

Minami Fujio – *Keigo*¹

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CHAPTER ONE. HONORIFICS: BROAD AND NARROW DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM²

The scope of Honorifics

Discrimination of Honorifics

In daily conversation, we are constantly engaged in some form of honorific distinction. Towards certain interlocutors we would use *-desu*, *-masu*, or *-gozaimasu*:

- *Ima sanji desu.*
It is [POL] three o'clock.
- *Tegami wa watashi ga dashite okimasu.*
I shall post [POL] the letter.
- *Koko kara haitte yoroshuu gozaimasu ka*
Would it be alright [SUPERPOL] if I entered from here?

and towards other interlocutors we could probably say:

- *Ima sanji da.*
It is [PLAIN] three o'clock.
- *Tegami wa watashi ga dashite oku yo.*
I'll post [PLAIN] the letter.
- *Koko kara haitte ii kai.*
Can I [PLAIN] enter from here?

When talking about a third party, we can use either of the following:

- *Kinoo ano kata ga irasshatta.*
That person [DEF] came [DEF] yesterday.
- *Kinoo kare ga kita*
He [PLAIN] came [PLAIN] yesterday.

And again we can choose between:

- *Shikijoo ni go-annai mooshiageru.*
I shall show them [HUM/COU] the ceremonial hall.
- *Ii geka no sensei o shookai shite itadaita*
I was introduced [HUM/COU] to a good surgeon.

¹ Fujio Minami, *Keigo*. Iwanami Shoten, Publishers: Tokyo, 1987. © 1987 by Fujio Minami. All rights reserved. Translated and reprinted by permission.

² **Glossary:** the most conventional specialist terms for honorifics have been translated as follows: *Bikago* = Beautification (forms); *Keigo* = Honorifics (in a narrow sense; linguistic politeness); *Keihi hyoogen* = Derogatory expressions; *Keihigo* = Derogatory forms; *Kenjoogo* = Humble (forms); *Hibago* = Abusive forms; *Hiba hyoogen* = Abusive Expressions; *Sonkeigo* = Deferential (forms); *Sondaigo* = Arrogant (forms); *Taiguu hyoogen* = Interactional expressions; Politeness (in a broad sense), *Taisha keigo* = Interpersonal honorifics; *Teineigo* = Polite (forms); *Teichoogo* = Courteous (forms).
List of abbreviations for chapters one and three: ADJ = adjective; AUX = auxiliary; BEN = benefactive; CJE = conjectural; COP = copula; COU = courteous; DEF = deferential; DER = derogatory; FORM = formal; HUM = humble; INF = informal; IMP = imperative; INT = interrogative; NEG = negative; POL = polite; POT = potential; PLA = plain.

- The relative distance – intimate, friendly (close) or non-intimate (far, removed) attributed to an object; the social or psychological distance. In general, when someone is regarded as non-intimate, relatively polite forms are used.
- The degree of formality of a setting. The more formal the setting, the more likely the use of polite forms.

Appropriate use of linguistic expressions

The third feature we must mention includes the diverse possible ways of 'treating' a certain object based on the aforementioned evaluative attitude and consideration, and the existence of distinct expressions that reflect those diverse manners of treatment, and the instance of a distinction in the use of expressions, one can think of terms such as *face* [PLAIN] vs. *okao* [face +DEF. PREFIX], but at times we can distinguish three or four different levels. For example, the following sentences are interestingly polite.

Kono hana wa sarabia da.
Kono hana wa sarabia desu.
Kono hana wa sarabia de gozaimasu.

This flower is *sarabia*. [PLAIN] [PLAIN] [PLAIN]
 This flower is *sarabia*. [POLITE] [PLAIN]
 This flower is *sarabia*. [SUPERPOLITE] [PLAIN]

It is difficult to say whether it would be acceptable to talk of Honorifics if the speaker only felt a consideration, or some form of evaluative attitude towards an addressee, a referent, the content of communication or the setting, yet in the absence of an addressee, a ratings or of expressions that reflect them. For example, imagine a situation in which all Japanese became obsessed with Honorifics, and started indiscriminately using expressions such as *amaia sama* [you +SUPERPOLITE] to any kind of address, or something like this is happening to at least a part of the participants, or in any setting. Actually, known that in many contemporary European languages a distinction exists in second person pronouns which roughly corresponds to *omae*, *kimi* [you = I] and *anata* [you = *thou/ye* for example, *tu/voins* in French, *du/Sie* in German. In English, however, the old *thou/ye* has been lost and only *you* survives today. With regards to second person pronouns one can say that European languages such as French and German have polite expressions in a general sense but English does not.

Broadening the range of Honorifics

The existence of a consideration

The three characteristics seen above have been formulated on the basis of a narrowly defined notion of Honorifics, but it is easy to apply them to other items of similar nature. For example, while *gozaimasu* [COP] is said to be more polite than *desu* [COP] or *masu* [FORMAL VERBAL SUFFIX], it also includes a connotation of *formality*. When it comes to formality, *myoionichi* is more formal than *ashitadasu* [tomorrow]; *sakujitsu* is more formal than *kinoo* [yesterday]. The use of *myoionichi* or *sakujitsu* often reflects a regard for a setting, or the evaluation of a setting as formal. *Myoionichi* or *sakujitsu* are not, strictly speaking, considered to be Honorifics, yet they do share common characteristics with *gozaimasu*. In the case of response forms [akete/oi no kataha, or *ootoshi*], we also have distinct forms such as *hai*, *ite* [yes, no +FORM] and *un*, *ya* [yes, no +INFORM]. The underlying discriminating factor is often the evaluation of the degree of intimacy with an interlocutor.

Consideration for, and evaluation of the relationship with the interlocutor, as well as the setting, can be detected here as well.

In the case of orders and requests, there are indeed numerous alternative forms:

Hayashi mite kite choudai [IMP INF] [BEN INF]
Hayashi mite kite baitsoku [BEN DEF] [BEN DEF]
Hayashi mite kite itadakemasen ka? [BEN DEF INT] [BEN DEF INT NEG POL]
Hayashi mite kite itadakemasen ka? [BEN DEF INT NEG POL] [BEN DEF INT NEG POL]
Hayashi mite kite itadakemasen deshou ka? [BEN DEF INT NEG POL] [BEN DEF INT NEG POL]

many in Japan use greetings towards strangers but not members of the family.

Negative Honorifics
 Having broadened the range of verbal expressions [included in the honorifics], we can use a different approach. The expressions which we define as 'Honorifics' most often are those used to elevate a superior addressee or a superior referent, or those in which we use ourselves in order to treat others deferentially. We may also include those which we use to treat an addressee or referent as socially or psychologically distant (so not to become too close and friendly), or those used to mark a situation as formal. One can imagine, however, the existence of expressions based on the opposite type of consideration or evaluative attitude, and it is indeed not difficult to find them.

Expressions of contempt or insults towards the addressee or the referent amount to a diminishing treatment. For example, *-shiyagaru* [to do +DER], *-shite ketsukaru* [to do +DER], *-me* [+DER SUFFIX] [jijime [old buffer], *aitasime* [the +DER]], etc. are referred to as *kaiti hyogon* [Derogatory expressions], or *hiha hyogon* [Abusive expressions]. Another case is that of self-enhancing expressions in which the speaker doesn't use [the expected] self-fulfilling expressions but chooses a rather arrogant tone: "*orezama ga ...-shite rakusawa*" [I ARROGANT do +BEN ARROGANT]. It may seem inappropriate to call these expressions 'Honorifics'. However they do share their same general character, though they are directed in the opposite sense. We could call them, metaphorically, *negative Honorifics*.

Non-verbal expressions

So far we have examined only verbal expressions. However, non-verbal expressions also share some of the same characteristics. For example, in Japanese communities, the act of bowing is considered a rather polite expressive mode. Surely there is something in common between this action and the use of a polite linguistic term. The sense of intimacy with an interlocutor can be expressed with words but also with a smile. Kindachi (1964) already discusses extensively cases of non-verbal expressions in verbal communication,

but recently the relation between verbal and non-verbal expressions has become a popular topic of research.

We can divide non-verbal expressive behaviour in two groups: behaviour which simply accompanies verbal expressions [*zuihanteki hyogeno hyoogen*] and that which can occur independently of it.

As an example of the former, consider the quality of the voice. Nomoto (1974) notes that female speakers of Japanese tend to raise their pitch when adopting a formal speech level. One could also mention interjections interspersed in speech. For example, many people utter a noise at the end of a formal greeting: *Kono tabi wa makoto ni omedeto gozaimasu. Ah!* ['Many happy returns on this occasion. Ah!']. We can also mention facial expressions or laughter during a conversation. Many other examples can be seen in the written language. The type of epistolary style adopted, the choice of a brush or a pen, the type of paper, are just a few.

In connection with the type of non-verbal behaviour which can occur autonomously one could list bowing, shaking hands or other gestures, type of outfit, accessories (a hat, gloves, etc), gift offers, and so on. Also in these instances it is possible to talk of a consideration and evaluative attitudes towards a specific object, and expressive forms that reflect them. Such consideration is what is conveyed by a choice: to dress up slightly when visiting a superior, or to stand up to greet one's superior when he enters the room.

Types of classifications

As we just saw, Honorifics can be conceived of as honorific expressions in a narrow sense, or as a broader category which includes forms similarly characterised. There may well be, therefore, different views as to what exactly should be studied in this connection. If we summarise these views we obtain Table 1. [...] In this table a '+' marks something which is considered relevant, and '-' something which is not.

Forms of Expression	A B C D E F					
	Dedicated honorific expressions	+	+	+	+	+
Common verbal expressions	-	-	+	+	+	+
Non-verbal expressions	-	-	-	-	+	+
Content	Deferential, humble, formal etc.	+	+	+	+	+
	Derogatory, Arrogant etc.	-	+	-	+	+

The view of Honorifics exemplified in type A investigates Honorifics in the narrowest sense. This includes what has frequently been referred to, in 'School Grammar', Deferential, Humble, and Formal linguistic forms and a few other elements. This is the area of Honorifics commonly investigated in the field of Japanese language studies.

Types B, C and D include wider ranges. Some scholars (e.g. Ooishi 1971) refer to these as *keii hyogen* [expressions of polite intentions].

* This sound is transcribed as [ʔq] in Minami et al. (1974) 'Keigo no talket', in: Hayashi S. and F. Minami, *Keigo Kenza* 1:71.

The term used in the world of *Kokugogaku* [National language studies] is *Taigun hyogen* [interactional linguistic expressions]⁵, and this would correspond to type D. This is a term of sufficient generalisability and heuristic power. It will be necessary to consider this term when dealing with politeness in languages other than Japanese.

Furthermore, in many speech communities other than the Japanese verbal expressions are accompanied by a variety of non-verbal expressions with which they share many features. Whether in a narrow or a broad sense, it is necessary to place Honorifics within a unified theory of communication, which includes verbal and non-verbal behaviour. This approach is represented in E or F. I know of no single term which covers both verbal and non-verbal behaviour.

In this book, by using the term: 'narrow sense Honorifics' [*kyoogi no keigo*] I will refer mostly to type A. I will refer to the broader views from B to F by talking of 'Honorifics', 'Honorific Expressions' or 'Polite expressions' [*Keigo, Keigojeki hyoogen*]. D will be indicated by the term 'interactional linguistic expressions' [*Taigun hyoogen*]. E and F, which include non-verbal expressions, will be indicated as 'interactional behaviour' [*Taigun koudou*].

Honorific Expressions

In order to look at practical examples of Honorifics I will attempt an inventory of the expressions in use in the contemporary Japanese speech community, including those mentioned so far. The category F just described - that of 'interactional behaviour' - will be divided into the following three subcategories:

- Verbal expressions (including 'dedicated linguistic forms' and 'ordinary linguistic forms')
- Non-verbal expressions A (elements which require the presence of a corresponding verbal expression)
- Non-verbal expressions B (elements which can appear independently).

Verbal expressions

These forms will be presented proceeding from the 'core' to the 'periphery' of Honorifics.

1) Deferential forms

(a) Terms to refer to actions and events, *irassharu* [be/come/go], *ossharu* [say], *nasuru* [do], *meshiagaru* [eat], *-rareru* [VERBAL SUFFIX], *o/go-I-ani naru* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-I-asobasu* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-I-desu* [*da*de *gozaimasu*] [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-I-kudasaru* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *-te kudasaru* [BEN AVX]. Additionally, forms such as *outsukashii*, *gorippa da* [ADJECTIVES], *gotokkari* [ADVERB].

(b) Personal pronouns and terms of address: *anata* [you], *kono kata*, *sono kata*, *ano kata*, *donata* [his/tha/which person], *otaku*, *kika* [you/Sir/Madam], *kiki* [you (to male)], *kishi* [you (to female)], *taiki* [you (to male)]⁶. All terms which include the prefix *o-* (DEF/HUM), and all those which include the suffixes: *-san*, *-sama*, *-dono* [all GENERIC NON-INTIMATE ADDRESS FORMS such as Mr., Ms., Mrs., etc.], *-chan*, *-chama*, *-kun*

⁵ Literally: 'Expressions of treatment'.

⁶ Prof. Minami kindly points out that *kiki* and *taiki* are used predominantly by male speakers to address a male and in epistolary style, with a slight old-fashioned connotation. The same applied to *kishi*, which is however used to address a female (personal communication 14/10/03).

[SUFFIXES FOR INTIMATES AND CHILDREN] -*senrei* [Prof., Dr.], -*shi* [Mr., Miss, Mrs., Ms.], etc. Professional titles: *tao buchou* [Section Head 1st], *Chanzuru Ojiji* [Prince Charles], *Hirari kyoo* [Sir Hillary], *Yakawa hakase* [Dr. Yakawa]. Additionally, *reiki* [another person's older brother], *reijoo* [another person's daughter], *reijujin* [another person's wife], *gosonpu* [another person's father].

(c) Terms which refer to objects and facts belonging or pertaining to someone.⁷ *Okegane* [idea/opinion], *Okaku* [home], *Goken* [opinion], *Goshokugoro* [job], *gokoosetsu* [opinion/view], *gokochai* [good office], *kit* [wishes], *kisba* [company], *gokkoo* [manuscript], *hojyoo* [kindness], *hoomei* [name] etc.

2) Humble forms

(a) Terms to refer to actions and events: *ageru* [give], *itasu* [do], *itadaku* [eat, receive], *sashiageru* [give], *matru* [go], *mooshiagetu* [say] *haiken suru* [see], *haishaku suru* [borrow], *o/go-V-suru* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-V-itasu* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-V-moosu* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-V-mooshiagetu* [VERBAL AFFIXES], *o/go-V-itadaku* [VERBAL AFFIXES], -*te ageru* [BEN AUX], -*te sashiageru* [BEN AUX].

(b) Personal pronouns and terms of address: *watashi* [I], *watakushi* [I], *watakushidomo* [we], *temae* [I], *temadomo* [we], *shoosai* [I], *gusoku* [my son], *keisai* [my wife], *toyji* [my son], *shoonai* [my sister].

(c) Terms which refer to objects and facts belonging or pertaining to someone.⁸ *Giken* [my opinion], *shoosha* [our company], *setaku* [my house], *setsuron* [my opinion], *hiten* [my/our shop]

3) Polite forms (*Teineigo*; occasionally referred to as *Teichoigo* [Courteous forms])⁹ -*Desu* [FORM COPULA], -*masu* [FORM VERBAL SUFFIX], *gozaimasu* [be, have], -*degozaimasu* [COPULA]. Additionally, some (Oishi 1975 etc.) include the following terms¹⁰ in this category: -*te orinazu* [PROGRESSIVE/RESULTATIVE AUX], as in *yoku wakate orinazu* ('I understand very well'); -*te mairimazu* [lit. come, INCHOATIVE AUX], as in *yuki ga fute mairimashita* ('It started snowing'); -*to itashimasu* [lit. 'doing so...'], as in *soo itashimasu* ('Then Well, in that case/I we do that...') etc.; -*to zoijimazu* [lit. (I) believe that... [QUOTATION]], as in *kekko to zoijimazu* ('I believe it is OK'), -*mooshimasu* [lit. to say that... [THEMATIZATION]] as in *masu yasai to mooshimasu*... ('with regards to/it we talk about summer vegetables'), *yoroshii* [good, OK] (vs. *ii, yoi*); all forms which include *o-* [FORM PREFIX]: *oshizukana ban desu wa ne*, ('It is a quiet [Pol.] evening, isn't it?...', etc.); *achira* [there] (vs. *acchi*); *kaga* [how] (vs. *dao*), etc.

4) Beautification forms (*Bikago*)

Itadaku vs. *taberu* [eat], *taberu* vs. *kau* [eat], *gohan* vs. *meshi* [meal], *otearai* vs. *benjo* [restroom/toilet]. Also in this category: *otsumo* [job], *oyasumi* [break, holiday], *onaka* [stomach, belly], *oyatsu* [snack], *gochisoo* [delicious food], *goshu* [sake]. This category

constitutes, together with the aforementioned Deferential, Humble and Polite forms, what we commonly understand as Honorifics in a narrow sense.

5) Abusive forms (*Hibago*) and Derogatory forms (*Keihigo*)

This category includes what I referred to earlier as "negative Honorifics": *akuru* [VERBAL SUFFIX] (*shikasanu*, ['bloody doing it']), -*yaganu* [VERBAL SUFFIX] (*waraiyaganu*, [bloody laughing]), -*te yaganu* [DEROGATORY AUX] (*sumashite yaganu* [you're a snob]), *kasujiji* [old bastard], *kazooze* [little brat], *aisu* [that fellow], *daitsu* [which fellow], *kasama* [you], *teme* [you], *yatsu* [that bloke], *yatsura* [those bastards], *yaroo* [you asshole/that bastard], *ama* [bitch], *goki* [bad kid; little shit] etc.

6) *Sondai* [Arrogant forms]

These are also considered negative Honorifics. -*te tsukerawu* [I'll do it for you]!, -*choodai suru* [BEN] (*arigataku choodai shiro* [you better accept it with gratitude], *ore-sama* [my honourable self]).

7) [This group includes all the terms of address other than those already mentioned. It concerns modes of use of particular elements. For example, it concerns whether one uses – both orally and in writing – surnames + personal names, or only one of the two. Once it was considered courteous, when writing letters, to use the addressee's surname + the title -*sama*, and only the personal name for the sender, e.g. an addressee would be *Satao sama* [Mr. Sato] and the sender just *Saburo*. Older generations may still conform to this convention. It is well known that not just in Japanese but in English as well, the use of surnames or personal names is a function of the degree of familiarity.

In order to refer to the hearer one must make a choice between surname or first name, or personal pronouns (*anata* [you], etc.). In the Japanese speech community (especially so in the standard variety) *anata* can hardly ever be used towards a superior, and it is customary to use a title attached to a surname or name. In a similar way, in English it is considered impolite to use the third personal pronoun (he, she) for anyone present in the situation [REFERENCE TO CH. 2, NOT TRANSLATED, BP].

The avoidance of elements of direct reference when manifesting respect to an addressee must also be mentioned. Instead, one can employ deferential terms to refer to actions, states, objects, people and facts pertaining to the addressee (e.g. *kondo no goshuuchoo wa dochira e irassharu n desu ka*, ['Where will your next business trip [DEF] be [DEF]?']). In some cases Humble forms are employed with an eye to actions and states of the addressee (*chikaiuchi ni o mwya o haiken ni itakemasu*, ['I shall come and visit [HUM] your garden [DEF] soon']).

8) Interjections and replies: some of them connote harsh or arrogant stances, others are polite.

Naa, na, ne, oi, oi [all these roughly correspond to 'hey!'], *kora* [hey you there!], *korakora* [hey, hey!], *moshimoshi* [hello].

¹¹ Prof. Minami explains that the meaning is equivalent to the more common -*te yuru* (BENEFACTIVE to subordinate addressee). It was once used by high-ranking samurai toward their subordinates, and it is currently used only as a joke (personal communication, 14/10/03).

⁷ Never used for the speaker or members of the speaker's circle, BP.

⁸ Always used exclusively for the speaker or members of the speaker's circle, BP.

⁹ See footnote 11 in BP's introductory chapter.

¹⁰ All of the following terms: *orinazu*, *mairimazu*, *itashimasu*, and *zoijimazu* are originally Humble forms, and Minami's point is that they can have a *Teineigo* (Polite) use as well.

Anoo, unu, ee [Well, ahem, etc....] [HESITATION NOISES]
Anoo, ee, un [yes], oo [yeah], hai, haa [yes], ha [+glottal stop], *hee* [really?],
ie, ya, un [no].

9) Phrase-final particles and interjections.
Naa, na, nee, ne, ka, kai, wa, ze, zo, no, yo, saa, sa [MODALITY MARKERS].

10) Choice of general vocabulary, such as synonyms in either *wago* [native words] or *kango* [Sino-Japanese words], or *wago* and *kango* vs. loanwords from European languages: *asutashita* – *myoonchi* [tomorrow]; *katoshi* – *homon* [this year]; *yurisu* – *kyōka sara* [permit, allow]; *nagagutsu* – *bautsu* [boots]; *shakuyōmin* – *tenanto* [tenant].
 Also, the use of vocabulary specific to colloquial or written style: *moo mo hoya* – *student* [already]; *tatta* – *wazuka* [only]; *yatto* – *karōjite* [finally]; *kanaitōyomewan* – *tsuma* [wife]; *shujin damasan* – *otō* [husband].

The use of child vs. adult speech, for example kindergarten terms such as *oekaki* [drawing], *ohajimari* [beginning], *omoroshi* [wetting the bed], or *an'yo* [walking], *tacchi* [standing], *nenne* [sleeping].

11) The difference between patterns of the colloquial and written styles is also relevant to sentence structure. A typical example is the use of either the *-te* form or the verb stem [INFINITIVE FORM, -*u*, -*u*] for clause chaining:
Amano wa tōru rōdōji ni idete, Tomachi ni dekaketai
 get up [+1] TOKUJ
Amano wa tōru rōdōji ni oki, Tomachi ni dekaketai
 get up [INFINITIVE]

[*yesetai*] I get up at 6 and want to I town

In relation to this we must also consider the use of several particles: *nite*, *ni oite*, *o moite* in place of *de* [LOCALITY, INSTRUMENTAL]; *yori* in place of *kara* [ABLATIVE].

12) Differential usage of the following expressions: orders, entreaties, requests, prohibitions, invitations.

Imperative forms (*motto nome yo* ['drink more!'], *-te* forms (*chotto doite* ['move out of the way!'], *-nasai* [IMP AUX], *-te choōdai* [BEN AUX], *-te kudasete* [BEN AUX], *-te kudasanai?* and *-te kudasetemassen ka* [NEG BEN AUX INT]; *-te itadakemassen deshou ka* [NEG BEN AUX TENTATIVE INT]; *-te itadakeru to ii no desu keredo* [IDIOMATIC PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION: 'it would be appreciated if you could...']).

Na (soma ni miru na, ['stop staring!']); *-te wa (-chau) dame* [the *wa* dame, ['you shouldn't say it']; *mitcha dame*, ['you shouldn't look!']; *-mitte kudasete* [NEG IMP]

13) Length of sentence: *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjō* (1957) finds that longer sentences tend to be perceived as more polite.

14) Choice between complete sentences or omission of some elements. The former is common in intimate speech between friends, the latter among relative strangers and in formal situations.

15) Choice of indirect, euphemistic or roundabout expressions vs. direct expressions.

16) Choice of self-humbling expressions: these are said to be typically Japanese: *nanmi mo gozaimasen ga* [it is nothing... (but a little thing/but please have some, BP)], *isamaranai mono de kyōshuku desu keredo*, [I am afraid this is really nothing special (but please accept it, BP)].

17) Similar to the previous one, there are expressions which qualify, or work as a 'preface', 'warning', or 'footnote' to, the words or actions of a speaker. For example: *Kantan ni itte shimaeba* ['put simply...'], *sochoku ni mooshigetaria* ['Frankly I can't...'], *odama de shitsurei desu ga* ['It might be rude of me to tell you over the phone, but...'], *yabun osoku mooshwake arimassen ga* ['I'm sorry for calling you so late at night...']. Sugito (1983) has discussed these expressions in relation to the notion of *Taigun kyōogen* [interactional expressions]. The function of these expressions is that of softening or relaxing the tone.

18) Units of speech larger than the word or the sentence, or which obtain from grouping a number of sentences together, are called *dama* [discourse] in recent research, and this level too is relevant to our discussion. It is possible to distinguish different types of discourse, and these are very tightly linked to the relation between speaker and addressee and/or the context. There are conversation patterns that begin with greetings, move on to a practical content, and conclude with other greetings. There are, however, patterns of conversation which begin and end just with greetings; others in which one begins with the content of the business and leaves it there, others in which one does small talk. All this depends on the relationship between participants. Furthermore, depending on the type and the breath of the topic, there may be relatively clear constraints. For example, dinner table conversations, speeches at wedding parties, or [a doctor's] bedside manner.

19) From a slightly different viewpoint, we need to consider aspects of the linguistic form, i.e. sounds or characters (of the script). For example, an element can be 'contracted' as in colloquial forms, or not: *-chan*, *-chiman* vs. *-te shiman* [COMPLETIVE ASPECTUAL AUX], *wakamari* vs. *wakaranai* [do not understand], *soreja* vs. *soredewa* [well, then...]. As for the script, there is first of all the question of the system one can select. One can choose to use *kanji* and *kana*, *romaji*, different ranges of *kanji*, different styles of *kana* use, different conventions of *okurigana*, styles of *roomaji* (Roman script), and so on.

20) Spoken vs. written varieties. Rather than the choice of colloquial or literary styles, this refers to the choice of [the channel], such as using the phone or a letter in order to contact someone.

21) The choice of which language variety (dialect) to use. This is the choice of standard over a dialect but also of a language rather than another: French, English, Japanese, etc. There are, however, many intermediate degrees of variation between the choice of a variety as a whole or only one aspect of that variety (e.g. accent only - the accent of the standard variety vs. that of the dialect).

22) A more general question is whether to speak or not (or to write or not) to an interlocutor, e.g. whether one chooses to communicate linguistically or not. We can distinguish here two cases rather different in nature. First of all, there is a question of choosing verbal or non-verbal means after establishing that communication will take place. On the other hand, one can decide to reject communication altogether. This happens when you notice that you are being approached by some hard-sell salesman in the street and you run away, when you decide deliberately not to reply to a query, etc. Naturally there are also cases in which you use the language while refusing to communicate. You can hang up saying 'you got the wrong number' if you have been just called by someone with whom you don't want to talk. I read once in Nagai Kafu's diary, '*Danchokei Nichijou*' ['Dyspepsia House Days'], that, in order to avoid meeting an unwelcome guest, he pretended to be his secretary and replied: "Prof. Nagai is currently away".

Non-verbal expressions 4

<Paralinguistic elements>

23) The interjectional 'noises' [*kamioon*] used during speech. For example, the 'suu' produced by the sound of breathing in (phonetically, the ingressive [*kyuaki*] voiceless fricative articulated between the tip of the tongue and the back of the front teeth) and used predominantly by adult Japanese males. This frequently connotes a polite attitude, like in the following: *sono shina wa, ainku temadomo no mise dewa ashiakate orimasan no de gozaimasu ga, suu* [regretably, we don't have this product in stock here]. Similarly, there is the sound *ah* [ʔɑ], uttered mostly by middle-aged males in greetings.

24) The tone of the speech, such as a formal, stiff, casual tone, or angry and harsh tone. Also, the pitch and volume of the voice.

25) The smile which accompanies the speech. There are many types of smile, and of course many of these would occur independently from the speech. What I consider relevant here is the smile consistently sustained during an utterance. This is thought to be a typical Japanese smile, whose function is that of maintaining the specific social relation (that relation which enables the exchange) between speaker and addressee. Westerners tend not to smile while speaking about a practical question, but rather at the end of the utterance. This presumably corresponds to the function of greetings.

26) Facial expressions which accompany the speech: frowning, tightening of the lips, twisting the mouth.

27) Movements of the eyes: staring at the addressee, diverting the gaze, etc. Many would agree that Japanese tend to turn down the eyes and divert the gaze from the addressee when speaking or listening to someone.

28) Bodily posture or gesture with hands, arms, or the head, which accompany the speech. Waving the hands, nodding, tilting the head a little, shaking it sideways, lifting the chin up. Some Japanese would bow whenever at the boundary of an utterance, roughly corresponding to a sentence. This is considered an expression of polite attitude.

29) The physical distance between speaker and addressee.

30) The use of pauses during the speech.

31) The medium of the conversation. Whether one talks upon meeting, or using a physical instrument such as the telephone, an intercom, a recording etc., or by conveying the message through a messenger.

<Elements of written language>

32) The print type, calligraphy style, the size of characters. For instance, writing the addressee's name without abbreviating characters, writing characters accurately because the addressee is a child, writing with care because it is a formal message or scribbling hurriedly a simple note about a little daily business to an intimate friend.

33) Ways of copying documents by hand [*shoshu*]. Writing horizontally or vertically, following formal conventions, or free form.

34) The medium of the copying: Handwriting vs. typing, using mimeograph [*mosha*] vs. normal printing, using computers or Japanese word processors.

35) The materials and tools of the copying: pens, brushes, pencils, type of paper, colour of the ink, etc.

Non-verbal expressions B

36) Clothes, for example the distinction between formal and casual clothes. Specific outfits for weddings, funerals and other ceremonial occasions; dressing for visiting people, for work, for daily life in the home, etc.

37) Use or non-use of garments: wearing or taking off a hat, the gloves, a jacket or coat, the shoes, and many other variations.

38) One's grooming [*midashinami*] besides the dress. For example, women's use of make up or hairstyles, men's shaving and hairstyle; also, the care of the shoes, the choice of other accessories.

39) Facial expressions which do not accompany verbal expressions. Frowning, or looking serious, glancing sideways; casting a coquettish glance at someone [*shunahai*], glaring at someone, etc.

40) Smiles which do not accompany verbal expressions. Smiling at someone to acknowledge his presence from a distance, roaring with laughter, the shy smile of a failure, scornful laughter, sneering.

41) Attitudes, manners, movements. The overall formal and stiff bodily attitude adopted towards someone met for the first time to whom one must show deference; the hesitating attitude adopted when receiving a gift, or the gesture indicating attempts to refuse it [*oshiikawari*]. The posture adopted mostly by middle-aged men of stretching one hand out, and walking bending the hips when passing in front of someone. Also, bowing, handshaking, joining hands like in prayer, clapping hands, standing up to welcome someone entering a room, the steady straight posture adopted during ceremonies, joining hands lightly in front (as a sign of politeness), joining hands at the back (as a sign of arrogance). In many societies other than the Japanese, it is customary to exchange hugging and kissing as greetings.

42) The act of stepping aside to let someone else enter a room, or getting on and off public transport first.

43) Manners at the dinner table.

44) Norms on how to show hospitality, such as serving a full meal, just tea, or nothing at all.

45) Finally, different patterns of behaviour observable in general contact situations.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SYSTEM OF HONORIFICS.

What do Honorifics express?

Classification of Honorifics

It is rather difficult to describe in a few words the meaning and function of the linguistic expressions that we have so far referred to as Honorifics or Interactional Expressions. Of course, there are many explanations.

For example, Hattataro Ooishi (1975) defines the features of Honorifics in the narrow sense (e.g. Deferential, Humble and Polite [*Teineigo*] forms (which he calls *Teichoogo*, or 'Courteous form') and Beautification forms [*Bikago*] in the following way:

Deferential forms: Expressions which convey respect to the referent (the person one talks about) and which 'raise' the status of the referent. For example, in the sentence:

Marai sensei wa 'kore de it' to ossharu.
[Prof. Marai says [+DEF] that this is OK.]

one is 'elevating' the referent by adding the title, and describing the action of 'saying' with the term *ossharu* [to say +DEF].

Humble forms: These are divided into two groups:

Humble forms A: Expressions which convey respect to, or 'raise' the status of, a referent's interlocutor, or the recipient of a referent's action¹² (in other words, any person(s) involved in or affected by the actions of the referent) by means of 'lowering' the referent him/herself. For example, in the sentence:

Otooto ga sensei ni mooshageru koto ni natte itru.

It has been decided that my brother will tell [+HUM] the professor.

one is 'lowering' the actions of the referent - one's brother - by using the term *mooshageru* for the act of 'saying', and thus showing respect to its 'recipient' - the professor.

Humble forms B: Expressions which convey respect to the addressee by means of 'lowering' the referent. For example, in the sentence:

Chichi wa rashuu shucchoude kyushuu e mairu hazu desu.
My father should be going [+HUM] on a business trip to Kyushu next week.

one is showing respect to the addressee by means of 'lowering' one's father's action of 'going' through the use of the humble term *mairu*.

Polite forms (or Courteous forms) Expressions which convey respect exclusively to the addressee. Typical examples are the forms *-masu* or *-gozaimasu* but Ooishi includes here a number of other forms such as *itasu* [*lit. do*], as in *herna oto ga hashimaru ne* [*I seem to hear a strange sound*]; *moosu* [*say*] as in *Aobajoo to moosu shiro ga gozaimasu* [*here is a castle called Aobajoo*], *mairimashita* [*come, go*] in *ame ga huite mairimashita* [*it started raining*], *orimasu* [RESULTATIVE AUX] in *juntai ga totonotte orimasu* [*we are ready*], and *yoroshii* [*good*] in *kono hen de yoroshii deshou* [*is this OK?*]¹³.

¹² Note the contrast with the definition of Humble Forms B: the object of deference here is the person(s) involved in some way with the referent, rather than the addressee, in the particular situation described by the utterance, rather than in the setting of the utterance. BP

¹³ The translation of all these sentences is not literal, hence it is not always possible to show the relation between the lexical items in isolation and in context. The common trait of all the forms, however, is that they correspond to what other traditional classifications would include in the category of humble forms.

Beautification forms Terms which make the speech polished (*joohin*) and pleasing (*kiwai*). *O-* [PREFIX] in *okashi* [sweet], *go-* [PREFIX] in *gohoochi* [a reward], but also *itadaki* (when meaning *taberu* [eat]), *yasumu* (when meaning *neru* [sleep]), *oishi!* [asty¹⁴] etc.

Apart from this classification, Honorifics can be divided broadly into two big groups:

Honorifics of the Subject Matter [*Sozai keigo*] including Deferential, Humble and Beautification forms

This underscores the fact that while the former refers exclusively to Honorifics of the referent and the 'subject matter', the latter are Honorifics which convey the speakers' respect for the addressee directly to the addressee. In other words, this categorisation highlights an important aspect of Honorifics, which is the difference between possible objects - or targets - of the speaker's attitude (here roughly described as respect).

All the aforementioned classifications (regardless of the number of categories) are invariably based on the assumption that meanings are mutually distinct – put simply, they assume that each category displays a unique distinct character. For example, Deferential forms [*Sonkeigo*] are held to represent a speaker's display of deference and relative 'high' treatment of a referent, Polite forms [*Teineigo*] a speaker's display of deference to an addressee, etc.

An aggregate of single components

It is possible however to look at Honorifics from a different perspective, considering the meaning of each category as deriving from the assemblage of several 'basic' components; as a result, there would be components which appear across several types, and some which are different. The combination of such elements will therefore be distinct in every category of Honorifics.

The following are cases which would suggest such an interpretation.

1) even within the Deferential forms, elements such as *-rareru* [DEF SUFFIX] and *o-I-ni naru* [DEF AFFIXES] can appear regardless of whether the agent (the referent) is the addressee or a third party.

Aino kata wa itsu kochira ni kaeraremashita ka

When did that person come back [+DEF] here?

Anata, itsu kochira ni kaeraremashita ka

When did you come back [+DEF] here?

In the same way, the same terms of address *-san* [GENERIC NON-INTIMATE ADDRESS FORM] and *-sensei* [Dr., Prof., Etc.] can be used equally towards a third party or the addressee. However, some Deferential forms can be used only towards the addressee, as e.g. *ki* [your opinion], *ki kao* [your school], *kisha* [your company] or *hoo* (*hoomet* [your name]). In view of this evidence, it's easy to imagine that forms such as *ki*- or *hoo*-, while sharing some features of other Deferential forms, also share some features of Honorifics of the addressee. They possess some features of both Honorifics of the Subject Matter and Interpersonal Honorifics. Cases in which the honorific suffix *o-* is attached to adjectives

¹⁴ Oishi's point, and Minami's, is that these examples demonstrate a functional shift in the forms mentioned, and highlight the strategic use of (typically) referent forms as addressee forms, BP

as in *onatakeshi!* [dear/sweet (memory)] or *ourayamashii* [envious] can be considered in a similar way, as these forms are mostly used about an addressee.

2) If we observe further how Deferential forms are really used it is clear that in many cases it is not just a matter of the speaker's concern towards a referent (different from the addressee). For example, the following sentences are very common in daily use.

i. A talks to B.

A: *O iata no boochan wa, kono hara, chugakani obentri natta n desu ne.*

Your [+DEF] son has entered [+DEF] junior high school this spring, hasn't he?

B: *Hai, soo desu.*

That's right.

ii. A talks to C when B is not present.

A: *B san no musuko wa, kono hara, chugakani haitta n date.*

I hear that B's son has entered junior high school this spring.

C: *Ara, soo?*

Is that so?

What is the object of concern in this case, with regards to the use of Deferential elements, is not only the referent B's son, but also the relationship between the addressee and the referent's son and the relationship between A and B. Because of this, we need to consider the concern towards the addressee also in the presence of common Deferential forms [=Honorifics of the referent, BP].

3) The category of Humble forms includes verbs such as *itadaku* [receive] or *sawhageru* [give] (which Oishi labels Humble forms A) and verbs such as *itasu* [do], *mairu* [go], *moosu* [say] and *zozuru* [know] (Oishi's Humble forms B). However, Yaaka Miyaji (1971) observing the use of *itasu* [do] in sentences such as *karega oizane itashimasu* [he will visit [+HUM] (someone)] makes the following considerations. *Itasu* probably encompasses the speaker's concern for the listener (a speaker's regard for the addressee). In fact, it is most often used in conjunction with the Polite suffix *-masu*. Moreover, even when *-nasu* is not directly conjoined to *itasu*, this Polite suffix often appears on the main predicate of the sentence which contains *itasu* (e.g. *sono sagyou wa watakeshi domo ga itasu yotei de gozaimasu* [it has been decided [+SUPERPOL] that we will carry out [+HUM] that job/task]). Consequently we must recognise the 'Polite form' [*Teineigo*] component in *itasu*. On the other hand, its nature clearly fits very well that of Oishi's category of Humble forms B, and therefore we must conclude that it really has a double nature, which includes some Polite [addressee-based, BP] components as well as Humble [referent-based, BP] components.

Analysis of single components

The above considerations demonstrate that the components of the various types of Honorifics are not necessarily a straightforward matter and that it is possible – or rather necessary – to produce a more fine-grained analysis of honorific components.

Many, like Miyaji on the verb *itasu* above, have speculated on the nature of honorific meanings. Tsujimura (1969) discusses the two categories he distinguishes in the Deferential Forms: *Zetui jouti shitaigo* [lit. Terms for Absolutely Superior Actors¹⁵] (e.g. *trasharu* [go, be, come], *ossharu* [say], *o-I-ni naru* [DEF SUFFIX], etc.) and *Kankei jouti shitaigo* [lit. Terms for Relatively Superior Actors] (e.g. *kudaszaru* [give], *o-I-kudaszaru*

¹⁵ Here, the term 'shutai' is translated as 'actor' rather than the more literal 'subject', in order to avoid confusion with the notion of grammatical subject.

[DEF SUFFIX], etc.). This distinction illustrates cases in which, after having established that actions or states of a subject are to be given a 'high' treatment, a distinction is made as to whether the actions or states of a superior subject are described in absolute terms, unrelated to any other person, or in the relative terms of a benefice-bearing,¹⁶ connection. The same distinction is proposed for the Humble forms: *Zettai kai shuigo* [lit. Terms for Absolutely Subordinate Actors] (Ooishi's Humble forms B) and *Kankei kai shuigo* [lit. Terms for Relatively Subordinate Actors] (Ooishi's Humble forms A). It is easy to detect also in Tsujimura's approach an attempt to analyse the content of Honorifics in further detail.

The American linguist Samuel E. Martin¹⁷, in a study on the Honorific systems of Japanese and Korean, proposes that the Japanese system is classified into: 1) an axis of address, 2) an axis of reference, 3) donatory verbs and 4) euphemistic verbs; these display contrasts between plain and polite forms (included in the first group) and between humble and exalted forms (included in groups 2, 3 and 4). This approach, like the previous ones, has the potential to proceed towards further distinctions of detailed meanings.

My proposal

Constitutive elements of meaning

I will present my analysis based on the assumption that the meaning of Honorifics has the nature of an agglomerate. The background to this has been outlined in the first chapter (broad and narrow definitions of *Keigo*) as the general nature of Honorifics. There I proposed to consider the following three features:

- 1) A kind of speaker's consideration, attention or regard for a certain object.
- 2) The evaluative attitude which always accompanies such a consideration.
- 3) Differences in the way to handle or manipulate such concern, reflected in distinctions among a variety of expressions.

An analysis of Honorifics' meanings must be able to reflect this general character and to account satisfactorily for the many complex cases illustrated above. Hence, based on the general nature of Honorifics described above, I propose the analysis of the following constitutive elements of meaning.

Consideration: corresponds to the feature mentioned in 1). The most important aspect is the object of this consideration, regard or attention, and I will return to this later.

Treatment: this will have to be distinguished into the *object* of the treatment or treatment and *manner* of treating or manipulating an object. The former corresponds to point 3) mentioned above, the latter to 2). I will return to this later.

The general structure of Honorific meanings is derived from a combination of these three elements: {consideration - object of treatment - manner of treatment}.

Moreover, with regards to such constituent elements, we must consider the following: *Participants*: the people - or equivalent entities - involved in the establishment of some form of verbal communication - focusing here predominantly on honorific expressions. We can further distinguish:

Speaker
Addressee: this could be further distinguished into:
Main addressee: (the direct partner of a speaker)
Side addressee: (not a direct partner of the speaker, but close to the main addressee)

Others involved: earlier referred to as 'referents'¹⁸, can be further distinguished in:
Referent active: the person who carries out an action
Referent passive: the person who receives an action

Communicative content

Content of the subject matter: propositional aspects of the communication

Expressive content: aspects involving the speaker's attitude

Situation: the setting in which communication takes place.

In the next section, I will turn to the factors of consideration, object of treatment, and manner of treatment.

Consideration
 As mentioned before, this is a sort of attention on the part of the speaker, towards a certain object. There are many possible objects for this attention, which give rise to different types of consideration.

4) Consideration towards the human relationship. I will list a number of examples here, and for simplicity's sake, I will use the following convention. By writing something like: [Speaker → Speaker - Addressee], I will indicate the direction of consideration (→) and a relationship (-). In this case, the speaker is showing consideration towards him/herself and his/her own relationship with the Addressee.

(a) Speaker → Speaker - Addressee, which includes, more specifically:

Speaker → Speaker - main Addressee

Speaker → Speaker - side Addressee

Speaker → Main Addressee - side Addressee

In this case polite forms are typically selected as a sign of the speaker's regard for the addressee's status, whether a superior, subordinate or peer, intimate or non-intimate, etc. One may decide to select or to avoid forms such as *-desu* or *-masu* [POL. SUFFIXES]. This sort of regard, however, is not reflected only in the use of Polite forms, but also in the use of Deferential forms.

i. Nakamura: *Yamamura san, issu o hikashi ni naru ndesuka.*

Mr. Yamamura [1-POL], when will you move out [1-DEF]?

Yamamura: *Kangeesu no hajimeti shiyoo to onnaiterun desuga*

I'm thinking of moving next month.

ii. Nakamura: *Yamamura wa raigetsu hajimeti hikashi suru yosodesu yo.*

It seems Yamamura [1-POL] will move out [1-DEF] next month.

Oomura: *Sookuu/aa, moo sugu da na.*

I see. That's quite soon, isn't it?

¹⁶ This observation refers to the use, in the 'relative' category, of Humble auxiliaries belonging to the set of 'Giving-Receiving' verbs: *itadaki* [receive], *kudazaru* [give, as in 'someone gives to subordinate'], etc.

¹⁷ Martin, Samuel, 1964 *Speech levels in Japan and Korea, Language in Culture and Society*, New York, Harper & Row, BP.

¹⁸ Mimami F. et al. 1974 *Keigo no taikai* [The structure of Keigo] in Hayashi S. and Mimami F., *Keigo no Taikai*, Keigo Kozu 1 [Keigo course vol. 1], Meiji Shoin translators Doxashu (Agent) and Hideoyabu (Patient) respectively with 'Referent Active' and 'Referent Passive', so his terminology has been adopted here.

The reason why there is a need to distinguish between main and side addressee is illustrated by cases such as the following: (Iloo = speaker, Gotoo = main addressee, Katoo = side addressee).

i. (in a context where Gotoo is also present)

Iloo: *Gotoo kani no otosan wa, kongosumatsu tain suru sodeku*

Mr Gotoo's [+DEF] father [+DEF] will probably leave the hospital [+DEF] at the end of the month

Katoo: *Hoo, sorewa yokatta na*

Oh, that's good news!

ii. (in a context where Gotoo is not present)

Iloo: *Gotoo no oyujisan wa, kongosumatsu tain suru sodeku*

Gotoo's [-DEF] father [-DEF] will probably leave the hospital [-DEF] at the end of the month.

Katoo: *Hoo, sorewa yokatta na*

Oh, that's good news!

Here, the existence of a side addressee becomes the condition for the appearance of several Deferential elements (e.g. the deferential verbal suffix *-sareru* or the noun suffixes *o-N-san* or *-kun*, vs. the simple verb *-suru*, use of names without Honorifics etc.).

(a₃) Speaker → Speaker – Referents, which includes:

Speaker → Speaker – Agent

Speaker → Speaker – Patient

Speaker → Agent – Patient

(a₃) Speaker → Addressee – Referents, including:

Speaker → Addressee – Agent

Speaker → Addressee – Patient

Regarding the consideration for the relation between the speaker and other participants or between the addressee and other participants, the distinction between agents and patients normally associates agents to Deferential forms (*-rareru*, *o-N-ni naru*, etc.) and patients to one type of Humble forms (Oishi's Humble forms A: *-te ageru*, *-te sashiyageru*, *o-I-suru*, etc.). For example, in the sentence:

Yumi chan, oiyakazama ni ozabuton o dashite sashiyagenasai

Yumi, please give [+HUMBLE] the cushion to the guests

the relation between the speaker and the guests, and between the addressee (= Yumi) and the guests, is presumably the object of the speaker's consideration.

(a₃) Speaker → Speaker

This is the consideration a Speaker will have for him/herself. Rather than a consideration for the addressee, participants, or the content of communication or the setting (which will be discussed below), this is triggered by the speaker's own needs, such as when a woman uses feminine language, or the use of Honorifics as a status symbol.

5) Consideration towards the content of communication

(b₁) Speaker → Content of the subject matter

(b₂) Speaker → Expressive content

A consideration towards the content of the subject matter can be observed in the distinction between a fact or an object which pertains to the speaker and one which pertains to the addressee (in the case of a house, one could use *otaku* if it belongs to the addressee, *settake* if to the speaker). Consideration towards the expressive content refers to the attitude – polite or concealed – shown to the addressee.

6) Consideration towards the setting

Speaker → Setting

This is observed in the choice of forms such as *-desu*, *-masu*, *gozaimasu* in a formal situation.

Object of treatment

This can be distinguished into two types:

(a) Content of the subject matter

The content of the subject matter refers to the participants (agents, patients), actions, states, processes, act types, and facts and objects which belong to the participants, as a whole. All this can receive a 'high' or 'low' treatment. In the common uses of Honorifics, the Deferential, Humble and Beautification forms are the typical ways of realising this type of treatment.

(b) Expressive content

This can also be defined as the speaker's attitude about the linguistic expressions. The typical example of a consideration purely for such attitude are Polite forms.

Features of the treatment

Finally, we must mention the features of the treatment. As I already mentioned, these are directly related to the speaker's evaluative attitude. In the section on the general characteristics of Honorifics I mentioned the following three factors as examples of viewpoints for the evaluation. Firstly, how 'high' or 'low' something or someone is estimated to be. Secondly, how intimate (close) or non-intimate (distant) something or someone is deemed to be. Thirdly, to what degree a situation is considered to be formal or informal. Focusing, therefore, on these criteria, I have examined honorific expressions and other similar expressions and I have added a number of other features.

(a) High/Neutral/Low [Age/Chuuritsu/Sage]¹⁹

This corresponds to the first viewpoint mentioned above. When the object of consideration is the content of the subject matter (in particular something regarding the agent) and the manner of treatment is 'high' deferential forms are employed: *-(r)areru*, *o-N-ni naru*. If 'low', then Derogatory forms appear: *-yageru*, *-kusaru*, *-me* [see Chapter one, section on 'Honorific Expressions' 5]. On the other hand, if the object of consideration is the content of expression, and the manner of treatment is 'low',²⁰ this would typically produce Polite forms: *-desu*, *-masu*, *gozaimasu*. *-Da* should probably be best considered as neutral.

(b) Distant/Neutral/Close [Hanare/Chuuritsu/Chikazuki]

This corresponds to the second viewpoint mentioned above. Simply speaking, it refers to whether there is a sense of intimacy accompanying an expression. For example, one could say that – with regards to terms of address – *-chan* would be used to someone close, *-san* in neutral circumstances, and *-sama* or *-dono* to someone distant. Furthermore, it is possible that certain distinctions within the Deferential forms are based on this feature: *-(r)areru* as neutral (or distant) vs. *-nasaru* as close. It is particularly useful to consider this feature when accounting for the form *-nasaru*, including its addressive-imperative form *-nasai*.

(c) Formal/Neutral/Informal [Aratamari/Chuuritsu/Kudake]

¹⁹ The English translation of this terminology is also reproduced *verbatim* from Minami's 1974 work quoted in this previous footnote.

²⁰ In this context 'low' needs to be understood as 'humble' rather than 'diminishing' of an object.

This corresponds to the third viewpoint mentioned above. The use of the Polite *goutama* would reflect a 'formal' treatment of the expressive content. *-Desu* and *-masu* would represent a 'neutral' treatment and *-shi* an informal (or non-formal) treatment. *Arimasu* [honorary] would correspond to a formal treatment, and *asu* to a neutral one. Besides the fundamental features seen above, we could consider the following additional ones.

(d) Twinkle(Humble) Neutral(Oblige) (Doux) (Hurtisu) (H)

This comes into question when one considers if any giving or receiving is involved. Some Humble forms (Yoshi's Humble forms B) are typical of this feature. For example, the use of *o-N-sadaku* in expressions such as *omise itadaki* [to be shown something] implies a feature of 'obligation' about the content related to the patient [sic]. A certain amount of 'burden' is implied with regards to the agent [sic].²¹

(e) Weak Neutral Strong (Laku) (Hurtisu) (Avo)

This is, in other words, the 'key' or 'tone' of the expression. For example, in the case of statements, *ware wa wakashi no da to omou n desu keredomo* [I believe this is mine] is at the 'weak' end, and *ware wa wakashi no desu* [this is [+FOU] mine] is neutral, and *ware wa wakashi no da* [this is [+PLA] mine] at the 'strong' end. Likewise, with orders and prohibitions, *ike [go] or ikana* [don't go] are rather strong. *ikimasu* [go] and *iku no wa yama-nasai* [don't go/stop going] rather neutral, *itaru desu* [how about going?], *ite kuremasu* [won't you go [+PLN] ?], and *ikou no wa yamete* [how about not going?] are weak.

(f) Elegant Neutral Vulgar (Bi) (Hurtisu) (Shuu)

This feature coexists with several other ones, and it appears in many types of Honorific expression. I expressions which encompass an evaluative attitude about the language, such as in 'low' or 'bad' language, 'polished' or 'rough' speech, are closely related to this feature. The so-called Beautification forms: *itadaki* (vs. *takera*) [eat], *omaka* [stomach, belly], *oshama* [flower] can be said to convey a connotation of 'beauty'. The same can be said for many Deferential, Humble and Polite forms.

Among the expressions which are not conventionally included in the term Honorifics, there are some which can be considered neutral or vulgar. For instance, derogatory forms such as *-jaguru* or *-kasaru* can be said to be symmetrical in many respects to the Deferential forms, and correspond to each other as poles of [Elegant (Deferential) vs. Vulgar (Derogatory)].

(g) Indirect Neutral Direct (Kansensu) (Hurtisu) (Chokakusetsu)

What I refer to with the term 'indirect' here, are different degrees of spatial and temporal indirectness in an expression. Consider cases in which one would prefer to use a title rather than directly use the addressee's name, as well as those in which one would use a euphemistic expression. Directness is conveyed by the very imperative (and prohibitive) expressions mentioned earlier: *ike* [go], *ikana* [don't go].

Incidentally, this feature often emerges very clearly in non-verbal behaviour. Temporal indirectness is displayed when one hesitantly fingers on the threshold instead of entering a house straight away, despite having been invited to do so. Spatial indirectness is displayed when keeping a certain distance from an interlocutor only far enough not to become impolite.

²¹ The two terms presumably refer respectively to the 'recipient' and the 'giver' of the action. BP

The features from (a) to (g) can be recognised in the many types of treatment of certain objects and it is not the case that one object demands only one type of treatment. The combination of the type of object of consideration, type of object of the treatment and type of feature of the treatment differs depending on the honorific component.

The structure of honorific meanings

Here I will illustrate what I mean by 'structure of honorific meanings' from the viewpoint of the components of honorific expressions. For convenience of description I will adopt this method: when objects of consideration and objects of treatment are in question I will mark them with a '+', when they are not, I will use a '-'. No distinction is made here between main and side addressee.

For the feature of treatment I will, for instance in the case of 'high/neutral/low', consider 'high' as the representative term, and use a '+_H' to indicate 'high', '-_H' for 'low', and '+_N' for 'neutral'. Similarly, 'formal' represents the 'formal/neutral/informal' group, a '+_F' indicates 'formal', '-_F' 'informal', and '+_±' 'neutral'. Table 2 illustrates how all the groups are organised.

	+	±	-
High [Age]	High [Age]	Neutral	Low [Age]
Distant [Honor]	Distant [Honor]	Neutral	Close [Chikazuki]
Formal [Joutanaru]	Formal [Joutanaru]	Neutral	Informal [Kudaku]
Trouble [Owasu]	Trouble [Owasu]	Neutral	Oblige [O]
Weak [Laku]	Weak [Laku]	Neutral	Strong [Kyou]
Elegant [Bi]	Elegant [Bi]	Neutral	Vulgar [Shuu]
Indirect [Kansensu]	Indirect [Kansensu]	Neutral	Direct [Chokakusetsu]

Table 2: Symbols for the features of treatment

Let us now first look at Honorifics in the narrow sense: Deferential forms, Humble forms, Polite forms and Beautification forms are illustrated in Table 3. Some other non-dedicated, general forms are illustrated in Table 4. Table 5 shows that the same 'manipulations' can be conducted on non-verbal expressions.

Object of consideration	BEAUTIFICATION forms													
	POLITE forms 2 gocaimasu	POLITE forms 1 -desu	HUM forms B 2 -het,	HUM forms B 1 -itasu,	zonzuru	HUM forms A2 -sasete	itadaku	HUM forms A1 mooshagaru -te sahagaru	DEF forms 3 -ki,	goku-	DEF forms 2 -te	DEF forms 1 -o/-ni	kudaranu	naru,-sama,-wareru
S → S-A	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → S-RA	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → S-RP	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → AG-RP	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → A-RA	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → A-Rp	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → S	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → S-CONTENT	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
S → S-SETTING	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Content related to RA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Content related to Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
General content	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Expressive content	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High [Age]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Distant [Hanare]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Formal [Aratamari]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Trouble/Burden [Owase]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Weak [Jaku]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Elegant [Bi]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Indirect [Kansetsu]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±

Table 3: Structure of Honorific meanings ← (Narrow definition)
 S= SPEAKER, A = ADDRESSEE, RA = REFERENT ACTIVE, Rp = REFERENT PASSIVE, AG = AGENT

Object of consideration	Common linguistic expressions													
	REQUESTS 2 -shite itadakeru	REQUESTS 1 -nasai, - rasshai, etc.	VOCABULARY 2 children's (vs. adults') speech	VOCABULARY 1 Sino Japanese (vs. Japanese)	RESPONSES/INTERJECTIONS 2. korukara, oo, iya	RESPONSES/INTERJECTIONS 1. moshi moshi, hai, iie	DEROGATORY -yagaru, - kuzaru, -me							
S → S-A	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → S-RA	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → S-RP	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → AG-RP	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → A-RA	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → A-Rp	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → S	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → S-CONTENT	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
S → S-SETTING	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Content related to RA	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Content related to Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-							
General content of subject matter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-							
Expressive content	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
High [Age]	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Distant [Hanare]	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Formal [Aratamari]	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Trouble/Burden [Owase]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±							
Weak [Jaku]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±							
Elegant [Bi]	+	+	+	+	+	+	±							
Indirect [Kansetsu]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±							

Table 4: Structure of Honorific meanings → (Common linguistic expressions)
 S= SPEAKER, A = ADDRESSEE, RA = REFERENT ACTIVE, Rp = REFERENT PASSIVE, AG = AGENT

		INTERJECTOR <i>suru</i>	The VOICELESS	Handwritten letters	Printed letters	Formal clothing	Casual clothing	Hesitant attitude
Object of consideration	S → S-A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	S → S-RA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S → S-Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S → AG-Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S → A-RA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S → A-Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S → S	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	S → S-CONTENT	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	S → S-SETTING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	S →	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Object of treatment	Content related to RA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Content related to Rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	General content of subject matter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Expressive content	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	High [<i>Age</i>]	-	±	+	+	+	-	-
Features of treatment	Distant [<i>Hedate</i>]	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
	Formal [<i>Iratamari</i>]	+	±	+	+	-	+	+
	Trouble/Burden [<i>Owase</i>]	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
	Weak [<i>Laku</i>]	+	±	±	±	±	±	+
	Elegant [<i>Iti</i>]	+	±	+	+	+	±	+
	Indirect [<i>Kanseisi</i>]	+	±	±	±	±	±	+

Table 5: Structure of Honorific meanings → (Non verbal expressions)
 S = SPEAKER, A = ADDRESSEE, RA = REFERENT ACTIVE, Rp = REFERENT PASSIVE, AG = AGENT

By looking at the analysis of single detailed components of honorific meanings in these tables, it is easy to see similarities and differences between these components. Not just similarities but differences too are evident even within the single group of Deferential forms. That Deferential and Polite forms show some differences is obvious, yet we can also observe some parallelisms. The same applies to items among the Humble forms and between Humble and Polite forms.

Furthermore, it is possible to show clearly to what extent conventional Honorifics and more general honorific expressions overlap, and likewise how much verbal and non-verbal expressions have in common.

Expressive devices

Upper vs. lower (high vs. low) relationships
 We need now to consider what expressive tools or mechanisms are used to convey honorific meanings. It should be possible to list some general features common to verbal and non-verbal behaviour, and observable in Japanese as well as in other linguistic communities.

For instance, many of the honorifics which constitute Deferential forms use mechanisms which 'raise' the object, e.g.: *gokoro-hai* [your good offices], *gokoro-suru* [your opinion], *hahane* [mother], *-te kudakaru* [HUMBLE BEN AUX]²². On the other hand, there are many expressions among the Humble forms which 'raise' the interlocutor by 'lowering' the speaker: *-te sashigeru* [HUMBLE BEN AUX], *-te mooshigeru* [HUMBLE AUX], *tejiyo suru* [offer, present]²³, etc. are examples. There is clearly a principle of 'upper vs. lower' (high/low) relationship at work in these forms. In English, expressions based on this criterion would be something like 'Your Highness' (*denka*). To be sure, in non-verbal expressions one would bow (lower his/her head), or make a gesture to the effect that one is holding something up reverently, upon receiving it. There is indeed a similar principle at work. It is understandable that the high vs. low relationship used as an expressive tool directly reflects the 'high/neutral/low' relationships of the features of treatment in the structure of honorific meanings illustrated before, and that these traits are not rare among Honorific expressions as a whole.

It is, of course, necessary to consider the two dimensions of, respectively, 'upper/lower' as features of treatment within the structure of honorific meanings, separately. Irrespective of whether something is 'high' or 'up' or 'raised', these elements originally indicated a physical hierarchical relationship. This use has in a way been 'diverted' in order to express hierarchical relationships among the honorific meanings. The same applies to the lowering of the head or of the whole posture.

However, there are many intermediate degrees among these forms, ranging from those with a strong conventional nature, to those with a more natural character. The lowering of the posture is a relatively natural feature, and it is observed not only among

²² In writing, the first two terms include the character for 'high' [高], the term for mother (母上) includes the character for 'above' [上], and *kudakaru* (下さる) is written with a character indicating descent from above [下]. BP.

²³ In writing, *sashigeru* (差し上げる) and *mooshigeru* (申し上げる) both make use of the character indicating a movement from low to high, and 'to offer' (奉上) indicates the target of the offer as 'above' [上]. BP.

humans but also in the animal realm, such as in the case of the posture that subordinate Japanese monkeys assume during the 'mounting'.

Before vs. after, big vs. small etc.

Many other features of expressive devices beside 'high vs. low' can be imagined. I would intuitively include at least the following.

1) Up/down (high/low), as described above.

2) Preceding/following (before/after). The person 'raised' is also given precedence, of others when listing them together (e.g. *Saito san to watashi* [Mr. Saito and I], Mrs. Cook and I). Admittedly, this habit is not as strong in the Japanese speech community as it is in the English. In the case of non-verbal expressions, one can think of the order of precedence in entering a room, getting on and off public transport, or table service. Western "ladies first" etiquette is a typical example.

3) Big/small. People one 'raises' are big, those one 'lowers' are small. Among verbal expressions, terms in which this feature is demonstrated to the extreme are *taiki* [you], *shoosai* [I], *shoosha* [my company]²⁴. In paralinguistic behaviour [*zuhanteki* *higengo hyoogen*], terms for oneself (e.g. *shoosai* [I] etc.) are sometimes written in smaller characters. Possibly related to this feature in the area of independent non-verbal expressions are the fact that the posture with hands together at the back connotes an arrogant attitude while that with hands together in front connotes a polite attitude.

4) Elegance/vulgarity and excellence/subordination. *Gyokko* [your manuscript], *hojoo* [kindness], *reijo* [your daughter], *kisha* [your company], *heisha* [my company], *setaku* [my house], *gusoku* [my son]²⁵, illustrate the case on the level of verbal expressions. The assessment of what constitutes elegance/vulgarity and excellence/subordination varies in different societies. In the case of paralinguistic behaviour, it has been observed that Japanese women raise the pitch of their voice in formal situations. However one cannot conclude that because this feature is considered appropriate in Japan, the same applies to other societies. In my experience, in the English speech community, a lower voice is generally produced when aiming at an elegant effect. As for independent non-verbal expressions, it seems that one can generalise that quiet actions are accepted more easily than loud ones.

5) Direct/indirect and immediate/hesitant. This is observed in many circumstances and in many forms. In general, when treating someone as 'high' or formally, features of indirectness and hesitation emerge. For instance, with regards to Deferential expressions, the fact that *-(r)arenu* (the same element also used for the passive and *jiharu* [spontaneous] forms), *o-N-nai naru*, or *o-N-da* [DEF SUFFIXES] are used for an agent's actions may be due to avoidance of direct expressions in favour of those with an indirect character. Also the use of spatial detaches: *omokata* [that direction], *konokata* [this direction], for referring to persons is due to the same reason. Brought to an extreme, this can lead to a complete avoidance of the mention of agents and patients. We have already noted above the existence of many indirect expressions for orders, invitations and requests.

²⁴ Where *ta-* is the character for 'big' [大] and *shoo-* the character for 'small' [小], BP.

²⁵ The character for *gusoku-* [五] indicating a 'precious stone', *ho-* [芳] 'fragrance', *rei-* [令] 'commanding', *ki-* [貴] 'precious', *hai-* [海] 'sea', *setsu-* [世] 'unskilfulness', *go-* [徳] 'superbity'.

It is well known that languages other than Japanese, for example English, possess many expressions of this kind (Would you mind -ing? Could you perhaps...? I wonder if you could...). There are also several non-verbal expressions. Typical examples in the Japanese speech community are the display of hesitation in entering a room or a house despite having been invited in, or upon receiving a gift.

6) Consensus/dissent. Does one align to what the other is saying or does one contradict him/her? Does one conform to or resist the conventions of a society? It is often remarked that there is a very strong tendency in Japanese society towards (a display of one's) conforming to the interlocutor. There may be societies in which it is accepted that one shows dissent in appropriate places.

7) Attention/indifference. This corresponds to the use or avoidance of expressions which indicate the speaker's particular attention to the addressee or some other referent. The non-verbal instance in which this appears more clearly is the display of respect to an interlocutor, which, if put in a formula, corresponds to *kazirita miyagi* 'eyes right!'. To a lower extent, there is the habit of turning the head towards someone when s/he is talking, or similarly, rather than a movement of the face, the act of stopping any chat and listening quietly. It is believed that in the West the habit of turning the face towards the person who is talking is much more pronounced than in Japan.

In the case of verbal expressions, one can note the mention, in appropriate parts of the utterance, of a term for the addressee (name, title, pronoun, etc.). Whatever this means, however, will be different for different societies. It seems for instance that in English, adding a term for the addressee at the end of a greeting, call or response is considered to make the expression a considerate one (e.g. Good morning, Mr. Taylor). On the other hand, in Japanese it seems to have the effect of underscoring the intimacy between the interlocutors.

This feature seems to be very developed in some dialects. In a western dialect of Kyushu there are several terms which derive from *anata* [you] and are used as sentence-final particles: *nata*, *kanta*, *kanta*. According to Shibata (1975), there is a strong tendency in Amami and Okinawa to add the addressee's name at the end or at the beginning of the sentence.

According to a report on the study of language use in the city of Matsue in Shimane prefecture the term *anta* is used more frequently in greetings than in other types of discourse (transactional talk, chat) (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1971).

On the other hand, instances of the behaviour of 'ignoring an object' are also frequent, the most extreme being the rejection of communication.

8) Order vs. disorder. As canonical examples of the former, one could mention the dress code in formal occasions, or the straight posture maintained during ceremonies. The same can be observed in instances of paralinguistic expressions such as careful pronunciation and accurate ways of writing a character, styles of writing [*shoshiki*], and choice of the material for a copy of a document. In verbal behaviour, one can observe 'complete' expressions where no element is omitted, and sentences with omissions and interruptions.

9) Ornamentation vs. non-ornamentation. The 'ornamentation' of verbal expressions may include the use of the suffixes *o-*, *go-*, *mi-* etc., the use before or after a name of status-indicating titles, etc. Also, one could think of the use of complimentary expressions. *Waga shin ainaru...* [Dear...], *warewa ga idainaru eyaru...* [Our great

hero...]. My dear, etc. Using abusive terms equally could be considered as an instance of the same phenomenon of 'ornamentation'. All types of badges (ribbons, emblems, sashes, etc.), the wearing of flowers on the body, the flying of flags, the wearing of certain conversation, an affected [horizontally] voice, and maybe also crocodile tears. In written language it is easy to find instances of this feature, from the manner of printing the type of sheet, all typical instances of ornamental features.

The application of all these features from 1 to 9 is socially-based. Differences would be produced by the choice of the object of consideration, or by the type of evaluative attitude attached to it. For instance, in Japanese, many expressions are derived from the use of individual features such as the verbal display of relations of upper vs. lower (high vs. low), direct vs. indirect (immediate vs. hesitant), orderly vs. disorderly, etc. It is possible that this is in some sort of relation to the cultural patterns underpinning Japanese society. In concrete terms, one could mention the strong awareness of the distinctions between higher and lower relationships, and between formal and casual settings, the relatively passive attitude [shookyokuteki shiseri] towards verbal communication which is said to be a general tendency of Japanese. More research is needed to establish these facts reliably.

Also, of all the elements mentioned here, some would perhaps be assessed in a similar way, but others would be assessed rather differently in other societies and cultures. High vs. low, preceding vs. following, big vs. small could probably be considered universal features. It is possible that the concepts of elegant vs. vulgar (excellence vs. subordination), as well as order vs. disorder, are more culturally specific.

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²⁶ The square brackets indicate my translation of the title. The round brackets indicate the English title assigned to this work and others in the list, as from a 1998 publication of the National Language Research Institute (An Introduction to the National Language Research Institute - a Sketch of its Achievements, Fourth edition) kindly provided by Prof. F. Mimami.