The importance of ''place'' in Japanese politeness: Implications for cross-cultural and intercultural analyses*

MICHAEL HAUGH

Abstract

It has long been the contention of various scholars that Brown and Levinson's notion of face, in particular the concept of personal autonomy associated with negative face, is not appropriate for explaining politeness in Japanese. However, there has been little work on what might constitute a suitable alternative. In this paper, it is proposed that the concept of ''place,'' which has long occupied an important position in Japanese philosophy and language studies, is fundamental to instances of politeness in Japanese. It is suggested that Japanese politeness involves concern about both the ''place one belongs'' (inclusion) and the ''place one stands'' (distinction). Examples are then given to show how the concept of place can be useful in understanding politeness phenomena both cross-culturally and interculturally.

1. Introduction

There has been steadily growing interest in how to frame cross-cultural and intercultural analyses of politeness phenomena over the past thirty years. A significant number of these analyses have been based upon Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) seminal work, or at least have been motivated in response to its assumptions. Yet, in spite of the large number of studies that have been undertaken, a number of issues remain unresolved. One issue that has continued to plague the field is the question of what underlies or motivates politeness. Brown and Levinson have claimed that face, which is comprised of two dimensions, positive and negative face, is what underlies politeness. The debate about this claim has polarized researchers into two main camps: those who support Brown and Levinson's claim that face underlies politeness phenomena across all languages, and those who argue that politeness is inherently a

culture-specific phenomenon, and thus what motivates politeness must be at least partially culturally defined. Most research on this issue to date has been focused on showing how positive and/or negative face cannot be used to explain certain politeness phenomena in various languages. This has left somewhat of a gap in the field, however, as there has been little work on what might constitute a suitable alternative. The aim of this paper is thus to suggest a possible alternative. It is proposed that politeness in Japanese is not motivated by the notions of positive and negative face, but rather is grounded in the concept of "place." This proposal is not intended to replace the notions of positive and negative face, as they are useful for explicating politeness in English at least, as seen in the raft of evidence presented in Brown and Levinson's work. Instead, it is hoped that "place" can be seen as complementary, a notion helpful to understanding politeness in Japanese.

In the next section, literature relating to the underlying dimensions of politeness is reviewed in order to establish that Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face are not sufficiently broad in nature to effectively account for politeness phenomena in Japanese, and thus need to be reconsidered. The concept of "place" which has long occupied an important position in Japanese philosophy and language studies is then briefly outlined, before showing how this notion can be used in explicating various examples of politeness in Japanese. The implications of this analysis for cross-cultural and intercultural studies of politeness are then discussed.

2.   Challenges to Brown and Levinson's notion of face

One of the fundamental tenets of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is their claim that there are two dimensions underlying politeness phenomena across all cultures. The first dimension is what they term "positive face," which is defined as the desire that one's wants be desirable to at least some others, while the second dimension is defined as the desire that one's actions be unimpeded by others, or what they call "negative face" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 62). Politeness is seen in their view as behaviour that attempts to redress the potential threat to the "face" of others arising from particular conversational moves.

Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of face, however, has been challenged by a number of researchers over the past fifteen years, in particular those working on languages other than English (Bargiela-Chiappini 2003; Flowerdew 1999; Gu 1990; Ji 2000; Kang 2001, 2002;

Kinnison 2001; Koutlaki 2002; Liu 2001; Mao 1994; Matsumoto 1988, 1989, 2003; Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994; Nwoye 1992; Ohashi 2003; Reynolds 1995; Yoshimi 1999). In the vast majority of cases it has been maintained that "autonomy in one's actions" (represented by negative face) is biased towards the Anglo-American concept of politeness, and thus does not adequately account for politeness behaviour in other cultures. In other words, it has been argued that the core dimensions underlying politeness in languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean and so on differ from those outlined by Brown and Levinson.

Matsumoto's (1988, 1989) papers have received a lot of attention, both in terms of being widely quoted (de Kadt 1998; Ervin-Tripp et al. 1995; Ide 1989; Kasper 1990; Longcope 1995; Ting-Toomey and Cocroft 1994; Turner 1996), and more recently in being challenged by those attempting to defend Brown and Levinson's framework (Fukushima 2000; Pizziconi 2003; Sasagawa 1994; Usami 2002). Matsumoto's main claim is that Brown and Levinson's characterisation of negative face as "the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions" is incongruous with politeness phenomena in Japanese. She states that "what is of paramount importance to a Japanese is not his/her territory, but the position in relation to others in the group and his/her acceptance by others" (1988: 405).

One of the key arguments underlying her view is that the expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (lit. 'I make a request of you and hope things go well'), while quite polite in situations where the interactants are meeting for the first time, can also constitute an imposition upon the addressee's freedom of action. Her second key argument is that face cannot account for the different speech levels used to express the same propositional content towards different addressees. For example, depending on who the addressee is and the wider context, "Today is Saturday" may be expressed as:

1a. *Kyoo wa doyoobi da.*
     today Top Saturday Cop(plain)
1b. *Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.*
     today Top Saturday Cop(Pol)
1c. *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozai-masu.*
     today Top Saturday Cop(Hon)-Pol (taken from Matsumoto 1989: 209)[1]

Both these points have been challenged in more recent times. Pizziconi (2003: 1481–1485) and Fukushima (2000: 57) claim that the expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (or variants of it) is not some special kind of polite imposition, but rather is similar to the kinds of impositions that are

compensated for through "face-work" in English (in this case through the use of a referent honorific: *onegaishimasu*). Pizziconi (2003) goes on to argue that the use of this expression does not actually constitute a request as such, but rather represents "a highly conventionalised and ritualistic negotiation of the role of benefactor/patron/superior etc. in a given situation" (1485). Usami (2002: 21–22) also claims that the different speech levels used in example (1) can be accounted for using Brown and Levinson's formula for calculating the weight of a "face-threatening act" (FTA) (that is, FTA $(W_x) = P (S, H) + D (S, H) + Rx$). In essence, her argument is that as the addressee's relative power (P) becomes greater, the weightiness of the FTA (W_x) also becomes greater, thereby necessitating the use of a more polite linguistic form.

However, while these arguments illustrate the complexity of politeness in Japanese, something that is not fully demonstrated in Matsumoto's paper, as she herself concedes (Matsumoto 2003: 1519), they fail to explain how Brown and Levinson's notions of negative (or even positive) face can account for the examples first put forward by Matsumoto. For example, in negotiating the role of others (in the sense of establishing what they will be doing for oneself) through the expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*, one is not showing concern towards the other's desire to be free from imposition, nor is one showing approval for their wants. Instead, the expression appears to have rather more to do with maintaining the debt-credit equilibirum between interactants (Ohashi 2003: 269), or in more broad terms, acknowledging the *place* of that person in relation to oneself.[2] In other words, Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face cannot explain why politeness may arise in contexts where *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is uttered.

The use of the formula for estimating FTAs to explain the use of different speech levels according to the addressee and context as seen in example (1) is also problematic, as it does not consider why an utterance such as "Today is Saturday" should be considered an FTA in the first place (Pizziconi 2003: 1479). The dimensions of face proposed by Brown and Levinson cannot account for this phenomenon either, as the use of different speech levels in Japanese is not a matter of showing concern for the addressee's desire to be free from imposition, nor does it involve showing approval for their wants. Instead, it is often a matter of acknowledging the addressee's place relative to oneself (although as noted by Okamoto [1997], speech levels have other pragmatic functions such as indirectly indexing certain speech-act types, intimacy or friendliness towards the addressee, or the nature of the conversational setting, and so on).

Ide's (1989) work on discernment (*wakimae*) politeness also lends weight to the claim that place is important to politeness in Japanese, since

"to behave according to *wakimae* is to show verbally and non-verbally one's sense of *place or role in a given situation* according to social conventions" (230, emphasis added). The notion of place developed in this paper differs, however, in that it does not involve reference to conforming to prescribed social norms in a somewhat rigid or obligatory sort of way as claimed in relation to *wakimae*/discernment (*ibid*: 225). As Okamoto (1997) has pointed out, "the actual language practices of Japanese speakers ... do not always conform to such 'normative' usages" (795). Thus, while social norms no doubt influence honorific usage, there is too much variation in the usage of honorifics to sustain the claim that their usage is actually directly controlled by these norms. The proposal in this paper also differs from Ide's work in that it expands the role of place to encompass all politeness phenomena in Japanese, rather than leaving Brown and Levinson's notion of face to deal with politeness strategies, or what Ide terms "volition" (1989: 232).

It should be noted that rejecting the notion of negative face does not in any way constitute a claim that the notion of imposition on individual territory does not exist in Japanese culture. The point being argued in this paper, as discussed in later sections, is that politeness in Japanese arises primarily from acknowledging the place of others, or compensating for impositions on that place, rather than trying to compensate for possible impositions on the individual autonomy of others.

While challenges to Matsumoto's work have shown that politeness in Japanese is indeed complex, they have not succeeded in countering her core claim that "negative face" is not appropriate in explicating Japanese politeness. As Matsumoto (2003) emphasised in her recent work, "a universal theory of linguistic politeness must take into account at a more fundamental level the cultural variability in the constituents of 'face'" (1516). In the following two sections, it is suggested that the notion of place is a more appropriate conceptualisation of these constituents in Japanese.

3. The notion of place in Japanese

The notion of place has long occupied an important position in Japanese philosophy and language studies. A number of theories of language have been constructed around it, such as Nishida's (1949) *Basho no Ronri* ('Theory of place'), Tokieda's (1941, 1950) *Gengo Katei-setsu* ('Language-as-Process theory'), Nakane's (1967, 1970) *Tateshakai no Riron* ('Theory

of vertical society'), and more recently Maynard's (2002) ''Place of Negotiation theory.'' The senses of ''place'' used in theorizing about language vary somewhat, depending upon the purpose of the framework being developed. For example, Nakane (1970) focuses on how ''vertical relationships'' are crucial to the concept of place (or what she terms ''frame''). However, all these senses are ultimately related to the core notion of *basho*.

The notion of place is also fundamental to folk explanations of politeness phenomenon in Japanese. Wetzel (2001, 2004) found in a survey of books about politeness or etiquette in Japanese that most of the vocabulary essential to these folk explanations was related in some way to place. For example, in the sense of the place one belongs (including *uchi* ['insiders, friends relatives'], *nakama* ['insiders, friends'] and so on); in terms of one's position in a vertical hierarchy (such as *meue* ['higher-ranking, superior'], *meshita* ['lower-ranking, subordinate'], *senpai* ['senior'] and so on); and in the sense of one's place being defined relative to others (including *aite* ['the other'], *shakaijin* ['a member of society'] and so on). In this section, the concept of place (*basho*) is thus explored to lay the groundwork for determining how useful it might be in explicating the underlying dimensions of politeness in Japanese.

The word *basho* is defined as follows in the *Koojien* dictionary (Shinmura 1991: 2058):

Basho
1. *Tokoro. Ba. Ichi.*
    'Location, place, position'
2. *Idokoro. Baseki.*
    'One's whereabouts, one's seat'
3. *Sumoo o kookoo   suru tokoro.*
    sumo Acc performance do location
    'The location where sumo is performed'[3]

The two most important senses of ''place'' in relation to language are thus *tokoro* (location) and *ichi* (one's position relative to others) (*ibid*: 145). These two senses can be further expanded upon to deepen our understanding of place in Japanese.

The notion of *tokoro* is important in that it is closely related to *uchi*, which is commonly referred to in discussions of honorifics in Japanese (Obana 2000; Wetzel 1995, 2004).[4] The term *uchi*, which literally means 'inside,' can be used to refer to the 'place one belongs' (*jibun no zokusuru gawa* or *jubun no shozoku suru tokoro*) according to the *Koojien* dictionary (Shinmura 1991: 230).[5]

The notion of *ichi* can be further understood through the concept of *tachiba*.[6] The term *tachiba* is defined as follows in the *Koojien* dictionary (*ibid*: 1592):

Tachiba
1. *Tat-te   iru tokoro.*
   stand-Te Stat location
   'The place where one stands'
2. *Sono hito   ga ok-are-te iru chii ya jookyoo.*
   that person Nom put-Pass-Te Stat rank and circumstance
   Mata, sono hito no menboku.
   and that person of 'honour'
   'The rank, circumstance and so on where a person is placed. The 'honour' of that person'
3. *Kenchi.   Kanten.   Kangaekata.*
   viewpoint perspective way of thinking
   'Viewpoint, perspective, way of thinking'

The term *tachiba*, which literally refers to the 'place one stands,' also refers to one's rank and circumstances relative to others, and to one's *menboku* (lit. 'honour'). *Menboku* can be further understood to encompass 'one's public persona' (*hito ni awaseru kao*) and 'one's social standing' (*seken ni taisuru meiyo*) (*ibid*: 2527).

From this analysis it appears that the senses of "place" important for an understanding of Japanese interaction include the 'place one belongs' (*uchi*) and the 'place one stands' (*tachiba*). The 'place one stands' refers not only to one's rank or circumstances, but also one's social standing and public persona. This is illustrated in further detail in the word-map presented in figure one below.

The notion of place in Japanese thus encompasses what could be glossed as "inclusion" (the place one belongs) and "distinction" (the place one stands). Inclusion is generally defined as being a part of something else (such as a particular set or group), while distinction is defined as being different or distinguishable from others. Place in Japanese, then, refers to acknowledgement of someone as part of a particular group, or acknowledgement of someone's rank/position or circumstances that distinguish them from others. Using more simple expressions to describe these dimensions (where A represents the speaker and B the addressee or referent[7]), inclusion can be defined as cases where *B is part of the same group as A*, while distinction is where *B is not the same as A*. In the following section, it is proposed that these two dimensions of place are salient to the generation of politeness in Japanese.
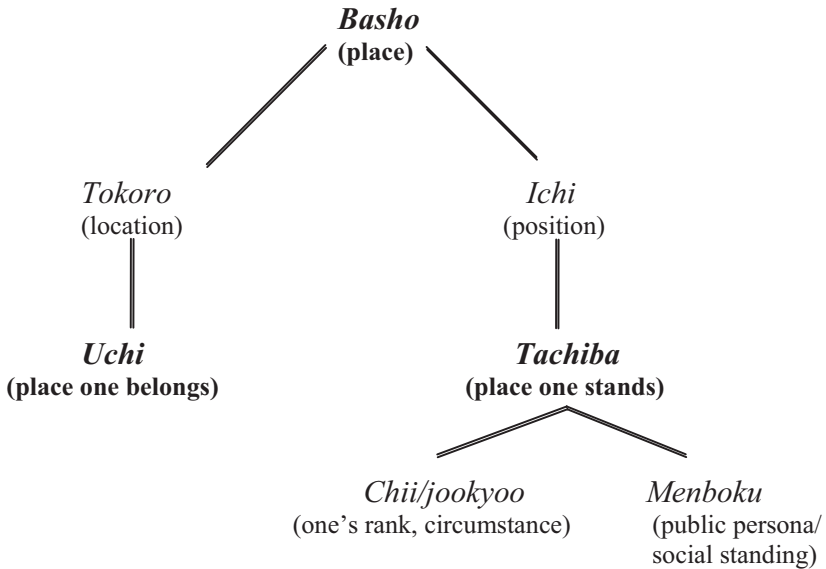
Basho
(place)

Tokoro
(location)

Ichi
(position)

Uchi
(place one belongs)

Tachiba
(place one stands)

Chii/jookyoo
(one's rank, circumstance)

Menboku
(public persona/
social standing)

Figure 1.   *Word map of concepts associated with place in Japanese*

4.   Inclusion and distinction as underlying dimensions of Japanese politeness[8]

Politeness involves speakers showing what they think of themselves and others, and addressees' perceptions of those evaluations. More specifi-cally, it arises when an addressee thinks a speaker is showing he/she thinks well of the addressee or not too highly of him/herself. These can be represented in a metalanguage as: "B thinks A thinks well of B" and "B thinks A does not think too highly of A" respectively (where A is the speaker and B is the addressee) (Haugh and Hinze 2003; Haugh 2004). However, while this proposed metalanguage has provided a starting point for comparisons of politeness phenomena across different cultures, the dimensions of interactants that are evaluated when politeness arises have not yet been discussed in any detail (Haugh and Hinze 2003: 1608–1609; Haugh 2003: 278–279).

In this section, it is proposed that there are two dimensions of place that may be salient in generating politeness in Japanese. The first dimen-sion is that of inclusion, or to be *part of* a group. The second dimension is that of distinction, or to be *not the same as* others. In other words, what others show they think of us in regard to being part of (or not) of a group

(inclusion), and what they show they think of us in relation to being different (or not) from others (distinction) are important in giving rise to politeness.[9] There are, of course, varying degrees to which *B is part of A's group* or *B is not the same as A*, which influences the degree of politeness that is generated in a particular interaction.

For example, a secretary will often use so-called ''humble forms'' (*kenjoo-go*) when referring to his boss if someone from outside the company calls to speak to the boss.[10] Politeness arises from the use of ''humble forms'' by the secretary in this case, not because it shows the addressee is outside the secretary's group (exclusion), but because the secretary shows he thinks his group (including his boss) occupies a different position from that of the addressee (that is, distinction). In other words, the secretary, as a representative of the people in that company (including the boss), shows they do not think too highly of themselves.

Inclusion involves groups that are formed both socially and psychologically (Obana 2000: 194–195). Social groups are those that are based upon the family structure and metaphorical extensions of it: for example, a department at one's workplace or a tribe (*zoku*) of teenagers. Psychological groups, on the other hand, are based on affinity between individual interactants, such as a group of close friends or a group of travelers who have just met each other in a bar. These groups are, of course, not salient to every context, and so are ephemeral in nature, at least in relation to politeness concerns. For example, when talking to close friends at university one often does not attach the ''polite'' suffix *san* to that person's name. The dropping of *san* indicates that one considers oneself and the addressee (who is also the referent) to be part of the same group (that is, inclusion). However, as Wetzel (2001: 75) points out, if one is talking to the parents of that friend, one must refer to their son or daughter with *san* attached to their first name. This is because by attaching *san* to the friend's name when talking to one's friends parents, one shows the distinction between the speaker and the family ''in-group'' (to which that friend belongs along with his/her parents), thereby giving rise to politeness. If one happens to drop the *san* suffix in this situation, emphasizing that their son/daughter belongs to one's own group of friends, the fact that this distinction is not acknowledged may give rise to impoliteness. From this example it can be seen that the groups which form the basis of inclusion are only relevant in particular contexts. The way in which inclusion underlies the generation of politeness in Japanese in some instances is illustrated in the following examples.

An utterance said with humour combined with a downshift from a higher to a lower speech-level can generate politeness in Japanese as it creates a sense that the speaker and addressee belong to the same group,

albeit only temporarily. In the following example, which is an excerpt from a longer conversation, Kato and Nakane have just met for the first time and are chatting about what it is like going out into the workforce. The speech levels observed in the following example are marked with the following symbols that build upon the system developed by Mimaki (1989: 39–40) where '+' represents inclusion of an honorific form or formal vocabulary, and '0' indicates inclusion of plain or non-formal forms (the '*' symbol is used to indicate where a component determining speech level is not explicated or specified): 00+ = plain referent/non-formal vocabulary/addressee honorific; 000 = plain referent/non-formal vocabulary/plain addressee.[11]

(2)   Kato: *Shakaijin   ga, ichinenme tte iu no wa*
          working person Nom first year Quot say Nomi Top
          kanari kibishii mon ga arimas-en-deshita?   [00+]
          pretty strict thing Nom have-Neg-Past(Pol)
          'Wasn't it pretty tough in your first year in the workforce?'
      Nakane: *Shakaijin ...   soo   desu   ne.*   [00+]
          working person that way Cop(Pol) M
          Un, nannenmemo kibishi-katta kedo ... (warai)   [000]
          yeah whatever year strict-Past   but   (laugh)   *[self-downshift]*
          'Working person ... yes, well ...
          whatever year I was in, it was tough ... [laughter]'
      Kato: *Are wa, soo   desu   ka.*   [00+]
          that Top that way Cop(Pol) Q
          'Is that right?'
      Nakane: *Itsu made tat-te-mo   nanka, nare-na-katta,*
          when until pass-Te-even somehow get used to-Neg-Past
          watashi toka wa.   [000]
          I   others Top
          'I just haven't got used to it, no matter how much time passes'
      Kato: *Un ... nanka,   asa kimat-ta jikan ni oki-te ...*   [00*]
          yeah somehow morning set-Past time at get up-Te
          'Yeah, you have to get up at a set time every morning ...'
      Nakane: *Soo   desu yo ne.*   [00+]
          that way Cop(Pol) M M   *[self-upshift]*
          'That's right huh?' (Usami 1999)

Until this part of the conversation, Kato and Nakane have been using addressee honorifics at the end of almost all their utterances, as indicated by the notation (00+). However, a downshift by Nakane from the speech level she was previously using can be observed when she says *nannen-memo kibishikatta kedo* ('whatever year I was in, it was tough') (000).

This is followed by an upshift in speech level back to using addressee honorifics (00+) two utterances later when she agrees with what Kato has said about being in the workforce (*Soo desu yo ne*, 'that's right huh?'). Kato, on the other hand, uses the same speech level (00+) throughout the excerpt, apart from her third utterance (00*), where she trails off omitting the sentence-final form (which implies that more could be said on the matter). While they are primarily using addressee honorifics to show respect (00+), and thereby indicating that a certain degree of social distance exists between them (since they have only just met), Nakane downshifts to a "plain form" (000) to generate a feeling of solidarity with Kato. This downshift combined with the "humourous" way of putting the same view about work ("whatever year I was in, it was tough") generates politeness, as it shows that Nakane considers Kato to share the same view about being in the workforce, thereby indicating that Nakane thinks she and Kato fall into the same group. This feeling of belonging to the same group is only temporary, however, as Nakane quickly switches back to using addressee honorifics at the end of her utterances.

Another important point about politeness in Japanese to emerge from this example is that politeness may be intuitively conceptualised both as a "form" and as an "effect"; or "form-politeness" and "function-politeness" in the terminology proposed by Ikuta (1988: 1–2). "Polite forms" are particular linguistic forms or expressions that are considered to be "polite" by ordinary speakers (for example, honorifics in Japanese). "Polite effects," on the other hand, only arise when the addressee believes the speaker is being polite. It is this distinction between "polite forms" and "polite effects" that speakers can exploit in manipulating speech levels to generate politeness. This accounts for the fact that a speech-level downshift from a "polite form" to a "non-polite (or plain) form" can give rise to politeness (or more specifically, a "polite effect"), as seen in the previous example.[12]

Joking in the form of exaggerated familiarity may also generate politeness. In the next example, Yuka jokes about not having any money to go along with everyone else for karaoke after the class party.

(3) (Shu invites Yuka to go along to karaoke outside the bar where they have just finished a class party)
    Shu: *Ja, nijikai wa karaoke ni ik-oo ka?*
       well then second party Top karaoke to go-Vol Q
       'Well, shall we go to karaoke for a second round?'
    Yuka: *Shippaai. Mi-te-kudasai yo, kono saifu no nakami.*
       mistake look-Te-please M this purse of contents
       Doo kangae-te-mo karaoke ni ik-eru hodo

how think-Te-even karaoke to go-Pot extent
yutaka janai-n-desu   yo.
rich   Cop(Neg)-Nomi-Cop(Pol) M
Kondo   okane ga aru toki mata sasot-te-kudasai yoo.
next time money Nom have when again invite-Te-please M
'Oh no! Please look, at the contents of this purse! No matter
what way you look at it, there isn't enough to go to karaoke.
Please invite me again next time when I have some money'
(Haugh 2003: VIII-8)

Yuka uses addressee and referent honorifics at the end of her utterances
(such as *janai-n-desu* 'to not be' and *kudasai* 'please') to show respect,
since Shu is her *senpai* ('senior'). In this way, she indicates that a certain
amount of social distance exists between her and Shu. However, in order
to compensate for her refusal Yuka jokes about having not enough
money, which gives rise to a feeling of exaggerated familiarity (as well as
making a counter-offer to go next time). In other words, she generates a
feeling of belonging to the same group by indicating in a humourous way
that she has no money. Politeness arises from this primarily because one
would normally only admit one's financial situation to someone belong-
ing to the same group. Complaining to someone outside one's group of
classmates or friends that one did not have enough money to go some-
where would be considered inappropriate in most situations (leading to a
loss of face [*mentsu* or *kao*] in some cases).

Generalising about behaviours can also involve acknowledgement that
the addressee belongs to the same group as the speaker. In example (4),
Tanaka has arrived twenty minutes late for a pre-arranged meeting with
Suzuki. Suzuki reduces the force of Tanaka's apology by generalising that
being late is not an uncommon occurrence.

(4)   Tanaka: *Gomen osoku nat-ta.*
       sorry late become-Past
       'Sorry I'm late'
    Suzuki: *Iya iya, maa kooyuu   koto mo aru yo.*
       no no well this kind of thing also exist M
       'No, no, anyway, this kind of thing happens' (Nishio 1998: 59)

While the use of non-honorific (or "plain") forms by both interactants
implies that Suzuki and Tanaka are not socially distant, it is primarily
the generalisation made by Suzuki that these kinds of things are bound
to happen sometimes that shows Suzuki does not think badly of Tanaka
in spite of Tanaka arriving late, and thus it is the latter that gives rise to
politeness. In other words, by making this generalisation, Suzuki empha-

sises that he and Tanaka belong to the same group, since Suzuki implies the same thing could happen to him, and addresses Tanaka's possible feelings of shame about being late.

The use of counter-offers when refusing invitations can also generate politeness if it involves acknowledgement of the addressee as part of the same group as the speaker. In the following example, Taro indirectly refuses Yusuke's invitation to go with Yusuke and some others to sing at karaoke. What is of interest to the current discussion in this example is that he makes a counter-offer to offset this refusal by indicating he is interested in going along next time.

(5)   (Yusuke and Taro are classmates at university)
      Yusuke: *Ima kara minna   to   isshoni karaoke ni ik-anai?*
          now from everyone with together karaoke to go-Neg
          'Would you like to come along with everyone to karaoke now?'
      Taro: *Gomen, kyoo baito   na-n-da.   Mata kondo   ne ...*
          sorry today part-time work Cop-Nomi-Cop again next time M
          'Sorry. I've got work today. [But invite me] again next time ...'
          (Haugh 2003: XII-19)

The expression *mata kondo ne* (which is an ellipsed form of something like *mata kondo sasotte ne*, 'invite me again next time') is used to show that while Taro is refusing Yusuke's invitation, he still thinks well of Yusuke. More specifically, it shows Taro still considers Yusuke to be a part of their group of friends, because he shows that he wants to retain contact with Yusuke on a social level. If Taro and Yusuke were not part of the same circle, then this strategy would not be appropriate, since one cannot necessarily expect another invitation from someone who lies outside one's circle. What is crucial to giving rise to politeness in this example, then, is not that Taro is showing he approves of Yusuke's wants, but rather that Taro shows he thinks they still belong to the same group.

In examples two through to five, politeness arises through an acknowledgement that the addressee belongs to the same group as the speaker. While addressees may indeed have desires they would like to be approved of by others, what is crucial to giving rise to politeness is not showing approval of others' desires, but rather showing they belong to the same group as the speaker. This is evident from the fact these politeness strategies are only effective in contexts where some kind of consciousness of "in-group," albeit only momentary, exists between interactants.

Acknowledgement of distinction may also give rise to politeness in Japanese. Distinction involves one's public persona or social standing, and thus encompasses one's position or role (*ichi, yakuwari*), rank or

status (*mibun, chi'i*), and circumstances (*jookyoo*). Positions or roles (*ichi, yakuwari*) can be both institutional and non-institutional. Institutional positions and roles are those which are given to people with (tacit) recognition from others that this position/role has been bestowed upon this person. They tend to have fairly well-defined boundaries which are part of the common knowledge of members of a particular sociocultural group, and tend to be stable across a range of situations. Positions or roles derived from one's occupation (for example, teacher, housewife, police officer, etc.), family relationships (for example, father, mother, daughter, etc.), and formal titles (for example, official awards, personal titles, etc.) are all examples of institutional-type positions/roles. Non-institutional positions and roles, on the other hand, are usually less well-defined and more context-sensitive, so their boundaries are more fluid across different situations. Examples include positions and roles arising from age, gender, educational background (for example, institution from which one graduated, area of study, etc.), social connections (*kone*), wealth/income, physical features (for example, degree of attractiveness, etc.), and degree of knowledge/ability in various areas (for example, in playing a certain sport, fixing certain equipment, or in a certain subject area, etc.). These positions or roles vary according to the situation. For example, when a teacher talks to a student his/her position is that of a teacher (relative to the student), but when that same teacher talks to his/her father, his/her position is not that of a teacher, but that of a family member (or a son or daughter relative to a parent to be more precise).

Rank or status (*mibun, chi'i*) arises from the interaction between the various institutional and non-institutional positions/roles that a person has in particular situations. It tends to be conceptualised on a vertical hierarchy that is derived from one's position and role. This status, however, is always context sensitive. For example, a particular high court judge may have a high status in legal circles, but may have a relatively low status if he is just a beginner at the local squash club where he plays every Saturday.

The circumstances of interactants (*jookyoo*) are primarily related to the degree of formality of the situation in which they find themselves. A more formal setting, such as a conference, may require distinctions between the speaker and audience to be recognised, whilst in a less formal setting such as a presentation in class, these distinctions may be less pronounced. In the following examples, the way in which distinction underlies the generation of politeness in Japanese is illustrated.

An upshift in one's own speech level may generate politeness in some contexts, as it demonstrates acknowledgement of the addressee's place

as being distinct from the speaker's. In the following example, two graduate students are talking about a handout Mari (who is Yuko's 'senior' or *senpai*) missed out on from a previous class she did not attend. The following symbols are used to indicate speech-levels (see footnote 11 for further explanation): 00+ = plain referent/non-formal vocabulary/ addressee honorific; *+* = unspecified referent/formal vocabulary/ unspecified addressee; 000 = plain referent/non-formal vocabulary/plain addressee.

(6) (Mari and Yuko are classmates at university)

Mari: *Eeto, nan da kke, gobikatsuyoo ka nanka no purinto*
um what Cop Quot word-ending inflections Q something of handout
mot-te-nai? [000]
have-Te-Neg
'Um, what is it again ... Do you have the handout on word-ending inflections or something like that?'

Yuko: *Gobikatsuyoo ga, aa, ano, mot-te-masu.* [00+]
word-ending inflections Nom oh um have-Te-Pol
'Word-ending inflections ... Oh, yes, I have it'

Mari: *A, soo soo soo soo, sonna yatsu.* [00*]
Oh that way that way that way that way that thing
'Oh, yes, yes, yes, yes that one'

Yuko: *Gobi no yatsu to, nanka magirawashii kakubigo*
word-ending of thing and somewhat confusing case word-endings
tte yatsu? [00*]
Quot thing
'The word-ending one, the case word-ending one which is kind of confusing?'

Mari: *Soo soo soo soo.* [00*]
that way that way that way that way
'Yes, yes, yes, yes'

Yuko: *Mot-te-masu, mot-te-masu, mot-te-masu,*
have-Te-Pol have-Te-Pol have-Te-Pol
mot-te-masu [00+]
have-Te-Pol
'I have it, I have it, I have it, I have it'

Mari: *A, mot-te-masu?* [00+]
oh have-Te-Pol *[self-upshift]*
'Oh you have it?'

Yuko: *Hai.* [*+*]
'Yes'

Mari: *Sore, kashi-te-hoshii-n-desu   kedo.*   [00+]
   that lend-Te-want-Nomi-Cop(Pol) but
   'Can you lend it to me?'

Yuko: *Hai.*   [*+*]
   'Yes'

Mari: *A, hontooni? Eeto, ie ni aru?*   [000]
   oh really   um home in have   *[self-downshift]*
   'Oh, really? Um, do you have it at home?'

Yuko: *Iie, moo rokka ni ari-masu yo.*   [00+]
   no already locker in have-Pol M
   'No, it's already in my locker'

Mari: *A, hontoni?*
   'Oh really?'

Yuko: *A, ja,   sugu   tsukau nara . . .*   [00*]
   oh well then straight away use   if
   'Oh, well, if you [want to] use it straight away . . .'

Mari: *Ima kara tori ni it-te-mo ii kashira?*   [0+0]
   now from collect to go-Te-even good wonder?   *[self-upshift]*
   'I wonder if you could get it for me now?'

Yuko: *Daijoobu desu.*   [00+]
   okay Cop(Pol)
   'Okay'

Mari: *Ja, onegaishi-masu.*   [+0+]
   well then wish(Hon)-Pol   *[self-upshift]*
   'Well then, thank you [lit. I humbly make a request of you]'

                                             (Xie 2000: C48)

Mari starts the request sequence by asking about the handout using "plain forms" (000) at the end of her utterances. This is the speech level usually observed by a senior towards a younger classmate, as no particular respect is conveyed, and so the higher age/status of Mari is indicated. She upshifts to using addressee honorifics (00+), however, when confirming that Yuko does have the handout (*motte masu ka*, 'you have it?'), and also when asking Yuko to lend it to her (*sore, kashite hoshii n desu kedo*, 'can you lend it to me?'). This is followed by a downshift back to the "plain form" (000) when she asks about whereabouts of the handout (*ie ni aru?*, 'do you have it at home?'). Mari upshifts to more formal vocabulary (0+0) when asking Yuko to get the handout from Yuko's locker (*ima kara tori ni ittemo ii kashira?*), and upshifts even further to using both referent and addressee honorifics (+0+) when confirming the request (*onegaishimasu*). The speech level upshifts by Mari in this context thus show she acknowledges that the place of her friend Yuko is distinct from

hers in relation to possession of the handout. Mari shows through these upshifts that she realizes Yuko's place does not in any way obligate Yuko to lend her the handout. Yuko, on the other hand, uses approximately the same speech level for most of her utterances (*+* or 00+), apart from her second utterance where the speech level is not specified (00*), by including addressee honorifics or formal vocabulary that indicate respect. This shows the difference in age/status between her and Mari, thereby giving rise to politeness directed towards Mari.

In another example of politeness associated with speech levels, a student uses a honorific form (*meshiagarimasu*, 'eat') to ask her teacher whether he wants to eat something at an end of year class party.

(7a)   (A student is talking with a teacher at an end of year party)
　　　Student: *Sensei, kore meshiagari-masen ka?*
　　　　Sir   this eat(Hon)-Neg(Pol) Q
　　　　'Would you like to eat this sir?'

The use of referent and addressee honorific forms by the student explicitly shows that she acknowledges the place of her addressee, that is, as being her teacher. This acknowledgement of the teacher's place gives rise to politeness. The use of a negative interrogative also gives rise to politeness. It shows that the student realises the teacher's place is distinct from her own, since a student does not automatically assume what a teacher may or may not want.[13] The use of this strategy shows that imposition is indeed a consideration in Japanese politeness, but as seen in the next example, it is over-ridden by considerations of place.

In example (7b), another student is asking the same teacher as in example (7a) about what he has just eaten.

(7b)   (Another student is talking with the same teacher at the end of year party)
　　　Student: *Sensei, sakini nani o meshiagat-ta-n-desu　 ka.*
　　　　Sir before what Acc eat(Hon)-Past-Nomi-Cop(Pol) Q
　　　　'What did you eat just before, sir?'

In this situation there is no imposition upon the teacher apparent in asking what he has just eaten, yet a referent honorific form of the verb 'eat' is still used (*meshiagaru*) by the student. Acknowledging the place of the teacher is thus important, no matter whether one might be imposing upon that teacher or not.

Implying something can also give rise to politeness in some cases, when it shows the speaker recognises the addressee's place is distinct from his or her own. In example (8), an attendant starts walking towards a woman

who is beginning to eat her lunch. A politeness implicature arises from the attendant's apologies.[14]

(8) Attendant: *Mooshiwake-gozai-mas-en ... mooshiwake-gozai-mas-en ...*
       excuse(Pol)-have-Pol-Neg excuse(Pol)-have-Pol-Neg
       'I am very sorry ... I am very sorry'
     Visitor: *A', ike-nai?*
       oh acceptable-Neg
       'Oh, is this not allowed?'
     Attendant: *Mooshiwake-gozai-mas-en ...*
       excuse(Pol)-have-Pol-Neg
       'I am very sorry' (Edo-Tokyo museum, Tokyo, 20/11/99)

In this example, a woman visiting the Edo-Tokyo museum in Tokyo is sitting down on a seat and beginning to unwrap some food to eat. An attendant at the museum upon seeing the visitor unwrapping the food begins to walk towards her and starts saying *mooshiwake gozaimasen* (a very formal and polite form of apology). From the apology made by the attendant, her action of walking towards the visitor, and general knowledge about appropriate behaviour in public places in Japan (for example, traditionally it is considered impolite to eat in public in Japan unless it is in a ''designated'' eating area such as a restaurant or lunch area), the visitor is able to infer that the attendant wants her to know that eating in the museum is not allowed. In other words, the attendant's apology gives rise to an implicature something like *koko de tabetewa ikemasen* ('You are not allowed to eat here'). Politeness arises from this implicature because by only implying the request she reduces the illocutionary force of her request (that the visitor stop eating), and also indicates her reluctance to make it. This shows she acknowledges the place of the woman as a visitor to the museum (since one does not normally tell visitors what to do).

  Showing one does not think too highly of one's own place may also give rise to politeness. In example (9), a student implies that it was luck rather than skill by which she entered the university, thereby downplaying the compliment made by her neighbour.

(9) (A student is chatting with an older lady who is her neighbour)
     Neighbour: *Tookyoo Gaikokugo Daigaku ni kayot-te-iru-n-de-shoo?*
       Tokyo foreign language university to go-Te-State-Nomi-Cop-Aux(Pol)
       'You attend Tokyo University of Foreign Studies don't you?'
     Student: *Ee.*
       'Yes'

Neighbour: *Atama ii nee.*
   head good M
   'You're smart, aren't you?'
Student: *Nantoka hai-re-ta to yuu kanji desu.*
   somehow enter-Pot-Past Quot say feeling Cop(Pol)
   'I have the feeling I only somehow just got in'

<div align="right">(Haugh 2003: XVIII-5)</div>

The student responds to her neighbour's compliment by saying that she feels she only somehow got into the university, thereby implying it was through luck or some other factor, rather than through her own intelligence, that she got into the university. Through this implicature the student shows that she does not think she is exceptionally intelligent. In other words, the student expresses modesty by showing she does not think more highly of her place than she should. Since showing modesty in regard to one's abilities or intelligence (which constitute part of one's place) is expected, politeness arises.

It has been seen in examples six through nine that politeness arises in Japanese through acknowledging that the place of others differs from one's own. A number of these situations did involve consideration about possible imposition on the part of the speaker (for example, when borrowing some notes from a classmate). However, what defines imposition, in relation to politeness in Japanese at least, is the place of the interactants rather than individual autonomy. That is to say, something is only an imposition when it falls outside the place (or more specifically the role) of the interactants in question. If the place of the interactant does encompass the action in question, then it does not constitute an imposition. For example, in Japan it is expected that teachers will pay if they invite students out for a drink or meal, at least on the first occasion. This means that rather than trying to refuse a teacher's offer to pay, Japanese students are more likely to simply use a formulaic "polite form" such as *gochisoo sama deshita* (lit. 'You treated me [to something]') to thank the teacher. In Australia, however, students do not necessarily expect their teachers to pay in such a situation, so it would be impolite to accept their offer to pay without at least trying to pay one's share of the bill. Paying the bill in this kind of situation is an imposition upon the teacher in Australia, but not in Japan, and this is reflected in the response of students to such offers.

It is worth noting that the place one belongs or stands is not necessarily limited to only oneself, as one's place can be extended to encompass others within one's in-group, when interacting with others from outside of that group. For example, it has been shown that while both British

and Japanese men will apologize for accidents caused by their children, Japanese men will also apologize for accidents caused by their wives, whereas British men do not (Okumura and Wei 2000). In this kind of situation, the place of the husbands is extended to include their wives in order to show concern towards the place of the other interactants. It is also important to note that while it often happens that one of these dimensions is foregrounded in an interaction, in some interactions both inclusion and distinction may be salient (as seen in both examples two and five). In interactions, then, the focal underlying dimension of politeness is dynamic and emergent, as the degree of foregrounding of it is constantly changing and only becomes apparent as the interaction progresses.

For example, the dimensions of junior and senior employees that are important in interactions vary across different situations in Japan. When a junior employee is interacting with a senior employee in a meeting at work, for example, their different places are foregrounded, and thus distinction is the most salient dimension in giving rise to politeness. However, at a *nijikai* (literally, a second meeting—a relatively informal meeting held at a bar or restaurant following an initial gathering that may be more formal in nature), being part of the same group (inclusion) is foregrounded. This is not to say that the distinctions between their places are forgotten in interactions at the *nijikai*, as they will still use appropriate speech levels to show respect and thus acknowledge those differences in place. But showing that they are part of the same group (inclusion) is probably what will predominate in this situation.

In relation to politeness in Japanese, then, there are two aspects of place that are important: the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction). Politeness in Japanese thus arises when one shows one thinks well of the place of others, or not too highly of one's own place. In the following section, the implications of this proposal for cross-cultural and intercultural studies of politeness are considered.

5.   Implications for cross-cultural and intercultural studies of politeness

It has been noted that cross-cultural and intercultural studies of pragmatic phenomena are hindered by the lack of sufficiently developed metalinguistic resources for such an endeavour (Jaszczolt 2002: 333). The Natural Semantic Metalanguage developed by Wierzbicka (1991, 1996) represents perhaps the most ambitious attempt to formulate a universal metalanguage for cross-cultural and intercultural analyses. There is scep-

ticism, however, that the development of a culturally unbiased universal framework for the analysis of politeness is in fact a realistic aim for politeness researchers (Janney and Arndt 1993: 38). The aim of the analysis in this paper has thus been rather more modest, as its main purpose was to propose tools for the analysis of politeness in Japanese, which would then allow comparisons to be made with politeness phenomena in other languages, such as English. These comparisons then provide a foundation for achieving a deeper understanding of the potential difficulties for intercultural communication between Japanese and speakers of other languages.

The way in which the notion of place can facilitate our understanding of cross-cultural differences can be seen in a comparison of the use of hedges in English and Japanese. In example (10) below, it can be seen that a hedge is used in both English and Japanese when making a criticism of the addressee. However, in example (11) that follows, where the speaker is giving an opinion, a hedge is used in Japanese, but not in English. With an understanding of the underlying dimensions of politeness in English and Japanese this difference can be understood. In the following example, a hedge is used by the speaker both in the original Japanese novel (10a), and in the English translation of it (10b).

(10a)   *Anta wa wakat-te-nai   yoo   da na.*
        you Top understand-Te-Neg   <u>seem</u> Cop M
        '(Lit.) You don't <u>seem</u> to understand'
(10b)   You don't <u>seem</u> to get the picture. (Asano 2002: 31–32)

It might appear, then, from these examples that hedges are used in similar ways in English and Japanese. That is, the speaker here uses the hedge to soften what amounts to a criticism of the addressee, and politeness thus arises. This example might also mislead one into believing that the underlying dimensions of politeness are the same in English as they are in Japanese.

However, in the following example, while a hedge is employed in the original Japanese novel (11a), it is not found in the English translation (11b).

(11a)   *Demo nanimokamo shoojikini iwanaku-te-mo   ii mono <u>mitai</u> yo.*
        but   always   honestly say(Neg)-Te-even good thing <u>seem</u> M
        '(Lit.) But <u>it seems</u> it doesn't matter if people don't say everything honestly'
(11b)   But people don't always have to spell things out exactly as they happened. (Asano 2002: 36–37)

From this example, we can see that hedges can be used in Japanese when communicating opinions in situations where they are not used in English. This difference can be related back to differences between the underlying dimensions of politeness. In English, the opinion in example (11b) is not hedged because it does not involve direct disapproval of the addressee (that is, it does not threaten the addressee's desire to be approved of or liked by the speaker). In Japanese, however, the opinion expressed in example (11a) is still hedged by the speaker, in order to show she does not think too highly of the place she stands. The hedge acknowledges that the speaker's view may be different from others, and since to assume one's view is shared by everyone may show one thinks too highly of one's place (thereby giving rise to impoliteness), the speaker employs this hedge to generate politeness.

The notion of place is also useful in understanding intercultural issues that can arise when English speakers learn Japanese, and vice-versa. Mistakes are commonly made by non-native speakers of Japanese when introducing a topic in a formal speech situation. In this kind of situation there is no apparent imposition on the personal autonomy of the listeners in making this introduction, so non-native speakers tend to use an expression similar to that used in English, such as illustrated in the next example (which is taken from a role play performed by second year students in a Japanese course at the University of Queensland).

(12)   *Korekara, Nihon no ikebana   nitsuite hanashi-masu.*
        from now Japan of flower arrangement about talk-Pol
        'I am now going to talk about Japanese flower arrangement'

While adequate in more informal speaking contexts, this kind of expression may come across as somewhat impolite in a formal speech situation, because it does not show any appreciation to the audience for their willingness to listen to the speaker's talk. An expression using a causative combined with an honorific verb of receiving is more appropriate in Japanese in this situation, as illustrated below.

(13)   *Korekara, Nihon no ikebana   nitsuite*
        from now Japan of flower arrangement about
        hana-sase-te-itadaki-masu.
        talk-Caus-Te-receive(Hon)-Pol
        '(Lit.) I am now going to have the honour of having you let me speak to you about Japanese flower arrangement'

The use of the causative ("you will let me speak") combined with the humble form of the verb to receive shows the speaker thinks highly of the place of the audience as listeners. In a formal speaking situation,

showing respect towards the place of the audience is necessary in Japanese, and thus the expression in example (13) is more appropriate than that in example (12). The question is, however, why non-native speakers of Japanese, who are quite familiar with the causative forms and honorific verbs of receiving themselves, almost never think to use these forms in this kind of situation (unless explicitly told to do so). While unfamiliarity with natural speech patterns in Japanese is certainly an important factor, another influential factor may be the fact that the conceptualisation of politeness held by English-speaking learners of Japanese is still firmly rooted in notions of personal autonomy and approval of wants. Without a firm understanding of the underlying dimension of place, it makes little sense to non-native speakers to employ an expression such as in example (13) to introduce a topic.

The approach to cross-cultural and intercultural studies of politeness taken in this paper has been to analyse the underlying dimensions of politeness in Japanese, and then demonstate how they can be used in explicating differences between politeness phenomena in English and Japanese. It has been assumed that Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face (that is, "approval of wants" and "personal autonomy"), while not universally applicable, do summarize very succinctly the underlying dimensions of politeness in English. These two dimensions can then be compared to the two aspects of place that were proposed to underlie politeness in Japanese, namely the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction).

It is possible that these underlying dimensions may fall into a more general dialectic, such as the opposing, yet complementary, needs of "connectedness" and "separateness" proposed by Arundale (1993).[15] The connectedness-separateness dialectic is abstract enough to encompass the underlying dimensions of politeness in English and Japanese. In other words, the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction) can be regarded as culture-specific manifestations of more abstract notions, namely connectedness and separateness respectively. In this view, Brown and Levinson's notions of approval of wants and individual autonomy would also fall under these more general notions. However, there is still insufficient evidence to claim that such a dialectic might be universal in the sense it underlies politeness systems across all cultures.

The challenge to cross-cultural and intercultural researchers investigating politeness is to clarify the dimensions underlying politeness in other languages. With a better understanding of what underlies politeness in different languages, we may finally move towards resolution of the issue of whether or not a truly universal theory of politeness can indeed be developed.

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Notes

1. Abbreviations used in the morphological gloss are as follows: Acc = accusative; Aux = auxiliary; Caus = causative; Cop = copula; Hon = referent honorific marker; M = mood marker; Neg = negation; Nom = nominative; Nomi = nominaliser; Pass = passive; Past = past tense; Pol = addressee honorific marker/formal vocabulary; Pot = potential; Q = question marker; Quot = quotation marker; Stat = stative; Te = 'te-form'; Top = topic marker; Vol = volitive.
2. See Ohashi (2003) for a more in-depth discussion of the various functions of *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*.
3. All translations are the author's own unless otherwise stated.
4. The *uchi/soto* (lit. in-group/out-group) distinction is useful when describing the use of respect or humble forms towards the referent, and is widely used in research about honorifics in Japan. Japanese politeness phenomena, however, cannot all be explained in terms of in-group/out-group marking as seen in the examples in the next two sections.
5. Nakane (1970: 1) also claims that connotations of belonging are usually associated with the notion of place (or what she terms 'frame'), as she defines *ba* as "a locality, an institution or particular relationship which binds a set of individuals into one group; in all cases it indicates a criterion which sets a boundary and gives a common basis to a set of individuals who are located or involved in it".
6. The link between *ichi* and *tachiba* is made explicit in the *Koojien* dictionary where *ichi* is defined as "*Aru hito, mono, kotogara ga, hoka to no kankei moshikuwa zentai to no kankei de shimeru basho, aruiwa tachiba*" ('The place or *tachiba* where the relationship between a particular person, thing or matter, and something else or a whole occurs') (Shinmura 1991: 145).
7. The category of 'B' has been expanded to refer not only to the addressee, but also to include referents, which is a slight expansion of the metalanguage presented in previous work (Haugh and Hinze 2003; Haugh 2004). This modification is necessary to account for cases where the speaker shows what he/she thinks of the addressee by indicating what he/she thinks of the referent (a situation brought to my attention by one of the anonymous referees).
8. This section of the metalanguage is adapted from the idea, first proposed by Arundale (1993), that 'inclusion' and 'distinction' are what underlie politeness. In later revisions of his paper (1997), he uses the terms 'connectedness' and 'separateness,' which he borrowed from Baxter and Montgomery (1996), but I prefer the initial terms used by Arundale as they are more useful for characterising politeness in Japanese.
9. The terms inclusion and distinction also have their logical opposites, 'exclusion' and 'similarity,' which can be represented as *B is not part of A's group* and *B is the same*

as A respectively. However, these logical opposites, while potentially salient for impoliteness, are not relevant to politeness. In other words, politeness only arises when showing someone that he or she is part of a group (inclusion), or not the same as the speaker (distinction).

10. I would like to thank one of the anonymous referees for bringing this example to my attention.

11. In Japanese the speech-level of utterances is determined primarily by the inclusion or lack of honorifics, and the level of formality of vocabulary. The two main types of honorifics influencing speech level are referent honorifics (including so-called 'respect forms'/*sonkei-go* and 'humble forms'/*kenjoo-go*), and addressee honorifics (including so-called 'polite forms'/*teinei-go*). For example, the verb 'go' has a number of different forms, such as *irasshaimasu, mairimasu, irassharu n desu* (+*+: referent honorific/vocabulary formality unspecific/addressee honorific), *irassharu no* (+*0: referent honorific/vocabulary formality unspecific/plain addressee), *ikimasu* (0*+: plain referent/vocabulary formality unspecific/addressee honorific), *iku* (0*0: plain referent/vocabulary formality unspecific/plain addressee). Vocabulary can also vary in its level of formality (formal +/non-formal 0). For example, the noun 'yesterday' has a formal form (*sakujitsu*) and a non-formal form (*kinoo*). The phrase *sakujitsu irasshaimashita* (I went yesterday) would be therefore be categorised as (+++: referent honorific/formal vocabulary/addressee honorific), while the phrase *kinoo itta* (I went yesterday) would be categorised as (000: plain referent/non-formal vocabulary/plain addressee). In theory, then, there are at least eight different combinations of speech levels, although in practice some combinations are more common than others. See Mimaki (1989) and Okamoto (1997, 1999) for alternative views.

12. The use of 'polite forms' can generate other effects including sarcasm or showing class status distinctions as discussed by Okamoto (1997: 810–811).

13. In a different situation, it may of course be polite to assume what someone wants to eat or drink. In Japan, it is often considered more polite for a host to offer what he or she thinks will suit the guest, rather than offering a choice. Thus a host might say *ocha demo ikaga desu ka?* (lit. 'How about tea?'), which contrasts with the usual offer of 'Tea or coffee?' (or some other choices depending on the context) made in English. This is a reflection of how place, rather than considerations about imposition on the personal autonomy of others, is important in regards to politeness in Japanese.

14. A politeness implicature is where, by implying something, one shows one thinks well of someone else, or not too highly of oneself, thereby giving rise to politeness (see Haugh (2003) for further discussion).

15. O'Driscoll (1996) has proposed similar notions (that is, 'merging/association/belonging' versus 'independence/disassociation/individuation,' but differs from Arundale's work in that he appears to view these opposing needs as dualistic in nature (Arundale, personal communication).

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