
	sg.	fem.	*she*	*her*		*hers*	*herself*
		non-personal	*it*		*its*		*itself*
	pl.		*they*	*them*	*their*	*theirs*	*themselves*

There have been many interesting changes in the functions of inter-personal pronouns throughout the history of English. It is only in the last 25 years or so that the attention of academics has turned to the speech situation, or rather, speech/discourse situations, and to speaker (first person 'I'/'we') and to addressee (second person 'you'). To Halliday and Hasan (1976:44), it is simply a matter of 'speech roles' and 'others', where first and second person pronouns constitute the 'speech roles' and 'others' is constituted by the pronouns 'he', 'she', 'it' and 'they' for human or non-human referents. Since both the first person pronouns and the second person pronouns (1PP and 2PPs, respectively) are not fixed or stable in the sense that their referents shift according to the situation as participants take turns to speak, the use of 1PP or 2PP is essentially context dependent.

Wales (1996: 51) claims that despite their deictic properties, the acquisition of a full system of pronouns (**in English**) comes fairly late in a child's linguistic development (at around the age of three), and an inability to cope with the 'adult' system of alternating speaker/addressee reference and the shift of perspective in conversational interaction may well be a hindrance.

Table 17. 'Speech Roles' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 44)

Speech roles			Other roles		
Speaker		Addressee	Human		Non-human
one	*I*	*you*	masc.	*he*	
			fem.	*she*	*it*
more than one	*we*	*you*			*they*

7.5 Japanese personal pronouns

A major difference in the general Japanese grammatical paradigm is in the use and variety of personal pronouns. There is more than one pronoun for the first and second person and traditionally there have been no third person pronouns. Table 18 shows how foreigners learn Japanese personal pronouns as a part of grammar.

Table 18. Personal Pronouns (Makino and Tsutsui 1986: 28)

Personal Pronouns / Levels of Formality	Singular		
	First Person ' I '		Second Person ' You '
Very Formal	*watakushi*		none
Formal	*watashi*	*atakushi* (female)	*anata*
Informal	*boku* (male)	*atashi* (female)	*kimi* (male)
Very Informal	*ore* (male)		*omae* (male) *anta*

Formal ———— Informal

Whilst this is an adequate, if limited, attempt to provide a chart which will be understood by speakers of other languages, particularly English, who are studying Japanese, it is only really an 'equivalence' explanation of terms, departing from the known sociolinguistic base of the foreign learner, not the actual sociolinguistic basis of the Japanese language.

According to Shibatani (1990:371), the organization of the Japanese pronominal forms is principally controlled by the sex of the speaker and the speech level. Gender discrimination is marked, as shown in the following table:

Table 19. Gender Distinction in Pronominal Forms (Shibatani 1990: 371)

	Formal ←			→ Informal
1st person				
Male speaker	watakushi	watashi	boku	ore
Female speaker	watakushi	watashi		atashi
2nd person				
Male speaker	anata		kimi anta	omae
Female speaker	anata			anta
3rd person				
		kare 'he'		
		kanojo 'she'		

The following list, taken from Ide (1991a: 73) illustrates a variety of first person pronouns and the second person pronouns. As can be seen, the repertoires of personal pronouns for men and women are different.

Table 20. Personal Pronouns

	men's speech	women's speech
First person		
formal	watakushi	watakushi
	watashi	atakushi
plain	boku	watashi
		atashi*
deprecatory	ore	Ø

	men's speech	women's speech
Second person		
formal	*anata*	*anata*
plain	*kimi*	*anata*
	*anta**	*anta**
deprecatory	*omae*	
	kisama	Ø

*marks variants of a social dialect.

Two kinds of differences are noted here. First, a difference in levels of formality can be observed. The level of formality of *watashi* is formal for men but plain for women and that of *anata* is formal for men but plain or formal for women. This means that women are required to use more formal forms. This reminds us, firstly, of the three factors for women's politer speech as shown in the quantitative data: 'Women's lower assessment of the politeness levels of individual linguistic forms'. Secondly, we notice pronouns at the deprecatory level, *ore, omae* and *kisama*, in men's speech but none in women's speech. There is no deprecatory word in women's speech. The use of more formal forms is a display of deferent attitude, as mentioned above. The avoidance of the deprecatory level is a display of good demeanour. Thus, categorical differences in the repertoire of personal pronouns lead to women's automatic expression of deference and demeanour. This makes women's speech sound more polite.

Furthermore, in terms of the use of the second person pronouns shown in the above table, a further complication arises. This can be demonstrated if we look at a speech setting involving a social superior with an inferior. The superior can use either formal or informal language, but the inferior can only use formal honorific language even in the case where the superior opts for informal language. So, if the situation could not be avoided, an inferior would need to use the more respectful form '*anata sama*'. -'*sama*' being the honorific ending which would deem the use of second person pronouns in such circumstances as acceptable. Other forms such as *kimi, anata,* and *omae* can never be used if the speaker wishes to show his deference to the addressee. The listed second-person pronouns are only useable by a person addressing a social equal or inferior. The Japanese overcome this difficulty by giving the superior an appropriate title often in combination with a person's family name.

Sugito and Ozaki [1997:35] reported that the following range of self-referencing words are often used by secondary school students in Tokyo.

```
            0  10 20 30 40  (%)
atashi        ▨▨▨ 17.4 (45.7)
              ▦▦▦ 17.1 (44.8)
watashi       ▨ 6.4      (80.9)
              ▦▦ 13.5   (77.2)
NAME          ▨ 6.2 (5.7)
              ▦ 4.1 (3.5)
uchi          ▨ 2.9 (2.3)
              ▦ 1.7 (2.0)
jibun         ▨ 2.5 (4.6)
              ▦ 1.9 (4.2)
watakushi     1.2 (2.1)
              1.2 (1.8)
ore           1.1 (0.9)
              0.5 (0.5)
boku          0.9 (1.0)
              0.4 (0.8)
atakushi      0.5 (0.5)
              0.2 (0.4)
washi         0.2 (0.3)
              0.2 (0.2)    ▨ Junior high school (1171 students)
ai            0.1 (0.2)
              0.2 (0.1)    ▦ High school (1060 students)
```

Female

```
            0  10 20 30 40  (%)
ore           ▨▨▨▨ 31.1 (52.1)
              ▦▦▦▦ 28.8 (50.0)
boku          ▨▨ 16.8    (64.8)
              ▦▦▦ 21.9   (56.9)
watashi       1.9 (4.8)
              ▦ 5.2 (10.0)
uchi          1.5 (2.1)
              1.0 (1.8)
wai           1.5 (2.0)
              0.3 (0.9)
washi         1.4 (1.8)
              0.5 (1.0)
jibun         1.3    (10.0)
              ▦ 6.1 (17.6)
watakushi     0.7 (1.5)
              0.7 (2.0)
NAME          0.4 (0.8)
              0.5 (0.8)
atashi        0.3 (0.6)
              0.5 (1.9)    ▨ Junior high school (1285 students)
atakushi      0.1 (0.5)
              0.2 (0.7)    ▦ High school (1157 students)
```
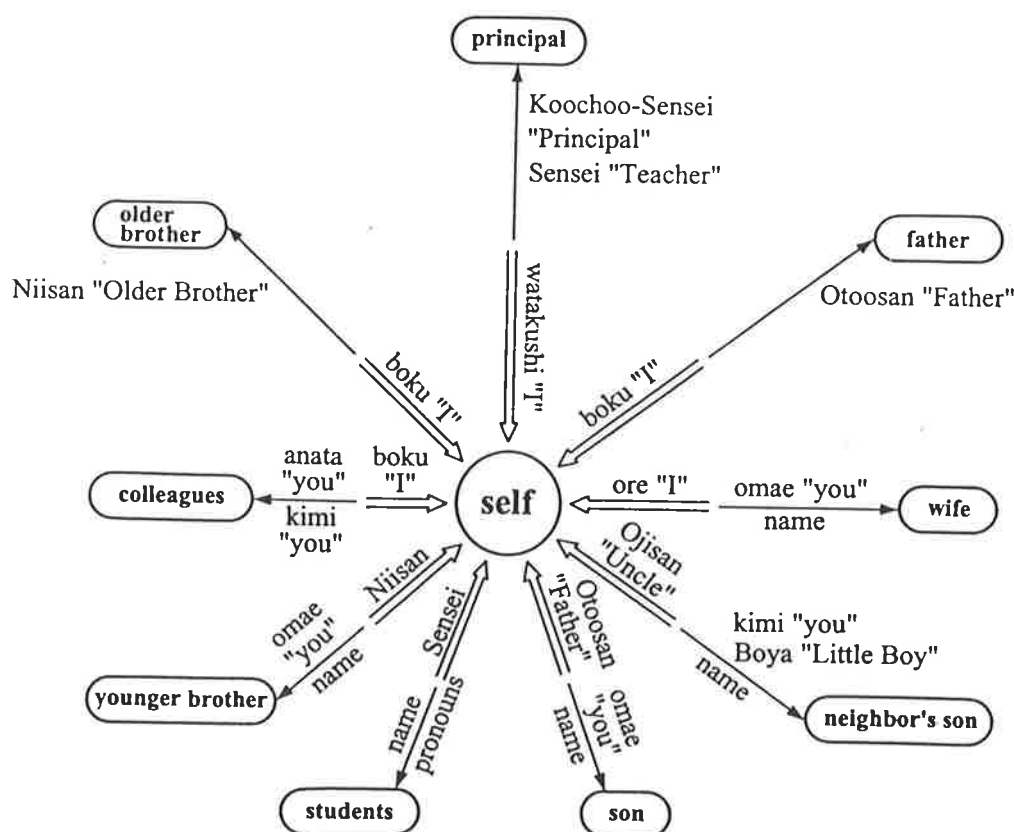
Male

There are more examples than we see on Table 18, 19 and 20, and nicknames etc. are not included.

7.5 Summary

The figures below, taken and developed from T. Suzuki (1984) summarize the complexity and range of ways that the concepts so simply expressed in English as 'you' or 'I' are rendered in Japanese. Not only is the range of possible terms outlined succinctly in the context of the various kinds of people that one is likely to encounter in one's life as a student in Japan, but also the social and relational boundaries, and gender boundaries, that are so important to recognize in any serious attempt at natural communication in Japanese. Whilst the words *boku/ore* or *watashi* (respectively male and female words for I) and *omae/kimi* or *anata* (respectively male and female words for 'you'), do appear in the diagrams, it is critically important to be aware of the context in which they are used: **only** in *uchi* contexts with people to whom one is intimately related or who are of indisputably lower status than the speaker (i.e. spouses, younger siblings, etc).

Figure 18. Self and Others (40 years old male)

Suzuki (1984: 126)

Figure 19. Self and Others (40 years old female)
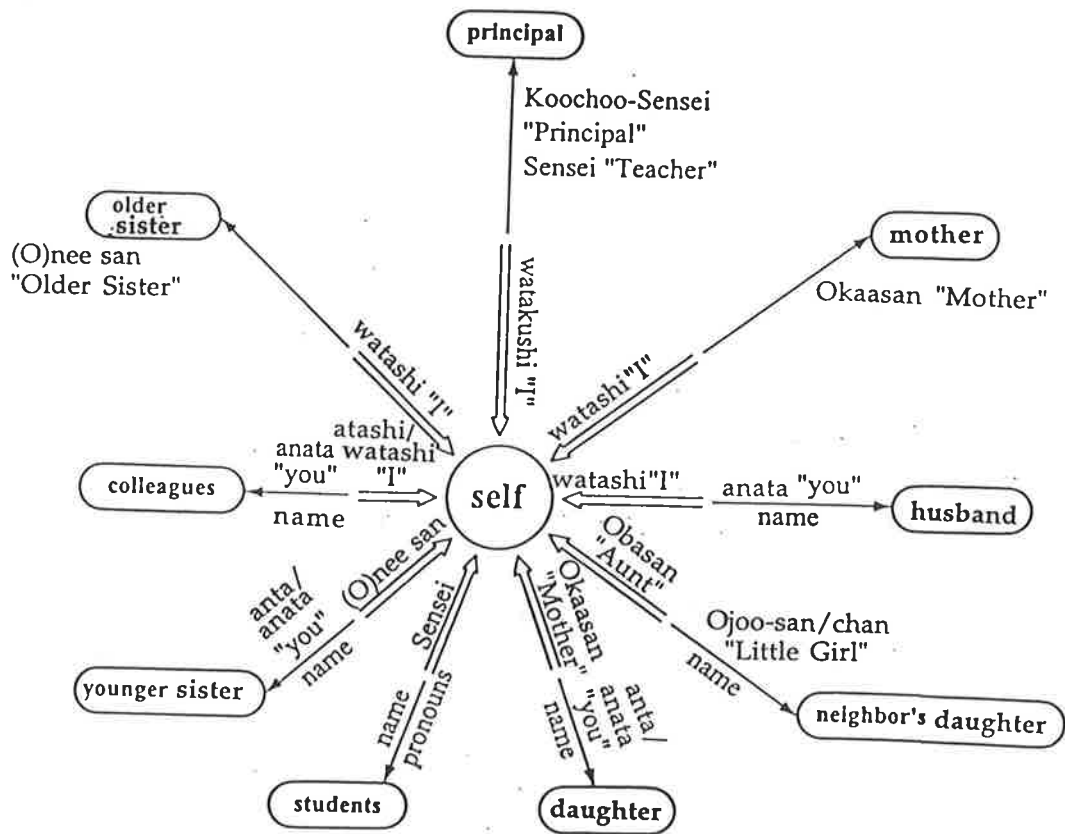
8   Recommendation for teachers

8.1 Recommendation for teachers

In the teaching of Japanese to foreigners, it is important to insist on the fact that in Japan the personal pronouns 'you' and 'I' tend to be used only for emphasis or contrast. Besides the fact that understood nouns are normally omitted, the use of exalting verbs for 'you' and the humbling verbs for 'I' makes it perfectly clear whom one is speaking about. There is no shortage in the variety of first person pronouns for 'I'. However, because one need not use the word 'I' for the reasons given above, its unnecessary use results in giving the impression that the speaker is an egocentric, domineering person.

The first and second person pronouns constitute only a small number of reference terms in Japanese. Difficult though it is, students must be informed about *keigo* as fully as possible, and **any adult who is in Japan to carry out business or research must be able to use the minimum essential *keigo* to avoid causing offence to those from whom he/she seeks assistance and cooperation.** This means that not only must the linguistic forms and all their variations be worked with, and the sociolinguistic conventions and sociocultural contexts studied and thought about, but a serious effort must also be thoroughly undertaken to acquire knowledge about the cultural and anthropological frameworks for determining choices in the expression of politeness. This implies intense classroom activity in technical training and practice, and application of that training in real-life contexts which can be formally organized by the teacher and, in turn, undertaken by the student as an extra personal research and self-training exercise (see below).

Even native speakers have difficulty with *keigo*. But the difficulty is no excuse to ignore it. Not to make any effort to master this intrinsic system of honorification in the language is to disregard the most important aspect of interpersonal relationships in Japan. Such a person is readily perceived as showing cultural arrogance, looking down on the Japanese. The first and most important thing a foreigner needs to learn is how NOT to be impolite.

Formal and technical training in the morphological structures and the use of lexical choices that exist in Japanese for expressing one level of politeness or another must be followed by practice, specifically designed to ensure that an acceptable level of competence is acquired. It is my belief that the

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'scenario' is the key device for the development of strategic competence in *keigo* within the classroom situation. It contains four essential elements: strategic interplay, roles, personal agendas, and shared context. In using the scenario for practice of *keigo*, spontaneity in discourse is highlighted, but a fairly high level of basic skill in the language is an absolute prerequisite (Di Pietro 1987: 66). Students must be able to focus on the 'packaging' of their message; their ability to construct the message itself should be easy and unforced.

Di Pietro (1987: 6), points out that
> '..... the multiple concerns with how language is patterned grammatically, how it is used by people to negotiate with others, and how it serves its users in creating personal identities suggest three distinct dimensions to be covered by scenarios:
>
> 1. Information exchange (with its grammatical orientation);
> 2. Transaction (with its focus on negotiation and the expression of speaker intentions);
> 3. Interaction (with an emphasis on how language works to portray roles and speaker identities).'

It is this third aspect that is most important in working with advanced learners of Japanese in the development of their knowledge about and skill in the manipulation of *keigo*.

As Di Pietro goes on to say, teacher preparation and teacher-student participation in each of the three phases of strategic interaction can be outlined as follows:

Pre-class Preparation:
> The teacher selects or creates appropriate scenarios and prepares the necessary role cards.

Phase 1 (Rehearsal):
> Students form groups and prepare agendas to fulfil the roles assigned to them. The teacher acts as adviser and guide to student groups as needed.

Phase 2 (Performance):
> Students perform their roles with support of their respective groups while teacher and remainder of class look on.

Phase 3 (Debriefing):

   Teacher leads the entire class in a discussion of the students' performance.

A slightly more advanced way of using scenarios is the following (Di Pietro 1987: 67):

Scenario Role:

   1. Student plays self within the framework of the role.

   2. Student is given a situation but not told what to think or do.

   3. Aspects of the target language are taken from the interaction and determine the linguistic syllabus.

   4. The interaction contains a greater element of uncertainty and dramatic tension.

The writing of scenarios requires the utilization of one's imagination about life in general. A good outside source of scenario themes can be found in real-life happenings.

In the teaching of advanced Japanese which will include focus on the use, effect and appropriacy of *keigo*, encounters can be 'practised' through the use of scenarios that can then be carried out, a little less predictably, in real life. Real life resources, after an 'apprenticeship' in the learning of basic Japanese through the more traditional classroom tools of course books, word-lists, grammar explanation and pattern-drilling, etc, can be replaced or at the very least supplemented with some or all of the following:

   1. Human resources (Japanese - teachers, friends, residents, tourists, students, etc.)

   2. Physical resources (textbooks dictionaries, audio-cassettes/videos TV programs, newspapers, magazines, etc.)

   3. Community resources (Japanese societies, Australia-Japan Society, Working holiday offices, clubs, associations, embassy of Japan, etc.)

   4. Information service resources (Newsletter, WWW, etc.)

      [Resources 1.2.3 from Tanaka, Saito 1993, 4 from C. K. Thomson 1997]

It is suggested that a language program should incorporate such learning resources into activities within a course syllabus, as well as into activities outside the course syllabus or even overseas.

Programmes have been established in Australia at Monash University (Muraoka 1992) and University of NSW (Iida and Hashimoto 1995, Thomson 1997)., in Singapore at the National Singapore University (Thomson 1991), and in Thailand at Kasesato University (Ueda 1995), that construct, amongst other activities, opportunities for language learners to visit the homes of local native speakers of the language that they are studying and carry out real interactions that are both spontaneous and, to a minor extent, directed.

Other activities using local native speakers include, for example, access to guest speakers, visitor sessions, Japanese-language newsletters, and projects involving interviews or other structured activities with native speakers. Incorporation of local native-speaker resources into a language program, both within and outside the course syllabus, is encouraged in order to promote learner autonomy and mutual interaction among the resources and the learners and native speakers of Japanese. To do this, teachers will need to re-assess their role in a language program.

There will, of course, be some pragmatic difficulties in the adoption of such activities, both at the linguistic and the practical level. From a linguistic point of view, Japanese themselves do not know how to speak to foreigners in some situations, and will treat the foreigners as an 'out-group', no matter how fluently they speak Japanese. The Japanese native speakers may feel puzzled, especially in their current foreign environment where, nationally, they are in fact the foreigners and the 'foreign' visitor is the local, and this in turn may lead to uncertainty and confusion on the part of the foreigner about the way he or she is treated and how to respond. The cultural issue of whether to attempt a local level of friendliness by using first names, despite having learned a fairly formal level of *keigo* verb structures is one that often surfaces, and dealing with it openly and intentionally is actually an excellent early exercise in this kind of activity.

In the pragmatic context of working with expressing oneself in a foreign language in order to develop and improve one's level of skill in the language, the issue of the inhibiting effect of the 'affective filter' (Krashen, S. 1981 and 1982) can be significant. Dutton (1976) explores one practical way in which its effect can be reduced for some learners:

We can teach about the things that go to make up 'communicative competence' and we can try to provide the materials, stimuli and practice for students to develop it but we cannot teach it directly.

The majority of adult students find it difficult to speak a foreign language they know imperfectly and to act out situations naturally in front of others so that the net result is that conversations dry up quickly and the participants are left standing awkwardly in front of one another and the class. Consequently I cast around some substitute for these situations - something that has the same attributes, for clearly they have to get over these problems if they are to achieve their goal of communicative competence, but without the same drawbacks. Finally, and after some experimentation, I came up with the idea of miniaturisation, that is, using children's toys to create environments and to act as actors within those environments. A culturally relevant set of these can easily be built up out of plastic sets sold in most toy shops, but for those that cannot (for example, various coloured dolls of suitable size to correspond to racial types in Papua New Guinea) these can be made up, as I made mine up, from ordinary wooden clothes pegs suitably painted and clothed to correspond to the variety of dress currently used and ranging from traditional to Western-style. There is no limit to the number of items one can combine in this way, but my basic equipment includes a toy house (which serves as store or shop, house, government station etc.), a toy truck, some toy trees, a multiple-piece toy fence, and some toy animals chosen particularly to reflect those common to Papua New Guinea (e. g. pig, dog, crocodile, wallaby, cassowary).

Dutton's basic approach can be adapted in multiple ways to work with students of different age levels, interests, motivation levels, language proficiency levels, or experiential backgrounds. For example, stuffed animals or puppets are very popular with certain types of learners, whereas coloured rods provide sufficient psychological 'cover' for others.

8.2 Examples of teaching activity with a focus on deictic choice within the Japanese sociolinguistic context

In this section I will briefly describe some examples of teaching practice that I have worked with or developed in the context of awakening students' metalinguistic awareness in relationship to the appropriacy of the terms and grammatical choices they make in conversations with Japanese people. This will encompass considerations of relative status, of in-group/out-group relationships, and their implications in terms of choices of relative pronouns or their alternatives, and of the use of plain or polite language forms.

8.2.1. Scenarios:

In a conversation class, a role-card (either Role A or Role B) will be given to a group of 3 students. Each group is expected to work together by following the 5 steps below:

1) Preparation and Rehearsal (3-5 Minutes):
Understand the scenario described on the role-card and think about all the possible options to **achieve the goal** indicated on the role-card, **(with reasonable compromise with the other group).**

NB: Role-A group will not be given all the information about Role-B group and thus, cannot anticipate what is on the agenda of Role B (and vice versa).

2) Performance (recorded):
Select a representative of the Role-A Group (should not always be the same person) to perform the scenario with a representative of the Role-B group in the class. During the performance, the representatives can consult their groups.

3) Review of performance:
Review the recorded performance by commenting on certain utterances (good points, points to be corrected, etc.) and by suggesting alternative options. (Any questions can be raised, discussed and practised).

4) The Second Performance:
The second representatives perform the same scenario again, while the others evaluate their performance. Teacher's input at this point can be usefully incorporated.

5) *Homework: Everybody constructs their own version of the most appropriate way of carrying out the interaction*

The third representative will perform the same scenario at the beginning of the next class.

Example scenarios

1. Role A: (A teenager)
You have been offered your first baby-sitting job for tonight. You really want the money. Your mother/father has to give you her/his permission. Discuss it with her/him.

1. Role B: (A parent)
Your teenager has been offered a baby-sitting job for tonight. It will be his/her first job...if you give him/her your permission. Will you do so? There is an important test coming up at school/university the day after tomorrow.

2. Role A: (University Student)
You have been driving a 10-year-old car that your father used to drive. He gave it to you as he had to give up driving because of his failing hearing. Your mother does not drive. A friend of yours asked if he/she could borrow your car for this weekend and you sort of said okay to him/her. This morning, your rich uncle from Victor Harbor rang you and asked you to take your parents there for the weekend. He is entertaining unexpected guests from the U.S.A who were close friends of your mother's 20 years ago, and he would like to surprise her at a party.

2. Role B: (University Student)
Your cousin (also a university student) from Sydney is with you for two weeks. You plan to take him/her to the Barossa, Burra, and Clare for the

weekend and your friend promised to lend you his/her car. You have not driven much because you do not own a car. Your cousin does not have a driving licence yet. You think it will be great if your friend can come along because you feel safer and will have more fun.

Prepare yourself to try to convince your friend to join you.

3. Role A: (University Student)

You have forgotten to study for the Japanese assignment tomorrow. If you do not get very good marks you might fail. So you really need to get an extension. Prepare yourself to try and convince your lecturer for the extension.

3. Role B: (Japanese Lecturer)

After tomorrow's Japanese lesson you will leave for a conference for 3 weeks and you have already arranged for the marking to be done by another tutor. You really need everybody's assignment by tomorrow.

In order to tackle any of these scenarios, as pointed out earlier a relatively high level of proficiency in Japanese is an absolute prerequisite, as is intensive preparation for possible responses from the other party. In all cases 'legitimate' conflicts of interest which there are, within social contexts that are potentially within the life-experience of the student. Scenarios 1 and 3 are fairly straight forward in that they propose a conflict of needs between a superior (parent, lecturer) and inferior (child, student) in which reasoned argument and compromise could be expected to lead to an acceptable outcome, and choices of language structures which convey appropriate respect for social distance and status can be prepared in advance through class discussion, and then practised by different pairs of students who may or may not follow the same 'story -line'. Overall language proficiency must be at least adequate for relatively fluent and easy negotiation of meaning: the focus of students and teacher should be on <u>how</u> the messages are conveyed, not the bare meaning of what is actually said. One of the interesting linguistic differences that can be focussed on in the two scenarios is that in the parent-child conflict, plain form language can be consistently used because of the shared 'in-group' status of the two interlocutors, and yet respect must be shown from junior to senior, whereas in scenario 3 no such intimacy can be inferred or permitted: polite and

honorific, or, at the very least, plain and polite, language forms must be consistently chosen and used.

Scenario 2 is somewhat more complex, because it involves conveyance of information relating to or received from third parties, and renegotiation of a previous arrangement. The level of language proficiency required simply for informational purposes, and for negotiation of meaning and clarification of position, is in itself very demanding. This scenario can, in fact, be used in an extended version involving four students:

Act I: you (student A) and friend (student B) discussing B's request to borrow your/your Dad's car for the weekend (because B's cousin visiting from Sydney, etc).

Act II: (optional) You (student B) and cousin from Sydney discussing plans for what to do while s/he is here on the weekend that you expect to have A's car.

Act III: Your uncle's phone call to you (A) about the surprise party and his request to you to bring your parents to it.

Act IV: A meets up with or rings B and discusses the dilemma about the 'double booking' of the car for that weekend and seeks some solution is sought.

In this scenario, as in Scenario I, all participants are 'in -group' members, and so the conversation can be expected to occur in plain form. However, awareness of obligation (to older and superior kin, to the car -owning friend) must be expressed through manifestation of *enryo*: 'reserve, diffidence, in both language and negotiation style'. Student A is under pressure from his/her sense of friendship obligation and his/her earlier arrangement with Student B about the car. However equally, she/he must acknowledge obligation to his/her uncle, and indirectly to his/her parents, on whose behalf his/her uncle is acting. Student B must have an awareness of A's difficulties but balance this out with his/her own obligations to the visiting cousin from Sydney and the planning made in the expectation of having access to the car. This kind of tangle of conflicting needs and obligations is one that is encountered almost all the time in real life in Japan, and needs very often to be verbally negotiated. The verbal negotiation <u>must</u> be

conducted in the correct level of language, and express an accurate, and mutually consonant, psycho - social mores which recognises obligations of many kinds.

Scenarios of the three types outlined above permit exploration of the psycho social - mores out of which verbal negotiations will emanate, and practice of the right verbal formulae and constructions, and the right negotiation styles, for interacting with Japanese in a way that will not seem foreign or unnatural.

8.2.2. Film dialogue analysis:

A number of Japanese films are available in Australia through commercial video outlets and through SBS transmissions which can be watched with ease and pleasure by Australian audiences because they are subtitled in English. This removes the cognitive strain of working on comprehension of meaning, and attention can be paid to actually _what_ Japanese expressions are used, and why this term or that grammatical form was used and what it implies or states about the relationship between the people speaking. This is perhaps the most useful pedagogic activity that can be undertaken in the teaching of Japanese away from the country of Japan, in that video technology permits endless review of speech segments, recapturing each time the exact words and the exact tone used. Multiple copies of small segments of a video can be legally made for home or private study, thereby permitting students to greatly increase their overall skills in aural comprehension. Comprehension of overall meaning is not the focus of attention: that is provided by the subtitles; but an attempt by students to capture the exact wording, and then an analysis of what those words are actually saying in the context of Japanese social interaction can lead to really illuminating teaching and learning. Furthermore, the time and effort taken by students to transcribe the small segment of dialogue (a 2-minute sequence can take up to six hours to transcribe even by students of quite substantial background) means that the terms, expressions, and grammar used in the dialogue are indelibly imprinted in their aural memories. When this is combined with conscious analysis and intentional study of those language forms, really solid acquisition of at least some aspect of the sociolinguistic expressions of politeness in Japanese can occur. And films, precisely because their language element is almost purely dialogue, are a far more valuable

source of this kind of language use than any written form of language could be, other than a play or film script.

Two films that are fairly readily available in Australia and that have been used successfully at Adelaide University are 'Sumo do Sumo don't' and 'My Sons'. Both are particularly good because they have been made in the last ten years or so, and deal with contemporary cultural issues in a contemporary context which is comprehensible to audiences outside Japan. And the language used is contemporary, across a cross-section of society that Australian students can relate to.

'Sumo do Sumo don't' is a film set in the context of a Japanese university, and permits analysis of student-to-student interaction, male-to-female, social superior-to-social inferior and vice versa (in a number of contexts), and so on. Shuhei, in his fourth year, has already landed a job through his father's connections and plans to spend the rest of his time at university living it up. But his professor, Anayama, tells him that because he hasn't even attended one of his classes, he's not going to graduate. Unless...he joins the Sumo Club that Anayama is in charge of.

The lovely 'honorary manager' of the Sumo Club, Natsuko, tells Shuhei, 'Why don't you be a man and get your gear off.' The only other member of the Club is the pathetic Aoki, an eighth [!] year student who has spent four of those years without winning a single bout. Aoki and Shuhei set about to build up the club, to bring glory to their Alma Mater. Gradually the team is formed, thanks to a pudgy sad sack named Tanaka, Shuhei's brother Haruo, who has been wrestling in drag, and a foreigner named Smiley who insists on getting a contract for his efforts yet refuses to wrestle with his underpants off. After prodigious training they finally make it to the tournament, aided by the selfless courage of Masako, the screen's first female Sumo wrestler.

The film is a hilarious comedy which any western audience - and probably any Asian audience - can enjoy for its own sake. Because their affective level of interest is high through that experience of enjoying the film, students are often willing to work on the linguistic analysis with a greater sense of interest and involvement than is the case when work is devised through a sheet of white paper with black squiggles all over it which has to be read, contextualised, and then analysed but is unlikely to engage their emotions.

'My Son', made and set in 1980s Japan, offers us a moving and subtle illustration of some of the contradictions and compromises, the expectations and demands, of working life and family life in modern Japan. It examines the strength and tensions of traditional cultural values and expectations within the modern, mainly urban and industrialised society that Japan has become in the last eighty years or so. It presents with equal clarity the perspective of the older, traditional pattern of life and expectations about personal responsibilities, status, and relationships, and that of the modern world in which the existence of these patterns is still acknowledged, but cannot easily be sustained.

The main characters are old Mr Akio Asano and his second son, Tetsuo. The title 'Musuko' in Japanese can be understood to mean either 'My sons' or 'My son', and in fact the movie also focuses considerable attention on Mr Akio's older son Tadashi and his family, but the real 'story' of the movie is concerned with the ongoing and changing relationship between Mr Akio and Tetsuo. All his life Tetsuo has been a bit of an underachiever, a school drop-out, a disappointment to his father, and even now that he has left home and is living in a bachelor's pad in Tokyo he is unable to find and hold a job that suits him, and seems to be drifting aimlessly through life. The film begins on the day of the first anniversary of his mother's death - an important time for family reunion in Japanese society - and Tetsuo has even forgotten this important event. The film then traces chance events in Tetsuo's life which lead to him 'growing up' in the conventional sense of the word: finally finding a steady job that he genuinely enjoys for its own sake, meeting a woman he falls in love with and desires to marry, facing his father as an affectionate and responsible adult son, and, finally, functioning as a strong and wholesome bridge between two aspects of the one culture that are so often seen to be in conflict or at least contradictory.

Other important characters are, as mentioned, the 'chonan', or eldest son, Tadashi, and his Tokyo-wife Reiko, and their two small daughters Yasuko and Yuko; Toshiko, Mr Asano's married daughter, and Seiko, the young woman whom the central character Tetsuo meets in the course of the film and desires to marry. Of lesser importance to the development of the story, but offering a wealth of relevant information and illustration about the societal attitudes and cultural values examined in the film, are Mr Taki, the driver who makes deliveries of orders from Johoku Steel, the company at

which Tetsuo finds 'his' kind of work, and with whom Tetsuo seems to spend a good part of his day; the old army comrades with whom old Mr Asano spends a nostalgic day or two at an overnight reunion; the woman who works at the same company as Seiko and who tells Tetsuo about Seiko's disability, and the urban Tokyoite co-workers with whom we find Tetsuo at the beginning of the film in yet another dead-end job as a food waiter.

From the point of view of sociolinguistic analysis of the terms of address used by the various characters in the various contexts in which they find themselves, this film, like almost any other, is such a rich source that a whole year's course could be devoted simply to its analysis. Apart from the value of listening to how each character talks as an individual, students become fascinated at the way that an individual's speech patterns change so dramatically when their interlocutor, or the context in which they speak, changes. Reiko, the upwardly mobile Tokyo wife adopts 6 lexically and grammatically distinct styles of speech in her relatively minor role in the film: the language she uses in public social contexts, in her interaction with her children in the private mother-daughter context or public mother context, in her way of speaking to her father-in-law, to her husband, and to a neighbour are all Japanese, but really significantly and consciously different kinds of Japanese. Mr Taki, however, in the presence of his boss, a workmate, his mother, or a client, chooses not to modify his speech, and this kind of linguistic choice in a certain class of Japanese person, of a certain age and social status, also makes for fascinating discussion.

Other films which students respond to with interest or delight, and which are invaluable sources of linguistic wealth, include 'Tonari no Totoro' (though this is not available with English subtitles and so requires either students of strong proficiency level in Japanese or extensive time on comprehension work), 'Kamikaze Taxi' and 'Tampopo' (though these explore quite complex and sophisticated social issues which need a level of intellectual maturity in the audience) and Kurosawa's 'Autumn Rhapsody'. Almost any Japanese film which students find interesting is worth working with, and if the course permits social, historical, or political analysis and research then the above-mentioned films are doubly valuable.

9   Conclusion

9.1 Mapping the cline of person in Japanese

It is in addressing someone and in referring to that person in sentences with the equivalent of 'you' that *faux pas* with the most serious consequences occur. The foreigner who has learned that the Japanese word for 'you' is *anata* tends to put *anata* in every sentence that contains the word 'you' or 'your' in the equivalent sentence in his first language. The Japanese sentence does not require the grammatical subject or object to be stated when it is understood from the context. As shown above, the use of *anata* can often lead to devastating outcomes, for it means that the speaker considers the addressee to be of lower status than him or herself. Strange as it may seem, there is no second person pronoun ('you') that can be comfortably used at the P level of speech in today's Japan, except perhaps in the very early stages of meeting and greeting a foreigner capable of elementary communication in the language.

I believe that Japanese address and reference terms which map the cline of person in Japanese can be summarized satisfactorily for the purpose of teaching Japanese to foreign speakers in the chart which follows, and could be taught and practised at an advanced level in the ways I shall suggest below.

Table 21. Address and Self-Reference Terms within the Family
(Niyekawa 1991: 103)

Status of Addressee	Address Term	Self-Reference Term
Higher	Honorific Kinship Term	Pronoun M: *boku, ore* F: *watashi*
Lower Adult	First Name (*-san*)	Pronoun M: *boku, ore* F: *watashi*
Child	First Name (*-chan*)	Honorific Kinship Term: the term by which he/she is addressed

Table 22. How to Address, Say 'You' and 'I' to People Outside the Family
(Niyekawa 1991: 107)

Level	Addressee	Address Term	"You"	"I"
P-1 & 2	Professional	*sensei*	*sensei*	*watakushi/ watashi*
	Individual w/ title	Title (*-san*)	same as addr. term	*watakushi/ watashi*
	Higher status and non-intimate equal	LN-*san*	LN-*san*	*watashi*
P-0	stranger	——	*anata*	*watashi/boku*
N: F	close friend	LN/FN-*san* FN-*chan*	LN/FN-*san/ anata/anta*	*watashi/ atashi*
	child	FN-*chan*	FN-*chan*	*oba-san/ onee-san/etc.*
N: M	close friend	LN/FN-*kun*	LN/FN-*kun/ kimi/anata*	*boku/ore*
	child	FN-*chan*	FN-*chan*	*oji-san/ onii-san/etc.*

9.2 Final Comment

Two points are important to make in my final comment. One is that foreign speakers of Japanese who have acquired a high degree of fluency in Japanese, who have little difficulty in comprehending and communicating or negotiating meaning, will barely be tolerated by the Japanese with whom they interact except, perhaps, in life and death contexts of communicative need, unless they have married their linguistic expertise to a high level of instinctive understanding of and willingness to work within the sociocultural boundaries that are part of the linguistic and psychosocial framework of all Japanese born and bred in Japan.

The second point is that this framework and its linguistic manifestations are not able to be consciously and intentionally worked with in the teaching of elementary Japanese where the focus is on basic communication of or negotiation of meaning. The cognitive load for

the beginning learner, with the new vocabulary items, script systems, syntactic patterns, etc is already extremely heavy. Furthermore, a sophisticated understanding of the sociolinguistic implications and their manifestations in speech acts is not in the control of the average native speaker before young adulthood. It is therefore not something that can be consciously addressed in the teaching of Japanese to foreign learners who are children until (a) they are adult enough to be able to appreciate status differences in a coherent social context which includes an understanding of the principle of *uchi* and *soto*, and (b) they have acquired a level of proficiency in Japanese that is adequate for them to focus, at least partially, on form and style in their communication of meaning.

In the early years of teaching Japanese in the school context, smatterings and scatterings of such knowledge are taught, imparted and worked with: most year-ten students of Japanese, for example, know the difference in meaning and use between the words *chichi* and *otoosan*. What is missing, perhaps, is an adequate breadth of understanding of the issues covered in my thesis by many teachers of Japanese, and even more critically, a formal and detailed articulation of these issues to which they can refer, which will inform their own understanding of Japanese at the meta-linguistic level, and thereby be consciously transmitted by them in their activity in teaching Japanese to their students. Even native speaker teachers, whilst presumably faultless in their own use and knowledge of the correct forms, may not be able to articulate clearly to their students *why* certain language constructions they come up with are incorrect or inappropriate, and so may not be able to help the near-fluent returned exchange student refine and correct his or her production so that it is in a consistently appropriate register as well as being functionally efficient. By the time students who have begun their study of Japanese at high school come on to the further study of Japanese at tertiary level, they are adult enough, in terms of their age and their general personal maturity to be informed about issues relating to politeness in their use of Japanese. They are also usually sufficiently advanced in their study and knowledge of Japanese to be able to incorporate this rather more sophisticated information into their current patterns of functioning. In my experience this advanced level of knowledge in Japanese can be both an advantage and a drawback. Students will work with the new structures and learn the

new vocabulary demands, but in real or simulated contexts of meaning negotiation often slip back into older, less sophisticated and less 'correct' from the point of view of acknowledging roles and status, patterns. Carefully prepared role plays, scenarios, and analysis of dialogue from Japanese films are all strategies I find myself using to help gradually improve their awareness and production in this area. A distillation of some of the material covered in this thesis into a practical guide on politeness expressions in Japanese for the advanced foreign learner would go a long way towards redressing current inadequacies in the teaching of Japanese in Australia.

QUESTIONNAIRE

This is part of a cross-cultural investigation being conducted by the Japan-U.S. Sociolinguistics Research Group. The results of the study will contribute to our knowledge of how people use language in certain contexts, and thus will help in the resolution of practical communication problems. Your participation in this work is very much appreciated.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The following information is needed for the analysis of responses.

AGE: [ ] SEX: M [ ] , F [ ]
     06~08   03   09

Undergraduate [ ] , Graduate [ ]
           10   11

University or college you are now attending:

[   ] |__|__|
                                            12 13

Major: [   ] |__|__|__|
                                       14 15 16

The state in which you have lived longest (if U.S. citizen):

[   ] |__|__|
                                         17 18

Home Country (if not U.S. citizen):

[   ] |__|__|
                                         19 20

PART I

1. Suppose that someone with whom you are interacting has a pen that you want to borrow. Below is a list of expressions you might use in such a situation. If there are any expressions on the list which you would NOT use under ordinary circumstances, please cross them out, e.g. ~~Your pen or your life~~

		PLEASE IGNORE THIS BOX UNTIL YOU REACH QUESTION #4.

|		1	2	3	4	5
a)	Can you lend me your pen for a minute?					
b)	Gimme your pen for a minute.					
c)	I was wondering if I could borrow your pen for a minute.					
d)	Would you lend me your pen for a minute?					
e)	Do you have a pen I can use for a minute? (You already know that the person does have one.)					
f)	Let me borrow your pen for a minute.					
g)	May I borrow your pen for a minute?					
h)	Can I bother you for a pen?					
i)	Would you mind if I borrowed your pen for a minute?					
j)	Can I use your pen for a minute?					
k)	Do you think I might borrow your pen for a minute?					
l)	Lend me your pen for a minute.					
m)	Can I steal your pen for a minute?					
n)	I wonder if I could borrow your pen for a minute.					
o)	Can I borrow your pen for a minute?					
p)	Would it be all right if I borrowed your pen for a minute?					
q)	Could you lend me your pen for a minute?					
r)	Could I borrow your pen for a minute?					
s)	Is it all right if I borrow your pen for a minute?					
t)	Got a pen I can use for a minute? (You already know that the person does have one.)					
u)	A pen!					
v)	Do you mind if I borrow your pen for a minute?					

2. Of the expressions now left on the list, which one do you think you would be most likely to use when you were being most careful in your speech and behavior? please write its letter in the box:

63~68

3. Of the expressions now left on the list, which one do you think you would be most likely to use when you were being most uninhibited (relaxed) in your speech and behavior? Please write its letter in the box:

69~72

4. If we have a scale of 1 to 5, the expression you chose as "most careful" represents a 5, and the one you chose as "most uninhibited" represents a 1.

uninhibited ⟵——⟶ careful
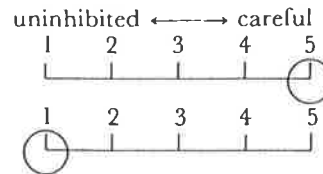
With this scale in mind, please refer back to Question #1. Examine each expression which you have not crossed out and rate its rank on the scale from "uninhibited" to "careful" (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5). Circle the appropriate number on the scale at the right of the expression.

For instance, if a particular sentence seems "careful" but not "very careful" you would rate it as a 4:
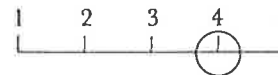
WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED RATING THE EXPRESSIONS IN QUESTION #1, PLEASE GO ON TO PART II.

PART II

5. Below is a list of people and situations. If there are any on the list totally foreign to your experience, CROSS THEM OUT. e.g. ~~Queen of England, behind you in a supermarket line.~~

A) The professor who is your academic adviser, in his/her office

B) A middle-aged, well-dressed stranger standing behind you in line at the bank

C) A physician in his/her office, after an examination

D) A clerk in a large department store

E) Your current landlady/landlord presenting a lease for renewal

F) A stranger wearing faded-blue jeans, standing behind you in line at the bank

G) A city police officer issuing you a parking ticket which you know you deserve

H) Your department secretary giving you an appointment with a professor

I) A clerk in a small store at which you shop regularly

J) A younger brother/sister with whom you're talking at home

K) A younger professor with whom you have a small class, who is sitting with you in the department lounge

L) A person who works with you at your regular/parttime job

M) A waiter/waitress at the place where you go most often to have coffee

N) Your workplace supervisor/boss on the job

O) An older brother/sister with whom you're talking at home

P) An acquaintance in a small class you attend, while you're waiting for class to begin

Q) A clerk in a post office

R) Your "meaningful other" (spouse, lover, etc.), talking in your room/apartment

S) Your mother with whom you're talking at home

PLEASE IGNORE THIS BOX UNTIL YOU REACH QUESTION # 8.

1	2	3	4	5

6. Of the people left on the list in the situations given, towards whom would you be most careful in your behavior? Please put the number of that person in the box: ☐

$73 \sim 76$

7. Of the people left on the list in the situations given, towards whom would you be most uninhibited (most relaxed) in your behavior? Please put the number of that person in the box: ☐

$77 \sim 80$

8. On this scale from 1 to 5, the person to whom your attitude is "most careful" represents 5:

uninhibited ←——→ careful
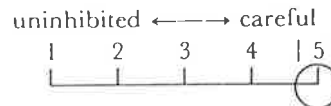
The person to whom your attitude is "most uninhibited" (most relaxed) is a 1 on the same scale:
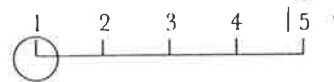
With this scale in mind, look back at the people listed in Question #5 whom you have not crossed out. Imagine yourself dealing with those people in those situations, with no one else listening in on the conversation. Rate how careful/uninhibited you would be.

If you deal with a number of different individuals in some of the people-categories (for example, you may be relaxed with some co-workers and careful with others), your answer may cover a range. In such cases, indicate the range thus:
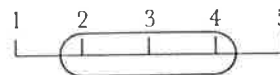
On the other hand, many of your answers may be represented by a single point on the scale. In such cases, circle that point.
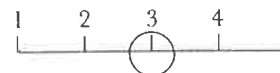
WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED RATING THE NAMES IN QUESTION #5, PLEASE PUT YOUR PENCIL DOWN AND LOOK UP.

PART III

Suppose you want to borrow a pen from the people listed below on the right, in the situations given. In each case, imagine that the pen is nearby, visible to both of you (on the desk, in a shirt pocket, etc.).

Below, on the left, is a list of expressions you might use in such situations. For each person, please choose the expression(s) you think you would be MOST LIKELY to use and write the appropriate letter(s) in the space given at the far right.

Cross out any category with which you have no contact.

e.g.

Clerk	S
Waiter	a, b, t

e.g.

E.T.	~~~~~

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Expressions	Person Categories	Your Choice of Expression(s)
a) May I borrow your pen for a minute?	A stranger wearing faded-blue jeans standing behind you in line at the bank	
b) Do you think I might borrow your pen for a minute?	A clerk in a small store at which you shop regularly	/
c) Let me borrow your pen or a minute.	A person who works with you at your regular/part-time job	
d) Could you lend me your pen for a minute?	Your workplace supervisor/boss on the job	
e) A pen!	An acquaintance in a small class you attend, while you're waiting for class to begin	
f) Can I bother you for a pen?		
g) Would you lend me your pen for a minute?	Your mother with whom you're talking at home	
h) Lend me your pen for a minute.	A physician in his/her office, after an examination	
i) Can I borrow your pen for a minute?	A clerk in a post office	
j) Got a pen I can use for a minute? (You already know that the person does have one.)	The professor who is your academic adviser, in his/her office	
k) Gimme your pen for a minute.	An older brother/sister with whom you're talking at home	
l) Do you mind if I borrow your pen for a minute?	Your current landlady/landlord presenting a lease for renewal	
m) Can you lend me your pen for a minute?	A middle-aged, well-drssed stranger standing behind you in line at the bank	
n) I was wondering if I could borrow your pen for a minute.	Your "meaningful other" (spouse, lover, etc.), talking in your room/apartment	
o) Is it all right if I borrow your pen for a minute?	A city police officer issuing you a parking ticket which you know you deserve	
p) Can I steal your pen for a minute?	A clerk in a large department store	
q) Would you mind if I borrowed your pen for a minute?	A younger professor with whom you have a small class, who is sitting with you in the department lounge	
r) Do you have a pen I can use for a minute? (You already know that the person does have one.)	A waiter/waitress at the place where you go most often to have coffee	
s) Could I borrow your pen for a minute?	Your department secretary giving you an appointment with a professor	
t) I wonder if I could borrow your pen for a minute.	A younger brother/sister with whom you're talking at home	
u) Can I use your pen for a minute?		
v) Would it be all right if I borrowed your pen for a minute?		

The following information is taken from books discussing the use of pronouns in Indonesian and Malay, and though not directly connected to the topic of this thesis, offers an interesting parallel, in some ways, with the use of *anata* as discussed in my thesis in section 7.2 above.

(I) Fang, Liaw Yock (1996) *Indonesian Grammar Made Easy*. Singapore, Kuala Lumpur: Times Books International. page 29

Person	Singular	Plural
FIRST	*saya, aku* (I, me, my)	*kita, kami* (we, us)
SECOND	*engkau, kamu, Anda* (you, your)	*kalian, kamu (sekalian)* (you, all of you)
THIRD	*ia, dia, beliau* (he/she, his/her, it)	*mereka, -nya* (they, them)

(II) Sneddon, James Neil (1996) *Indonesian Reference Grammar*. Sydeny: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd. Page 161

Anda, an artificial creation introduced in the 1950s, was intended as a neutral form, equivalent to English 'you'. However, the mere fact that it does not convey the intimacy of **engkau, kau** and **kamu**, nor indicate a kin relationship, meant that it was immediately confined to impersonal situations, such as addressing strangers of the same age as or younger than the speaker. It is not widely used in addressing individuals and, because it does not convey respect, cannot be used by a junior to a senior. As an impersonal form it is most frequently used in advertisements and public announcements, and in addressing people in gatherings such as conferences. The first example below is a notice in aeroplanes, while the second is taken from an advertisement:

> **Kenakan sabuk pengaman selama anda duduk.**
> Fasten your safety belt while you are seated.
> **Apakah mesin fotokopi anda mencemari lingkungan?**
> Does your photocopier pollute the environment?

(III) Mintz, Malcolm W. (1994) *A Student's Grammar of Malay & Indonesian.* Singapore: EPB Publishers. Pages 77-85

Formal and Informal

Informal pronouns are those pronouns which are used among people who know each other well or share a similar social status. This might include brothers and sisters, classmates, colleagues, etc. There is a delicate social balance involved in the use of informal pronouns and it is advisable for the language learner to avoid them. It is doubtful if any native speaker will use these pronouns with an outsider and use of these pronouns by an outsider will probably be interpreted as either an insult or a sign of ignorance. It is possible that after long association these pronouns may be used by an outsider with particular friends, but this will no doubt happen only after a period of trial and eventual agreement on the appropriate pronouns to use. These pronouns are neutral and polite. The only time offence might be taken at the use of these pronouns is if a speaker and his/her listener have come to use informal pronouns as part of their relationship. A sudden change back to the formal set of pronouns by one of the speakers will be interpreted no doubt as a sign of change in the status of the relationship.

Popular in Malaysia among those currently enrolled at the university or having graduated from a university in the past 10 to 15 years is the English pronoun 'I'. This is paired with the second person pronoun 'you' giving rise to conversational expressions such as *I tak boleh pergi ke rumah Surinder dengan you malam ini* [I can't go to Surinder's house with you this evening]. The use of pronouns from another language is an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to find a neutral set of pronouns free from the status connotations which have become associated with the more traditional Malay pronouns. Since it is, of course, the society which attributes connotative meaning to the words of a language, it is only natural that the borrowed pronouns 'I' and 'you' have been given, and continue to be given, meaning relating to the relative status of the speaker and the listener. In Malaysia 'I' and 'you' may be used freely among friends or colleagues and by those in a superior position to those in a more inferior position. It is an informal pronoun falling somewhere between *aku* and *saya*. University students in Indonesia may be heard using the English pronoun 'you', although their use of 'I' would not be common.

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Becoming less popular in Malaysia now that there is widespread education in Malay are the Hokkien Chinese pronouns *gua* [I] and *lu* [you]. These would be used almost exclusively when speaking to Chinese in Malay at various informal points of encounter such as a meeting in the street to ask directions or when shopping at the market. These pronouns are informal, yet they lie outside the informal-formal continuum bounded by *aku* and *saya* since they are not used when Malays speak among themselves. In Jakarta, however, *gua* (pronounced *gue*) and *lu* are used informally when Indonesians address each other.

Second Person: 'You'

Discussed here are the various second person pronouns which are taught to students of Malay and Indonesian but these generally do not have much currency and are not greatly used in interaction among Malay and Indonesian speakers. Also discussed are the various titles which are commonly used in place of the pronoun 'you'.

At the informal level, direct address using a second person pronoun is easy. Speakers use *engkau* or its short form *kau* which means 'you'. At all other levels of formality a pronoun is generally avoided in favour of either a person's given name or his or her title <or kin relationship>.

Kamu is used among people of equal status or by one who is older or of higher status with those younger or of lower status. A teacher addressing a group of students may be heard using *kamu*. *Kamu* in Indonesia may be quite informal and is used in some of the contexts where *engkau* or *kau* would be more appropriate in Malaysia.

Second person pronouns are not normally distinguished for number and so may be either singular or plural as in English. If plurality is to be emphasised, *semua* or *sekalian* [all] may be added after the pronoun <or *kalian* can be used independently as a second person plural form>.

Awak <whose original meaning is 'crew' in English> is also popular among students of Malay in Malaysia. This pronoun is generally taught to language students as equivalent to the English pronoun 'you' without regard to the relative status of speaker and listener. Students should however, be careful not to overuse this pronoun for its use is not the solution to the choice of an

acceptable second person pronoun. Such a choice in Malay is complex and ignoring the reality of how this choice is made is not going to make it simple.

Awak may be used among Malays of equal status or by those of higher status with those of lower status. It may also be used by Malays when addressing non-Malays without regard to status. For this reason it is possible to see *awak* as a pronoun which may imply social and cultural distance and not just differential status. This pronoun is not widely used in Indonesia, being confined primarily to Sumatra.

Anda is relatively new in its use as a second person pronoun and is commonly seen and heard in advertisements. It was hoped that this pronoun might be used without regard to the relative status of speaker and listener and it has gained some currency in Indonesia. Its use in advertisements, however, has apparently sealed its fate as a pronoun of social distance in Malaysia and it is not used in social interaction among Malays. Students should be careful not to overuse *anda*. Names and titles are far more commonly used in conversation than any second person pronoun.

The use of the English pronoun 'you' and the Hokkien Chinese pronoun *lu* has already been discussed

Saudara, meaning 'brother' or 'sister', and its feminine form *saudari* may also be used for direct address. Its use in Malaysia is generally considered Indonesian but it is a neutral form and, apart from evoking feelings of 'foreignness' in the relative status of speaker and listener, particularly where this is not known. *Saudara/saudari* is not commonly used in informal conversation in Malaysia or Indonesia.

Apart from using *engkau* among social equals of some acquaintance, pronouns are generally avoided in direct address in favour of a person's given name or title. The use of a title is considered more polite than the use of a given name.

Titles such as *cik* [Miss] or *puan* [Mrs] and *encik* or *tuan* [Mr] are commonly used formal titles of address in Malaysia. *Cik* is not used in Indonesia. *Nona* may be used in its place. *Nyonya* [Mrs] or *Ibu* [mother] is used in

place of *puan*. *Nyonya* in Malaysia may only be used to address a married Chinese woman but it is an older form of address and *puan* is far more common in modern Malay. For 'Mr', *tuan* or *bapak* [father] are used Indonesia, not *encik*.

In less formal situations titles indicating a potential, not actual, familial relationship between speaker and listener may be used. In Malaysia these titles include *pakcik* [uncle] or *makcik* [aunt] to address people who may be old enough to be an uncle or aunt, or *kakak* [older sister], sometimes shortened to *kak*, or *abang* [older brother], sometimes shortened to *bang*, to address people who may be in this relative age category in relation to the speaker. A younger person may be called *dik*, short for *adik* [younger brother or sister], or *nak*, short for *anak* [child], the short forms being more commonly used in Indonesia than in Malaysia. Older people may be referred to by *tok*, short for *datuk* [grandfather], or *nenek* [grandmother], sometimes shortened to *nek*.

In a large part of Indonesia, *kakak* is used to mean both 'older brother' and 'older sister' and therefore *kak*, its short form, may commonly be heard as an address for both men and women. In Indonesia as well, *kakek* is the common term for 'grandfather', not *datuk,* and its shortened form *kek* may also be used like the Malaysian *tok* as a form of address.

In Indonesia the terms *pak*, short for *bapak* [father] and *bu*, short for *ibu* [mother], are used as polite forms of address respectively for men and women. On one level their use is equivalent to the informal usage of the Malaysian *pakcik* [uncle] and *makcik* [aunt]. The use of *pak* and *bu* in Indonesia, however, is far wider than the Malaysian *pakcik and makcik*. They may, for example, be used by students to address teachers, a context in which Malaysian students might use *cikgu*. *Pakcik* and *makcik*, which might comfortably be used in the market place, or informally with a friend's parents, would never be used in contexts such as a classroom to address teachers. *Pak* and *Ibu* may also be used as the titles 'Mr' and 'Mrs', as in the examples *Pak Nyamidin* [Mr Nyamidin] and *Ibu Ida* [Mrs IDa].

The direct Indonesian equivalents of the Malaysian *pakcik* [uncle] and *makcik* [aunt] are, respectively, *paman* and *bibi*. These may also be used as forms of address. Another set of terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt', *om* and *tante*,

are used to address people of presumed greater sophistication or education. They also have more currency in urban areas.

Professional titles are also commonly used: *cikgu* for school teachers and *doktor* for either medical doctors or those who have received their PhD in various academic disciplines, etc. They are commonly heard in Malaysia while titles such as *doktorandus* for a female, abbreviated *drs.* and *dra.* respectively, indicating attainment of a postgraduate degree somewhat like a masters degree, and *insinyur*, abbreviated *ir.* [engineer] are common in Indonesia.

There are other titles as well used to address people in particular ethnic groups such as the Javanese in Indonesia or the Indians in Malaysia. Among the Javanese, for example, *mas* and *mbak* are used to address men and women respectively. These terms are used by people of equal age or status or by older people when addressing people who are younger. A student will have to be sensitive to the forms of address used around him or her and adjust to and use these forms accordingly.

Among people of equal status or the same general age, given names are used, at least at the start of an acquaintance. *Ali mahu pergi ke mana?* [Where is Ali going?] addressed to Ali means 'Where are you going'. Since this is obviously a clumsy form of reference, once it is established at any particular encounter who the 'you' parties are, neither a pronoun nor a name is generally used, the 'you' being understood. A speaker addressing 'Ali' on an occasion when there is no possibility of ambiguous reference, will simply say *Mahu pergi ke mana?/Mau ke mana?* [Where are (you) going?].

Any name used as a second person reference can only be replaced by a second person pronoun and not a third person pronoun in Malaysia. A speaker addressing 'Ali' must either continue addressing him by name or use a second person pronoun such as *engkau* or *you*. If, however, two people are discussing a third person named Ali, then Ali may be replaced by the third person singular pronoun *dia* [he/she].

In Indonesia, however, the third person pronoun *-nya* [he or she] may be used in polite conversation when addressing a person who would normally be referred to in English by 'you'; for example, *Tinggalnya di mana, Om?*

[Where do you live, Uncle?]. A literal interpretation of this utterance is 'Where does he live, Uncle?' with the 'he' politely referring to the 'uncle' or, in this case, the person being addressed.

As mentioned above, because choosing an appropriate second person pronoun is so difficult, such a pronoun is often omitted in conversation. Once it is established that a speaker is talking about his listener or if it is clear from the start of a conversation who the listener must be, then the conversation may begin or continue with no mention of 'you' at all. For example, when meeting someone in passing, you might use the greeting: *Nak/Mau ke mana* [Where are (you) going?]. <This is addressed specifically to a child.> There can be no question in such situations who is 'I' (the speaker) and who is 'you' (the listener).

Some ambiguity might arise in longer conversations where reference is made to other people as well. In such situations, if it is clear to the speaker that his listener is not sure that reference is being made to him, the speaker may motion in some way toward his listener to indicate that the reference is to 'you'. In the following example, we will assume that the speaker and listener were discussing a third person named Bakar. Speaker A then changes the referent and wants to know something about his listener B. Because the listener is not immediately aware of the change in subject to himself, usually signalled by changes in intonation, the speaker repeats his question again, this time perhaps motioning with his head toward the listener.

1.   A. ... *dan Bakar sekarang sudah pindah dan tinggal jauh?*
     B. *Ya, jauh.*
     A. *Bagaimana sekarang?*
     (Pause)
     A. *Bagaimana sekarang?*
     B. *Oh, saya? Saya baik*
     A. ... and Bakar now has moved and lives far away?
     B. Yes, far away.
     A. How are things now?
     (Pause)
     A. How are things now?
     B. Oh, (with) me? I'm fine.

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