

Minami Fujio – *Honorifics* (part 2)¹

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CHAPTER FOUR. HONORIFICS: CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF HONORIFICS²

Various Conditions

Inside and outside the world of language

It is perhaps possible to argue that the meaning of Honorifics mentioned in Chapter 3 exists inside the world of language. In order for the elements of Honorifics to be expressed/revealed in actual interaction, it is necessary to perform a kind of “matching [*tsukiawase*]” between such meanings of Honorifics that exist inside the world of language and the things that are outside the world of language. In other words, one can claim that when certain things exist outside the world of language, people choose to use particular Honorific meanings —and the Honorific elements which express those meanings, corresponding with those factors. Things that exist outside the language provide the first necessary condition for using elements of Honorifics.

For instance, I have illustrated the meaning structure of “*gozaimasu*” in Table 6. If I express the content of Table 6 in a sentence, it is as follows: “A speaker – after having considered the relation between speaker and addressee, the content of the subject matter [*sozaiteki naiyoo*], and the situations – manipulates his/her expressions so that they may display features of Low (High-), Distant (Distant+), Formal (Formal+), and Elegant (Elegant+).”

We can think of things that exist outside the language world which match each factor, in this case, the relation between speaker and addressee, the content of the subject matter [*sozaiteki naiyoo*], and the situation.

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

² List of abbreviations for Chapters Four and Five
ACC=Accusative Case Marker; COP=Copula; COHORT=Cohortative; COMPL=Complementizer; DAT=Dative Case Marker; GEN=Genitive Case Marker; Hon.Addr.=Honorific Address Terms; Hon.Pref.=Honorific Prefix; IMPER=Imperative; INFER=Inferential; INTERJ=Interjection; SUBJ=Subject marker; LOC=Locative case marker; NOMIN.=Nominalizer; TOP=Topic marker.

Object of treatment	Object of regard/concern [koryo]	
Content related to Agent	Speaker → Speaker-Addressee	+
Content related to Patient	Speaker → Speaker-Agent	-
Content of subject matter in general	Speaker → Speaker-Patient	-
Expressive Content	Speaker → Agent-Patient	-
	Speaker → Addressee-Agent	-
	Speaker → Addressee-Patient	-
	Speaker → Speaker	-
	Speaker → Content of subject matter	-
	Speaker → Situations	+
High [age]		-
Distant [distance]		+
Formal [formality]		+
Trouble [burden]		±
Weak [lack]		±
Elegant [high]		+
Indirect [humble]		±

Chart 6 Semantic Structure of *gozaimasu*

For instance, with regard to the relation between participants, both the vertical relationship of status and the difference of [social] position in the situation (e.g. customer and clerk) may be an important issue. As for the content of the subject matter, we might need to consider whether it is important to the speaker or the addressee. As for situations, what matters is whether it is a formal occasion or not and whether some third party is present or not. When a speaker chooses to impose particular characteristics on the object of treatment [*tasukai no taisho*], she necessarily determines the relationship between speaker and addressee, the content of the subject matter and possible situations.

Strictly speaking, how we understand the relationships between participants, the content of the subject matter and the particular situation all depend on how a speaker judges these parameters. We can nonetheless recognise a general tendency (e.g. a type of reasoning like "when the relation between participants, the content of the subject matter and situations are such and such, speakers are likely to use *gozaimasu*", etc.).

Restrictions within the linguistic system

Given certain conditions outside of the world are fixed, some might think that specific honorific element such as *gozaimasu* will be immediately chosen. However, it is not so simple. What external conditions determine is the meaning of Honorifics. How particular linguistic forms appear in particular places depends on other conditions. For example,

uraboori wa shizuka de gozaimasu.
The back street is [PROLITE] quiet.

If you want to create a (sentence) modifier of a noun [what you would call *renrai shushokugo* in school grammar], simply reversing the order of A and B obtains a very odd sentence:

**shizuka de gozaimasu uraboori.*

It is more likely that we employ the version which omits *gozaimasu*.

Shizukana uraboori
a quiet back street

Even if the speaker chooses to express the meaning of *gozaimasu*, there is no way of expressing it in the structure above. Such a constraint can be seen as a condition affecting the use of Honorifics. However, this kind of condition is not outside, but rather inside the language system.

Having taken these points into consideration, I will consider the following two aspects as the conditions which affect the appearance of Honorific elements:

External conditions (things which are outside the world of language),
Internal conditions (constraints internal to the linguistic system).

I will look at them separately.

External Conditions

In this section, I will list external conditions that might be related to the choice of Honorific meaning, although it is impossible to list all of them. Moreover, it is also very difficult to determine precisely the relationship between these external conditions and choice of Honorifics meaning. In other words, one cannot argue that particular Honorific meanings are always chosen under particular conditions. As mentioned before, it depends on the speaker's understanding of the external conditions. Generally speaking, we can at least say that, under certain conditions, some kinds of meanings are chosen relatively frequently. Therefore, if we want to know the conditions and choice of meanings deriving from those conditions, careful investigations based on reliable source materials are necessary. For the moment, I will illustrate general tendencies based on my subjective judgments.

The external conditions we deal with here can be classified into three: 'Conditions pertaining to human relationships', 'Conditions regarding facts and events', and 'Conditions pertaining to situations'.

1) Conditions pertaining to human relationships

These can be further sub-classified as follows:

a) A person's identity relationship

This refers to the relation of identity between the various roles of the participants, i.e. whether each participant in an interaction (speaker, addressee, agent, patient) shares a similar identity or not. The possibilities may be listed as follows:

Speaker = Agent Speaker ≠ Agent
Speaker = Patient Speaker ≠ Patient

Addressee = Agent Addressee ≠ Agent
 Addressee = Patient Addressee ≠ Patient

(Addressee can be distinguished into the main addressee [*tanomo no uketei*] and side addressees [*waki no uketei*], but I am not making such a distinction here.)

When the addressee coincides with the agent (or a patient), or when the person involved actually is in the presence of the speaker, it is more likely that the speaker chooses the semantic characteristics of Deferential Form or Humble Form (especially Humble Form A) compared to cases where s/he is not. On the other hand, when a speaker coincides with an agent (or a patient), probably the semantic characteristics of Deferential Form will not be chosen, but those of Humble Form (especially Humble Form B) may sometimes be chosen. Should the speaker choose the semantic characteristics of Deferential Form in this case, it would result in an Arrogant or Self-Enhancing Expression [*sondai hyogen*] (e.g. *orezama ga yurushte tsukawazu*, 'I will be so kind as to forgive you').

b) Gender

Gender often comes into play when the speaker is concerned about him/herself. (In other words, it has to do with the concern/regard which can be expressed in the form [Speaker → Speaker]). All the other conditions being the same, more female speakers may tend to choose Honorific meanings in a narrow sense, represented by Deferential Form, Humble Form and Polite Form and Beautification Form [*Bikagoi*] than male speakers. The final particle *wa* is used mostly by female speakers. On the other hand, meanings expressing contempt [*kehi*] such as *-yazuru*, *-kawazu*, *-me* may be more often chosen by male speakers. Use of first person singular reference terms such as *bokei* or *ore* is also of this kind.

c) The social class a speaker belongs to, status, situation etc.

This is concerned with the social class a speaker belongs to, and it is also related to the way the speaker regards himself (Speaker → Speaker). Typical examples are the use of samurai class and the use of common people's language by those belonging to the ordinary class during the Edo Period. It may be more difficult to depict such explicit features in contemporary Japan.

In the Shuri dialect in Okinawa, there are explicit distinctions in pronunciation between male speakers who come from the common classes and those coming from aristocratic or samurai classes. This distinction still exists among some of the older generation (Watanabe 1977). It may also be true among Japanese speakers in general that some people use elegant language in order to demonstrate that they belong to the upper class or that others may intentionally use rough language in reaction to such conventions.

We find similar cases in foreign countries. For example, people in the US Middle class tend to emphasise the final 'r' sound after vowels in words such as 'car' or 'floor' (Labov 1972). Another example is the stuttering speech manner characteristic of British upper classes.

d) Vertical relationship

This vertical relation is the relationship between two human beings. In terms of the aforementioned concern/regard or consideration [*keiryō*], it refers to the following direction of concern of 'Speaker → Speaker/Addressee', 'Speaker → Speaker/Agent' and others. This is intrinsically different from the

speaker's concern toward him/herself (Speaker → Speaker)

The vertical relation between people is often expressed in metaphors. However, we can also include such a relationship of the high or low opposition in status, the top or bottom opposition in order of precedence, as well as superior or inferior and strong or weak. In human society, various relationships can be expressed vertically. Of course we are discussing those which have something to do with linguistic expressions, especially Honorifics. We could arrange a line of individuals in order of their physical height. Such ordering, however, is hardly related to Honorifics in the Japanese speech community, just as good or bad eyesight is also unrelated to language.

I list eight vertical relations that might have something to do with honorific expressions.

(1) Vertical relationship determined by social class

Roughly speaking, social class (pre-modern hierarchy, Watanabe 1977) falls into this category. Needless to say, it is closely related to the social structure of the period and continues to exist in some social systems. The nobility, the samurai class, the common people or the landowners and tenant farmers are some examples. Perhaps what is very conspicuous in contemporary Japan is the existence of the Imperial family. It is reflected in Imperial Honorifics [*kozaishu keigo*] (honorifics for the members of Imperial family). This is by no means unique to the Imperial family in Japan, and a similar type of treatment of royal families in other countries can be discovered in newspapers or broadcasting media.

(2) Vertical relationship determined by birth

This kind of relation is determined by birth. Social status established in one's family's previous generation is also something beyond the control of the person himself, but vertical relation determined by birth is even more absolute. The most basic birth-related vertical relationship determined by birth is seniority in age. This is reflected in the different treatment accorded to age in various groups such as local community, workplace, or between individuals. Seniority order in the parent-child relationship or the brother-sister relationship may be included in this category.

(3) Vertical relationship determined by experience.

This may be related to the previous age-oriented vertical relationship, because both involve length of time (being long or short), but it is fundamentally different. Sometimes even if a particular person is very young in age, he or she might have been a member in a certain group for long time. Sometimes it is not just the length of time that people have spent in some community that matters, but also having had a particular experience before or after another. Sometimes young people who have had particular experiences earlier tend to act as seniors to older people. Experience in the workplace, seniority in school, or length of residency in a particular place all belong to this kind of relationship.

Also certain elements related to the history of the/a relationships between people which are slightly different from duration of time or priority of experience mentioned above, can still be listed in the same category. For instance, two people may have a history of being master and servant, boss and subordinate, winner and loser in a quarrel, or care giver and care receiver.

(4) Vertical relationship determined by roles in society

This relationship is determined by roles in a societal group, irrespective of its size. There are many examples of this kind in modern society, existing in different sectors in society. One typical example is so-called job ranking, such as president, (all kinds of) executive members, manager, department head, section head, or general employee. In many workplaces, it is common to have subdivided job ranking according to the nature of work. I consider that military ranking is also of this sort. The relation between a teacher and student in school, between a coach/captain and other members of a sports team, between leaders/executives and general members of various groups, and between a chairman and the other members of a meeting all fall in this category. This kind of relation is not temporary, but is usually of limited duration. They, however, are not as rigidly fixed as relations determined by social class (especially in earlier times), let alone relationships determined by birth. If one decides to leave a particular social group, relationship determined by roles will disappear in principle. However, even when individuals belong to the same society, roles may be altered by promotion, personnel changes or by changes in the structure of this society itself.

(5) Vertical relationship arising out of discrimination

People tend to distinguish people or groups on the basis of habitual and irrational prejudices. 'Discrimination' may not be most appropriate word but I will call it like this for now since I cannot find any more appropriate name for it.

A good example is that people who are indigenous to a place tend to treat new immigrants as outsiders. This is somewhat similar to the relation determined by experiences, mentioned earlier. The issue of white and black people in the US is truly a matter of discrimination. I presume that the Japanese convention of the dominance of man over woman, or the Western custom of 'ladies first' fall into this category of relationship.

This kind of relation is often based on old customs or values, but human beings naturally make a distinction between themselves and other groups of humans. Therefore new forms of discrimination may emerge.

(6) Vertical relationship determined by ability

Whether there is any particular leadership in some group or not may create such vertical relationship. This type of relation may often be difficult to distinguish from vertical relationship arising from roles in society. The relationship between leaders and followers in children's groups also falls into this category. Of course, the abilities to be evaluated vary according to the nature of the social functions.

(7) Vertical relation arising out of situations.

What is called the 'psychological power relationship' (Figawa 1973) roughly corresponds to this. It is the relation of being placed on a higher (stronger) position or a lower (weaker) position depending on the situations a person is in, such as that of customer-clerk, lender-borrower, server-client or teacher-learner.

This kind of relationship is intrinsically a temporary one. Even the same two people have different relation depending on the situation they are in. Consider the situation where a shop clerk at a department store who served a greengrocer's wife in the morning, happen to come by and shop at that greengrocer's on his/her way back home.

(8) Absolute vertical relation

Let us call the relation toward religious supernatural figures, such as God, Buddha, or other supernatural beings 'absolute vertical relation'. This is not the same as the relation between two human beings, but we regard it in a similar way.

All these vertical relations may not appear independently in typical forms. For example, the parent-child relation in a family is not only a natural relationship but at the same time a relationship determined by roles. However, in terms of the family life and social life it can also be seen as a relation determined by experience. Similarly, the teacher-student relation is not just a vertical relation determined by role in society, but it also concerns the vertical relationship determined by age and experience. The senior-junior relation at school is in many cases a vertical relation determined by age and experience, but relationship determined by role may at times also come into play. As is generally seen in modern Japanese society, relationship determined by roles can coincide with relations determined by experience and may often coincide with relations determined by age in a workplace characterised by a strong seniority system.

e) Degree of intimacy

As for this type of relation, I will make a distinction between the following two kinds.

(1) Psychological degree of intimacy

This is literally whether you would have intimate emotions or not toward some object. This kind of intimacy can be seen between friends, colleagues, and neighbours.

(2) Social degree of intimacy

If we divide this roughly, it can be classified into two: one by blood relationship and the other by social relationship (in a narrow sense). The former refers to whether members are literally biological family or not. The latter is related to the workplace, social group or regional community to which one belongs. For example, an in-company and out-company distinction, belonging to a labour union, a trade association, the same building of an apartment complex, living on the same floor, neighbourhood association, neighbourhood self-governing body, and school classes would all fall into this category.

Since these two kinds of relation are, after all, matters of psychological or social distance: If the distance between speaker and addressee is great, there would be greater likelihood of choosing Horrific elements. In particular, I presume they would choose a meaning such as Polite Form, Deferential Form or Humble Form. When we meet someone for the first time, we tend to use polite or formal language. As we get to know each other and become close, we tend to become more frank and candid.

We have divided social degrees of intimacy into two kinds, psychological and social. However, it is often true that when we are close (or distant) socially, we tend to be close (or distant) psychologically. However, the two are intrinsically different. It is possible to have a socially distant relationship and yet to have intimate emotions toward that person or vice versa.

2) *Conditions regarding items*

These can be classified as follows:

a) Whether items belong to the addressee or the speaker

When items belong to the addressee, the speaker typically chooses the meaning of Deferential Form, especially meanings expressed by elements (prefixes) such *ki-, hoo-, o-, go-*. Recently, I heard *-sama* being used even for something which was not human. A shop clerk said,

O-namae-sama o o-tre-shimashoo ka?

Shall I have your name embroidered [HUM] [DEF PREFIX] ADDRESS FROM [on your jacket]?

On the contrary, when items belong to the speaker, the choice may be of elements which express the meaning of Humble Form such as *hei-, setsu-, shoo-*.

Similar condition applies to items which may once have belonged to the speaker, which eventually ended up belonging to the addressee. For example, the speaker might tell the addressee,

sono-uchi de-tegami o kakimasu.

I will write a letter [DEF PREFIX] before long.

kono-aida sashitagemashita go- itaijo ni ...

In the letter of request [DEF PREFIX] that I gave [HUM] you the other day...

In this case, *o-* or *go-* [which are Honorific elements], are not attached to the things that the addressee will write (or wrote) but to the things that the speaker will write (or wrote).³

This kind of phenomenon is often seen in a 'speaker → addressee' interaction. However, it is not clear that such phenomena would happen in an interaction between a third person (who is neither on the side of the speaker nor on the side of the addressee)⁴ to the addressee'. I think it is difficult to say

(anata no tokoro e) sakin A-shu kara go-tsunuchi ga itia
to omoimanasu ga...

I think that you have received a notice [DEF PREFIX] from Company A recently...

It is because the use of *go-* may be taken as the Deferential expression toward Company A. However, if one says alternatively,

A-shu kara go-tsunuchi o sashitageta to omoimanasu ga...

I think we have had Company A give [Humble] a notice [DEF PREFIX]...

it may appear as though company A is on the side of the speaker.

³ This is because these things will eventually belong to the addressee (NI).

⁴ "Being on A's side" means that you belong to A. As you speak about A or person or items related to A, you use the humble form, because you consider A as your in-group.

c) Whether the matters in question are formal or not

When the things expressed are formal matters, irrespective of the setting (which I will discuss later), it is probable that the speaker tends to use more Polite Form and other Honorific elements. Examples are found in speech on formal and other Honorific occasions. On such occasions, however, congratulatory or consolatory occasions. On such occasions, however, setting-related conditions may also come into play, so it is difficult to distinguish between them. However even in daily conversation the speaker may choose more formal language for such topics.

d) Whether the matters in question belong to daily life or to a special field

This is the condition which explains the occurrence of Beautification Forms [rikagou]. Shibata (1957) attempted to explain which words tend to admit the Beautification prefix *o-* and which words do not. Some of his account may be relevant to the conditions discussed here.

Shibata says that it is difficult to attach *o-* to words related to nature, mineral, plants, shape, colour and mechanical industry and organisation. On the contrary, it is easy to attach *o-* to words related to meals, emotions, mental and bodily functions. Also in referring to the same thing, different terms will be used depending upon whether they are treated as things of daily life or of a special field. For example, we call shop *o-mise* [shop, +DEF PREFIX] in daily conversation, but we call it *shooten* [commercial shop, without *o-*, NI] in articles or papers in economics. In this case, it is a combination of the elements of Beautification Forms *o-*, and choice of vocabulary of Japanese origin [wago]: *mise* or of Chinese origin [kango]: *shooten*. Other examples of this kind are *o-uchi / katei* or *kaoku* [house] *o-kame / kinsen* or *kahai* [money] *o-kome / beikoku* [rice] and *o-fune / sempaku* [ship].

3) *Situational conditions*

I make the following distinctions.

a) Whether situations are formal or not

For example, meetings which involve speeches or lectures are formal occasions, whereas occasions including chitchat or casual conversation are not usually formal. In written language, we distinguish the occasions when we send formal notices or greetings from the occasions when we send personal letters. Generally, more Honorific elements appear on formal occasions, and less Honorific elements are used on non-formal occasions.

b) Whether communication is addressed to one or many

It is not clear whether this stands as an independent condition. This condition comes into play when situations are formal. In any case, people tend to use more Honorific elements in one-to-many communications rather than in one-to-one communications.

c) Whether the message is delivered directly or through indirect means

Strictly speaking, it is a matter of differing means of communication rather than differing situations. However, I will include in this section. For instance, two people who hardly use Honorific elements in face-to-face conversation might use them in a telephone conversation. Similar phenomenon can be seen when we record our message on tape and send it to people or even in letters between individuals.

I imagine that there are individual differences. Younger people tend to make less distinction when they deliver the message either directly or through indirect means.

I have listed some external conditions. They do not exist independently of one another. Some conditions combine with other conditions. For example, though we saw that one of the situational conditions is whether the message is delivered directly or through indirect means, this does not mean that more Honorific elements are bound to appear every time we communicate through indirect means. In such cases, there are always other conditions concerning human relations, which regulate the appearance of Honorific elements. We also need to consider which of these conditions should be treated as more important (which should be prioritised). In order to discuss the mutual relations between different external conditions, providing principles for using Honorifics, we need to investigate more closely.

Principle of Power and Principle of Solidarity

This does not concern Japanese language, but R. Brown and A. Gilman (1960) have presented simple and clear explication of principles of use of Honorifics in European languages. They studied the actual instances of the distinctive use of two different kinds of second person pronouns (such as French *tu* and *vous*; German *du* and *Sie*) and its historical changes. And there they enunciated two principles: Power (a vertical relationship) and Solidarity (the degree of intimacy or social/psychological distance).

They argue that in the past the Power (vertical relationship) Principle was dominant in European languages. Therefore the use of second person pronouns was often non-reciprocal, i.e. when A may use *tu* to B, B may use *vous* to A.⁵ Aristocrats in the Middle Ages used *tu* to the common people and the common people used *vous* to aristocrats. Until recently it was customary that parents called their children *tu* and that children used *vous* to parents.

However, in recent years, the Solidarity Principle came to be dominant and the use of second person pronouns became reciprocal. That is, if two people are close to each other, both of them use *tu* to each other. For example, many parents and children today address each other with *tu*. On the other hand, the French Army adopted a regulation that officers should address their subordinates or enlisted men as *vous*. They refer to each other as *vous*, so it is reciprocal. In any case, the mode of address in European languages is still going through changes today.

However, it is not the case that the Solidarity Principle has totally replaced the Power Principle. Some Japanese visiting Germany spoke to a German child using *Sie* instead of *du* and the child did not even realise that the man was speaking to him. Children in Germany are now called *du* by any adult, regardless of degree of intimacy.

As mentioned before, contemporary English does not have the *tu/vous* distinction. The fact that they use only 'you', derived from the older 'ye', i.e. the equivalent of *vous* in European languages, might make us think that English is such a progressive language. However, an American told me that even in the English-speaking world, while those who are senior could start using each other's first names, it is difficult for young people to speak to their seniors in such an intimate fashion. In this case, the Power Principle works in the English language.

From Power to Solidarity

These two principles seem useful in explaining various phenomena in the contemporary use of Japanese Honorifics. For example, when company employees use Honorifics to their superiors within a company, the Power (vertical relationship)

Principle is working. When two colleagues who are intimate with each other talk without Honorifics, the Solidarity (degree of intimacy) Principle is working. Also, when company employees do not use Honorifics to refer to their own company when in conversation with out-group people (those outside the company), we can see the outworking of the Solidarity Principle. In-group and Out-group distinction, which is part of the aforementioned degree of social intimacy, may be seen as the Japanese way of putting the Solidarity Principle into practice.

Considering this example from the viewpoint of historical changes in Honorific use, we may see it as an example of 'absolute Honorifics' becoming 'relative Honorifics'. In the past, when speakers referred to someone superior to themselves, they always used Honorifics. Today, however, they may or may not use Honorifics depending on the social and psychological distance from the addressee. We may interpret this change as an example of the Solidarity Principle replacing the Power Principle, though it does not appear in quite the same way as in Europe.

Speaking in a broad perspective, we may say that Japanese is also experiencing changes parallel to those which have occurred in European languages. The fact that many Japanese parents and children no longer use Honorifics between themselves can also be seen as a phenomenon parallel to parents and children in Europe coming to address one another as *tu*.

Superiority of the Vertical Relationship Principle

On the whole, the Vertical Relationship Principle seems to gain predominance. I do not have empirical evidence which demonstrates this objectively. However, from daily experience, when we [in this case, Japanese] speak with someone else, we seem to be talking while evaluating our vertical relationship with the addressee. This is why Neustupny voiced criticism of Japanese speakers as follows:

Japanese speakers express too much social status or solidarity even when they communicate in foreign languages. It seems very difficult for them to communicate ideas at a neutral level to superiors and to communicate with strangers without being either too intimate or too distant. (Neustupny 1974)

Even in vertical relationships there are many different varieties as mentioned before. As conditions required for certain Honorific expressions to be used, more than one kind of vertical relationship is involved. It is possible that one condition may take precedence over others in determining the appearance of Honorific expressions.

S. E. Martin (1964) studied the order of priority among four factors: Position, Age Difference, Gender Difference, and Outgroupness (related to Degree of Intimacy rather than to a Vertical Relationship) in Standard Japanese, Standard Korean, Okinawa Shuri Dialect and summarised the result in Table 7.

⁵ Mitsumi used *omise* for *tu* equivalent and *amata* for *vous* equivalent. I (N.I.) used *tu* and *vous* in this article.

	Person in the topic	Addressee (calling a person)
Standard Japanese	P	O
	A	P
	S	A
Standard Korean	O	S
	P	P
	A	S
Okinawa Shuri dialect	A	A
	P	O
	O	P
	S	S

Table 7 Order of priority of various factors (P: Position, A: Age, S: Sex Difference, O: Outgroupness)

Martin himself thinks that this rating is approximate or rough and that he is not satisfied with it. We need more careful study in order to clarify such matters.

This study by Martin viewed the Honorifics of Japanese and Koreans in a general way. However, one would expect the interplay of various vertical relationships depending on actual situations. In language usage in the old Japanese Army, the vertical relationship determined by roles, i.e. the military hierarchy,⁶ and the vertical relationship determined by experience⁷ both existed side-by-side. Sometimes the latter relationship was stronger than the former. In a novel called 'Shinku Chitai [the vacuum zone]' by Hiroshi Nono, there is a scene that a *Ninen-hei* [second year soldier] who is the *Jootoo-hei* [superior class soldier] by status is calling a *Sanen-hei* [third year soldier] who is the *Itooo-hei* [first class soldier] "Sanen-hei *dono* [Mr. Third Year Soldier]". There are similar phenomena in the Japanese workplace.⁸

Internal Conditions

Internal conditions are the conditions inside a given language system which are directly related to the choice of particular Honorific elements. I cannot list all possible conditions which control the Honorific elements. So I will look at some restrictive conditions.

1) Conditions related to discourse

- When discourse is directed not toward any particular individual but toward the general public as addressees, elements employing Polite Form and Humble Form such as *tasu* [do, +HUM], *zonzuru* [know, +HUM], *moosu* [say, +HUM], usually do not appear. Examples are general books, articles or editorials in newspaper or magazines, theses, office documents, etc.
- The position of Honorific elements within the structure of a discourse needs to be considered. In coherent conversational discourse, the Honorific elements are often seen at the beginning and the end of the discourse but not so often in the middle of the discourse. Typical examples may be when interlocutors begin

⁶ Examples of Japanese Military Class in a descending order: Taii, chunai, shonai, joutoo-hei, itoo-hei

⁷ According to the years you joined the Army, they are called Ichimen-hei (first year soldier), Ninmen-hei (second year soldier) and Sanmen-hei (third year soldier)

⁸ More examples are given in Chapter Six of Minami's book, not translated in this article.

conversation with greetings and then get down to business talk in the middle and conclude with greetings (e.g. the conversation pattern of the guest who had some business with the person he visited). In the greeting part, Honorific elements such as Polite Form and Humble Form appear. Even in written language, the structure of letters, which have a nature similar to spoken discourse, may show a similar tendency.

c) The distinction between written language and spoken language may be seen as a condition related to discourse. For example, prefix elements such as *he-*, *setsu-* and *ga-* listed earlier as examples of Humble Form, appear only in written language (or in a very literary form of spoken language). On the contrary, contemporary elements such as *-yogaru*, *-kuzaru*, and *-me* only appear in spoken language (or in a conversational part of written language).

2) Conditions related to the structure of sentences

a) There are some subordinate clauses (or phrases) which cannot take the Polite Form element *masu* in their predicate. The phrases which end with *-nagara* [while—ing], *-suzus/as* [---], *-naita[nol]*, *-zu[nol]*, *-zumi[nol]*, *-makute[nol]*, *-ba[if...]* are such examples.

We cannot conceive such forms as

**aruki masshi nagara*, **utai masshi/sutsu*, **naki masse nai de*,

**ki masse naku te*, **furi masse ba*, **gozaimase ba*

As for *-zu[nol]* and *-zumi[nol]*, it is not totally impossible to have the polite form such as *masu* or *gozaimasu* appear. In formal greetings, some people may use the forms such as *ari masse zumi*, or *itashi masse zumi gozaimase zu*. But such use is not common.

However, such phrases can take the Deferential elements.

Inemuri o nasari nagara...

As you doze [DEF] off

Iazura o nasara naide...

[You] did not do [DEF] mischief....

Sorehodo g-nomi ni narazumi...

[You] did not drink [DEF] so much....

kochira e irasshareba...

If you come [DEF] this way....

Among Humble Form elements, *-te sashiyageru*, *-te kudakaru* can appear in the subordinate phrases listed above. However Humble Form such as *itasu* [do, +HUM], *zonzuru* [know, +HUM], and *mairu* [come, +HUM], which often occur with *masu*, cannot be used. Also these Humble Forms hardly occur without *masu*. The [Humble, NI] prefixes such as *he-*, *setsu-*, *shoo-*, *ga-* and the Beautification Forms *-o-*, *-go-* are not affected by with this type of restriction.

On the contrary to the subordinate phrases we have seen, there are some phrases which allow Polite Form elements. They are *-te[...and...]* and *-ga* [although...].

yudeta yusai wa itan o-nabe kara dashimashi te...
As for boiled vegetables, you take [POL] them out of the pot [DEF PREFIX]
and...

soko e itta hito wa zembu de hachi-nin desu ga...
Although the people who went there were [COP POL] all together eight...

matia izen no seisaku ni modoru wakede gozaimashite.
It means [POL] that our party goes back to the previous policy again...

However, the Polite Form elements do not appear in some cases even if the phrases have the same ending. For example, it is possible to say,

Sake wa saki da ga tabako wa nomanai otoko
The man who loves sake but does not smoke

but it is difficult to say

??*Sake wa saki desu ga tabako wa nomanai otoko*
The man who loves [Polite] sake but does not smoke

Also, while it is possible to say

te o fute hashirinashita.
He ran [POL] [white] waving his hand.

it is unnatural to say

**te o furimashite hashirinashita.*
He waved [POL] his hand and ran [POL].

b) In the phrase *-to*, which indicates a quotation, there are some instances where it is difficult to use Polite Form. Roughly speaking when the verbs which follow *-to* phrase are related to language activities such as *iru* [tell], *hanasu* [speak], *kataru* [narrate], *isigeru* [inform], *sasayaku* [whisper] *morasu* [seek], *oshieru* [teach], *enzetsu suru* [make a speech], *hoosoo suru* [broadcast], *kaku* [write], *shirasu* [record], *insatsu suru* [print], Polite Form can appear freely before the *-to* form, i.e. in the quotation part.

"*kore wa watashi ga katta hon desu*" *to imashita.*
[I] said that this was [POL]the book that I bought [POL].

"*ashita wa shigoto o yasuminasu*" *to imashita.*

[I] said [POL] that I will have [POL] a day off tomorrow.

"*sorewa taihen kooeina koto de gozaimasu*" *to hanashita.*
[I] mentioned that it would be [POL]such an honour

"*rainen natsu mata oai shimashoo*" *to kaite itta.*

It was written that we shall meet [HUM] again next summer.

However, if the verbs which follow *-to* are related to psychological activities, Polite Form elements find it difficult to appear in front of *-to*. *Omou* [think], *kanjaueru* [think], *kanjinru* [feel], *shinjiru* [believe], *shinoo-suru* [trust], *shinrai-suru* [trust] and *soozoo-suru* [imagine] and *yosoo-suru* [predict] are some examples.

Rather than saying

??*kore wa kare ga katta hon desu to omoimasu*
I think this is [POL]the book that he bought.

it is common to say

kore wa kare ga katta hon da to omoimasu.
I think this is the book that he bought.

It is not totally impossible to say

??*kare wa sore o kanarazu yatte kuremasu to shinjimasu.*
I believe [POL] that he will certainly do [BEN POL] that [for me]

but it sounds natural to say

kare wa sore o kanarazu yatte kurenu to shinjimasu.
I believe [POL] that he will certainly do [BEN] that [for me]

The same thing can be said about the following two sentences.

?*sono damu no kooji wa kotoshi kugatsu made-ni kansai suru deshou*
to yosoku shiteimasu.
I am predicting [POL] that the construction work on that dam will be completed [POL] by September this year.

sono damu no kooji wa kotoshi kugatsu made-ni kansai suru daroo
to yosoku shiteimasu.

I am predicting [POL] that the construction work of that dam will be completed by September this year.

c) Polite Form inside the adnominal modifier
We discussed this at the beginning of this chapter. Polite Form elements hardly appear in such constructions.

?*kinoo watashi ga kaimashita hon wa kore desu.*
This is [POL] the book that I bought [POL] yesterday.

kinoo watashi ga katta hon wa kore desu.
This is [POL] the book that I bought yesterday.

Comparing the two sentences above, the latter is considered to be the normal. However, as extremely polite expressions, it is not so unusual to have sentences

such as

kinoo watashi ga kaimashita hon wa kore de gozaimasu
This is [Super POL] the book that I bought [POL] yesterday.

However, it is unnatural to have sentences such as

**ma wa hon o yominasu ikan desu*
Now is [POL] the time to read [POL] books

**nanika tabemusu mono wa arimasen ka?*
Is [POL] there anything to eat [POL]?

We can see that while some sentence modifiers allow Polite Form elements freely, it is impossible to have them with some other modifiers. I have not discovered a clear basis for these differences.

However, roughly speaking, when the nouns you modify are time, place or nominative or accusative and when various elements of meanings are restricted and are made specific, they allow greater freedom of using Polite Form elements. For example,

kinoo shibarai de watashi ga kaimashita hon
the book I bought [POL] in Shibuya yesterday.

On the contrary, when there is less restriction or when various elements are less specific, (or if the meaning is general), Polite Form is less likely to appear. However, we need more investigation on this matter.

d) The adnominal modifier [*renjiai shinshokugou*] and appearance of the Honorific element in the predicate of the sentence containing that modifier. This should be seen as a condition necessary for the use of Honorific elements rather than conditions which restrict the use of Honorifics. When there are Polite Form elements in the sentence modifier, it is likely that the predicate of the sentence will also include Polite Form (or Deferential Form or Humble Form).

It is natural to say

kinoo sashitagemashita ebi wa moo oaguri ni narimashita ka?
Have you already eaten [DEF] the prawn I gave [HUM] you yesterday?

However, it is impossible to say

**kinoo sashitagemashita ebi wa moo tabeta ka?*
Have you already eaten the prawn I gave [HUM] you yesterday?

Similarly, the first sentence below is acceptable, but the second one is unacceptable.

kochira kara ookuri hashimasu yooshi ni go-shomei go-natsu-in
no ue, okaeshi kudasai mise.

After you sign [DEF] and put your seal [DEF] on the form that I send [HUM POL] from us [*lit.* this side], please send [BEN DEF] it back to us.

**kochira kara ookuri hashimasu yooshi ni go-shomei go-natsu-in*
no ue, kaeshitekure.
After you sign [DEF] and put your seal [DEF] on the form that I send [HUM POL] from us [*lit.* this side], please send [BEN] it back to us.

However when the sentence is decisive or has clear affirmative tone, we see different characteristics. For example,

10 nen ni watatte A-kun o shidoo saremashtia B-sensei, kono kata
wa nakanka erai kata datta.
Teacher B who has given [DEF POL] instruction to Mr. A for 10 years;
this person was [POL] a great person.

It is also possible to have a sentence as below.

10 nen ni watatte A-kun wo shido saremashtia B-sensei, kono kata
wa nakanka erai kata datta.
Teacher B who has given [DEF POL] instruction to Mr. A for 10 years;
this person was a great person.

I cannot explain clearly the conditions that make such a sentence acceptable but I think that the position of that sentence in the discourse has something to do with it.

10 nen ni watatte A-kun wo shido saremashtia B-sensei, kono kata wa
nakanka erai kata datta.
Teacher B who has given [DEF POL] instruction to Mr. A for 10 years;
this person was a great person.

Kore wa shunai no hitobito no hanashi kara mo ukagat shiru koto ga dekiruno
dewa nakikata.
We can guess this from the way people around talked [about him].⁹

e) As for the relation between the end of the sentence and appearance of the Honorific elements in the sentence modifier, there are other issues involved. For example, in contemporary Japanese society, parents generally do not use Deferential Form about their children's actions. However, many parents use the form *-nasai* in sentences which contain imperatives as in

hayaku ikimasai
Go [IMPERATIVE] quickly!
yoku kande tabemasai
Chew well and eat [IMPERATIVE]!

⁹ These two sentences were presented as a sequence in a discourse. I (N) put translation separately for the case of readers.

Also we use *-deshao* rather than *-danro* toward addressees that we don't usually use *desu* and *masu* in inferential [*suiryo*] sentences. This means that with *-naai* Teinei [politeness] (or Sonkei [deference]) may be smaller. In any case, certain characteristics of the sentence (such as direct action toward the addressee) seem to be conditions required for the appearance of certain Honorific forms.

3) Conditions related to word structure

a) Words which can take *o-* and those which cannot take *o-*
 Shibata Takeshi (1957) has presented his study on this matter. Not all words can be preceded by *o-*. There are many words which cannot take *o-* or where it is difficult to take *o-*. Shibata shows that the following categories tend not to have *o-* attached very easily.

words of foreign origin [*gaivango*]
 words starting with *o-*

long words
 words which convey a bad impression

e.g. *dangoppama* [snub nose], *itaku* [country], *torikku* [trick], *kuso* [swat]
 words related to nature or colours (related to nature, mineral, plants, shape, colour, mechanical industry, organisation)

On the contrary, as mentioned in 2) d) in External Conditions in this chapter, words related to meals, emotions, mental and bodily functions can take *o-* easily. Words related to colour or nature or words related to meals, emotions, mental and bodily functions should be seen as relating to external conditions. (Perhaps words which carry bad impressions should be seen as external conditions as well.) However, words of foreign origin, words starting with *o-* or long words should be treated as internal conditions. We need further analysis to establish more explicitly the conditions required to display such tendencies.

b) Whether words take *o-* or *go-*
 Whether you should use *o-* or *go-* is determined by the origin of words. Generally speaking, vocabulary of Japanese origin [*wago* or *yamatokotoba*] take *o-* and vocabulary of Chinese origin [*kango*] take *go-*. However, they are not necessarily true in all cases.

o-uchi [house, +DEF PREFIX], *o-ko-san* [child, +DEF PREFIX, +ADDRESS TERM], *o-sashimi* [sashimi, +DEF PREFIX], *o-temae* [way of serving tea, +DEF PREFIX], *o-namae* [name, +DEF PREFIX], *o-hana* [flower, +DEF PREFIX].

go-anshin [releief, +DEF PREFIX], *go-kazoku* [family, +DEF PREFIX], *go-shikatsu* [observation, +DEF PREFIX], *go-toosen* [success or winning, +DEF PREFIX], *go-nempai* [elderly, +DEF PREFIX], *go-fuujū* [couple, +DEF PREFIX].

What are listed above are common examples.

However, the following are examples where *o-* is attached to vocabulary of

Chinese origin.

o-danwa [telephone, +DEF PREFIX], *ohentou* [lunchbox, +DEF PREFIX], *o-kyaku* [guest, +DEF PREFIX], *o-isha-san* [doctor, +DEF PREFIX], +ADDRESS FORM], *o-chawan* [teacup, +DEF PREFIX], *o-benkyo* [study, +DEF PREFIX], *o-shūji* [calligraphy, +DEF PREFIX], *o-ryouri* [cooking, +DEF PREFIX].

As Shibata pointed out, words which take *o-* are often related to daily life, e.g. meals. If this is true, the external conditions which Shibata pointed out may take precedence over the internal conditions, i.e. whether they are *kango* (vocabulary of Chinese origin) or *wago* (vocabulary of Japanese origin). However we need more careful studies concerning this matter.

CHAPTER FIVE. FUNCTIONS OF HONORIFICS

Investigation by Oishi

How does Honorifcs function in actual communication? As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Honorifcs is used under various conditions, whether in the broad or narrow definition of the term. In each condition, it has some particular function. In other words, it must be used with the expectation of having some kind of effect [*hyogen kokoi*].

Oishi (1975) has presented his investigation into such functions of Honorifcs, which he classifies as follows.

1. Expression of Respect [*ragame*]

The first is an expression of respect [*ragame*]. This is the function of Honorifcs that ordinary people first think of, which is the use of Honorifcs for showing respect. It is the use that is related to various kinds of vertical relationships which are mentioned as the 'external conditions' earlier. Oishi divides this use into four categories: 1, showing respect for status and ability; 2, showing respect for superiors; 3, showing respect for those who do us favours; and 4, valuing persons for themselves. In this type of expression, one simply expresses respect for someone. In other words, one reverses them.

Incidentally, Oishi has made interesting remarks that using the expressions of respect and having the feeling of respect or reverence [*kei*] are different. For example, the clerk who uses vocational Honorifcs may not necessarily have respect for the customers.

2. Expression of Distanting [*hedate*]

When we talk to people met for the first time, or passers-by, we do not use the informal expressions that we use between close friends. We try to speak more politely. It is considered to be bad manners to talk to someone we meet for the first time casually without using Honorifcs. On the other hand, a casual way of talking without use of Honorifcs could sound friendly. Needless to say, these usages are related to degree of intimacy, which is part of the 'external factors' mentioned in the previous chapter. Oishi argues that after all, Honorifcs is intrinsically standoffish or distant and it is used in a relation in which a psychological hedge exists. Therefore one way of using Honorifcs is to speak with Honorifcs to those who you want to keep at a distance.

Certainly, this way of using Honorifcs erects a hedge between two human beings. To put it differently, we can perhaps say that it is to claim one's territory. For the speaker, the addressee or the third person to whom the speaker uses Honorifcs is a person who is outside his territory. The one whom the speaker can talk without using Honorifcs exists inside his territory, and therefore, is a fellow member.

For instance, there are parents who use Honorifcs with their children only when they scold them. It appears that parents are temporarily pushing the children out of their territory and creating a hedge between them and their children. They might think that such use of Honorifcs has the effect of not allowing their children to depend on them. On the other hand, Honorifcs is not used within an in-group. For example, when the speaker is referring to his own company employee in conversation with out-group people, even if the referent is superior to the speaker, he does not use Honorifcs. This is because he treats his superior as someone who exists within his own territory.

3. Expression of Formality [*aratamari*]

This use of Honorifcs is related to 'situational conditions', which is part of the aforementioned 'external conditions'. Even people who usually talk casually with each other speak with formality in formal situations. Oishi states that it is natural that people use formal language with Honorifcs as its main device on formal occasions such as at conferences, explication, presentation or reporting in front of large audience.

It is, so to speak, used as a lingua franca. Being involved in a formal occasion may motivate people to use Honorifcs. However, the opposite may also be true. The speaker may use Honorifcs in order to make it clear that it is a formal occasion. Using Honorifcs may turn the occasion into a formal one.

4. Expression of Dignity [*igeni*], Decency [*hin-i*], Contempt [*keibetsu*] and Sarcasm [*hinkai*]

Honorifcs is occasionally used to express the dignity and decency of the speaker himself or a feeling of contempt or sarcasm toward someone. Oishi states that in this use, Honorifcs is used with a kind of superiority. He also claims that such use of Honorifcs, connected with superiority and used to establish superiority, indicates that Honorifcs is language of culture or sophistication [*kyougo-sei*]. One needs to be highly educated or sophisticated in order to manipulate Honorifcs elegantly. Therefore Honorifcs is used to show off the sophistication of the speaker. Oishi also states that it is natural that women who love elegance use Honorifcs more frequently because it is considered as an elegant language.

Certainly we cannot deny the fact that one of the purposes of using Honorifcs is to express such dignity [*igeni*], decency [*hin-i*], contempt [*keibetsu*] and sarcasm [*hinkai*]. Especially, Expression of dignity and decency is related to Speaker's concern toward Speaker himself/herself. However, it is questionable whether the expression of dignity and decency should be distinguished from aforementioned other expressions. Expression of Dignity or Decency seem to be related to Expression of Formality. Expression of Contempt and Sarcasm as well as that of Dignity and Decency may be related to Expression of Distanting. As Oishi says, if such expressions are also used to show off sophistication of the speaker, they also indicate that the speaker tries to portray that he is not of the same kind as the addressee or the third person (i.e. he is not the person in the same territory).

5. Expression of Intimacy [*shin-ai*]

Addressing people as *-san*, *-kun* and *-chan* shows more respect than calling them only by their name alone. Among these titles, *-chan* should be classified as a term of intimacy rather than that of respect. Oishi points out such use of Honorifcs and also includes expressions addressed to small children such as

oisan ga ii mono o ageyoo

Uncle [I] will give you a good thing.

obasan ni mixete choozai

Would you show [BEN] it to auntie [me]?

Oishi also treats these expressions as Expressions of Intimacy. Needless to say, this use of Honorifcs is strongly characterised by degree of intimacy, which is part of

'external conditions'. They are expressions with which the speaker attempts to get closer to the addressee rather than distancing himself as in Expression of Distancing.

Another View of Honorifics

Functions of linguistic communication

It is possible to have a different view about the function of Honorifics. In this view, we first consider functions of communication in general (functions of linguistic communication) and then try to find out the place of Honorifics in these functions in particular.

The functions of verbal communication are varied. Thinking in a simple manner, the main function of language is to communicate some fact or information of some logical relations, such as "the wind is blowing hard here now" or "15 plus 7 is 22". However, functions of language are more than that. When we fail to do something, we might say "Damn it!". When we see a friend in distance, we call out to him, "Hello!". These are also functions of language.

When someone says to his friend whom he meets on the street "It is such a terrific wind, isn't it?", he does not do so in order to communicate that "a strong wind is blowing". Both parties already know that a strong wind is blowing; yet they say it because they want to reconfirm their mutual social relations through such conversational exchange. Language is used for such purposes, too.

Riddles and the Shiri-tori game¹⁰ are also linguistic expressions. The function, however, is 'play'. I was once reading a children's magazine and came across a riddle question "What was the principal of the school doing at 11 am yesterday?" This is not a question expecting information about a particular activity of the principal. (The answer was "He was breathing.")

Various researchers' thoughts

Various researchers have expressed thoughts on the function of linguistic communication. A well-known example is R. Jakobson (Jakobson 1960). He first considered several factors necessary for linguistic communication to happen and acknowledged the function of each factor. He listed six functions: emotive (direct expression of emotion or senses), conative (appeal to or demand from the other party), poetic (functions concerning art and play), referential (function of pointing to something), metalingual (the function of representing language with language), and phatic (function concerning social contact) functions.

There are various thoughts among Japanese scholars about the function of linguistic communication. Iwabuchi (1965; 1970) lists four functions of language: 'recognising', 'communicating', 'thinking' and 'creating'. Also Tokieda (1955) lists 'practical [*Jitsuyō-teki*] function (as a means)', 'social [*shakai-teki*] function' and 'appreciative [*kanshō-teki*] function'.

Six functions

Having considered various researchers' opinions about the function of general communications, I will take up the functions that might have relevance to Honorifics and list them as follows:

1) Opening and closing of social relationship

Greetings when meeting or parting or calling and responding are typical examples of this function. How such kind of discourse appears and how various

Honorifics elements are used in these discourses are important.

2) Maintenance of social relationships

Activities such as continuing conversation and letter exchange has this function. Polite Form and other Honorifics expressions among people who are mentioned before, use of polite [*teinei-na*] expressions more distant. In such a case, not using close would make the relationship more distant. In such a case, not using Honorifics helps people maintain their social relationships.

3) Protection of social status

For example, following social customs concerning general good manners (or at least not going against them) serves as a guarantee that each individual exists as a member of that society. This is true about the use of language including Honorifics (especially when it is narrowly defined).

4) Exchange of essential information

This is an exchange of the information about some fact or logical relation. At a glance, Honorific expressions seem to be unrelated to this kind of function. Yet, even if the word which indicates the agent or patient is absent from a sentence, one can often understand who is doing what (and to whom) by the presence of elements of Deferential or Humble Form there. This kind of function enables the speaker to avoid the word that refers to the addressee by using Deferential Form and Humble Form, and show respect to him. When we read Old Japanese such as 'Genji Monogatari (The Tale of Genji)', we often rely on the use of Honorifics in the text and find out the semantic subject (agent) of the sentence. It is another example of using this function.

5) Forcing the other party to do something or making an appeal

This function appears in commands, requests or interrogative expressions. In short, it will demand that the addressee should perform some kind of action including some linguistic activities.

6) Expression of aesthetic value

This may not be the primary purpose of using Honorifics, but it perhaps accompanies such expressions. Typical examples may be manners in general, non-linguistic expressions that accompany speech (smiling, gesturing, the style of writing) and the manners of speech themselves. In some societies, rough or abrasive actions or speech are seen as favourable and may contribute to the maintenance of social relations or social status.

Thinking generally, Honorific expressions are always related to some kind of human relationship. Therefore out of the six functions listed above, the function of social relationships seems to be primary. Certainly this must be considered as the primary function of Honorific expressions in general. However, Honorific expressions are also related to other functions as I mentioned earlier. I will illustrate the relation between Honorific expressions and other functions in Table 8 below.

Expressions of aesthetic value are considerable in almost all the Honorific expressions. The specific contents vary considerably depending on the elements of expressions. A typical example is that the content of Beautification Expressions [*bitagō*] is manifestly different from that of Abusive Expressions [*hibō-hyōgen*].

¹⁰ a word game played by saying a word that starts with the last syllable of the word given by the previous player.

The element of each expression usually has more than one function. Some functions of linguistic communication may overlap with other functions. Some saw in the semantic content of the Honorific expressions we looked at earlier. For example, we see the function 'exchange of essential information' as a common feature in many linguistic expressions, but not so often in non-linguistic expressions. However, the function 'forcing the other party to do something or making an appeal' exists in command or request expressions but not in many other expressions.

	FUNCTIONS					
	Opening of SR	Maintenance of SR	Protection of SS	Exchange of Info.	Forcing/Appeal	Aesthetic
Sonkeigo 1 - <i>sama</i> , -(<i>ra</i>) <i>ren</i> , <i>o-ninuru</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Sonkeigo 2 - <i>te kadassaru</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Kenjogo 1 - <i>te moshigaru</i> , - <i>te sashigaru</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Kenjogo 2 - <i>imasu</i> , <i>zozuru</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Teineigo 1 - <i>desu</i> , - <i>masu</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Teineigo 2 - <i>gozaimasu</i>	±	+	+	+	+	+
Bikago <i>o</i> , - <i>go</i> -	-	+	+	+	+	+
Hiba-Hyoogen - <i>me</i> , - <i>yogaru</i> , - <i>kasaru</i>	±	±	±	±	±	±
Kantooshi/Ootooshi 1 <i>moshimoshi</i> , <i>hai</i> , <i>ite</i>	+	+	±	-	+	+
Kantooshi/Ootooshi 2 <i>korakora</i> , <i>ou</i> , <i>iya</i>	+	+	±	-	+	+
Vocabulary of Chinese origin [<i>kango</i>]	±	+	±	-	+	±
Vocabulary of Children [<i>yojigo</i>]	±	+	-	+	±	±
Command/Request 1 - <i>nasai</i> , <i>trasshai</i>	±	±	±	+	+	+
Command/Request 2 - <i>shite itadakeru</i> <i>tandesukedo</i>	±	±	±	+	+	+
Merged form - <i>chatta</i> etc.	-	+	±	-	+	+
Interjectional sound: sound of breathing air in	±	+	±	-	+	+
Handwritten letter	+	+	±	-	+	+
Printed letter	+	+	±	-	+	+
Formal clothing	+	+	±	-	+	+
Hesitant attitude	+	+	±	-	+	+

Figure 8 Honorifics and communicative functions

The six functions are abbreviated as follows.

- Opening and closing of social relationship—Opening of SR
- Maintenance of social relationship—Maintenance of SR
- Protection of social status—Protection of SS
- Exchange of essential information—Exchange of Info.
- Forcing the other party to do something or making an appeal—Forcing/appeal
- Expression of aesthetic value—Aesthetic

N.B. + - indicates whether each item has a relation or not.
± indicates that it may or may not have a relation.

Function of Non-use of Honorifics

Five strategies

We have been looking at the function of Honorifics with the assumption that we will use Honorifics. The opposite of use of Honorifics is non-use of Honorifics. There are occasions when we do not use Honorifics. We can imagine that there are certain occasions or expressions for not using Honorifics.

Hatsuzono Ootshi (1983) calls such non-use of Honorifics 'de-honorification functions' or expressions for not using Honorifics.

Hatsuzono Ootshi (1983) calls it 'avoidance [*kaihi*] of Honorifics'. [Hatsuzono Ootshi] . J. V. Neustupny (1983) calls it 'avoidance [*kaihi*] of Honorifics'. [Hatsuzono Ootshi] . J. V. Neustupny (1983) calls it 'avoidance [*kaihi*] of Honorifics'. He claims that avoidance of Honorifics exists in Western languages but is conspicuous in Japanese society. For example, people avoid using Donatory Verbs [*warimorai dooshi*] regarding their own family members. Neustupny argues that it is because they don't particularly want to make a distinction whether their mother *yatta* [give, PAST PLAIN] or *agetta* [give, PAST +POL.] something. Similarly, suppose that someone received a telephone call at your workplace and was asked if a certain person was in the office or not. If *imasen* [exist, NEG +POL.], *trasshaimasen* [exist, NEG +DEF] and *orimasen* [exist, NEG +HUM] all seem inappropriate, this speaker would avoid all three expressions and try to find another form of expression.

Neustupny classifies the strategies that Japanese people use with other Japanese people to avoid Honorifics as follows:

Strategy 1. To avoid the predicate which has the most concentrated Honorifics element. For instance, instead of saying

Nihon-ni sunde trasshaimashita-ka?
Were you living [DEF] in Japan?

one may stop before *trasshaimashita-ka* and never finish the sentence. This is one of the reasons why Japanese often stop the sentence in the middle. Neustupny points out that in Japanese conversation the addressee is capable of sensing the speaker's attempt to avoid Honorifics and therefore would cooperate with the speaker in communication.

Strategy 2. To use a predicate which does not require the choice of Honorifics even if this changes the meaning slightly. For example, one can avoid using *daran* [COPULA INFERENCE PLAIN] and instead use *desho* [COPULA INFERENCE PLAIN] which requires no polite-plain distinction.

Strategy 3. To use Honorifics but at the same time use an expression which lowers the level of Honorifics. Use of direct questions to the addressee or use of final particles is examples of this strategy.

Strategy 4. There is a tendency to use Honorifics only once in one piece of discourse. So if you try to treat the two phrases as one, you can avoid the Honorifics in the latter part.

trasshita kara odekimaru
Because [you] were[DEF] [there], you can [DEF] do.

↓
trasshita kara dekiru

Because [you] were[DEF] [there], you can do.

Strategy 5. To direct the utterance not toward the addressee but toward the speaker him/herself as if *sishe* were speaking to him/herself.

e.g. *mezurashii desu.* → *waa, mezurashii...*
It is [POL] rare. Wow, rare.

Author's classification

As we have seen, there are various cases for not using Honorifics. I summarise my own classification in chart 1.

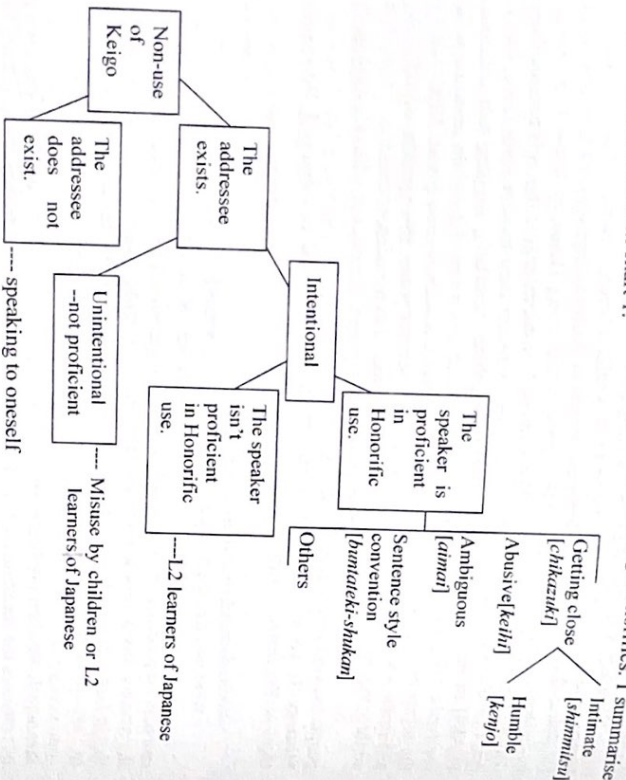


Chart 1 Classification of various non-uses of Keigo

In the above chart, "The addressee exists" is a case of ordinary communication. "The addressee does not exist" is a case where someone is speaking to him/herself. In such a case, the Honorifics element, especially polite expression, does not often appear. Neustupny's Strategy 5 belongs to this category.

'Intentional' is a case where someone intentionally does not use Honorifics for some purpose. 'Unintentional' is a case where someone does not use Honorifics but without the particular intention of not using it.

"The speaker is proficient in Honorific use." The majority falling into this category are native Japanese adults. Of course there are proficient speakers of Japanese among foreigners. "The speaker is not proficient in Honorific use." Children who are not yet competent in using Honorifics or L2 learners of Japanese who have not acquired Honorifics either. 'Getting close [chikazuki]', 'Abusive [keihi]', 'Ambiguous [aimai]', 'Sentence style habit [bunataeki-shunkan]' and 'Other' all appear when the speaker intentionally decides not to use Honorifics. "Getting close [chikazuki]" is a case where *chikazuki*, one of the characteristics of the meaning of Honorifics, mentioned in Chapter 3, is chosen. 'Intimate [shimatta]' refers to the

situation when people who are intimate with each other intentionally do not use Honorifics. 'Humile [kenjo]' refers to the situation where the speaker, in lowering himself to those who are in his in-group, chooses not to use Honorifics.

'Abusive [keihi]' is a case where the speaker does not use Honorifics to the addressee or the referent out of contempt or an abusive attitude toward him.

'Ambiguous [aimai]'. This is literally ambiguous and hard to explain. Sometimes the speaker wants to leave the relationship (whether it is based on social status or degree of intimacy) between the addressee or referent ambiguous or neutral. In such cases, the speaker intentionally avoids using Honorifics. Neustupny's Strategy 1 or 5 may be used, or the speaker might use the noun expression in order to avoid the predicate which includes the verb requiring explicit Honorific elements.

Instead of saying

A-san ga o-dekakeninaru no wa tisu datte kana.

I wonder when Mr A was leaving [DEF].

One can say

A-san no shuppatsu wa isu datte kana.

I wonder when Mr A's departure was.

and avoid using Honorifics.

To what degree you use Honorifics is an important issue to consider. To the addressee, *-de gozaimasu* may be too polite. However, *-da*, *-suru* may sound a bit rough. Therefore it might be safe to use *-desu*, *-masu* and to leave the final part of the sentence ambiguous. When someone does not want to refer to someone with *-san* but does not feel comfortable addressing them without any honorific titles, he might use an expression like *-to iu hito* ('the person who is called -').

'Sentence style convention [bunataeki-shunkan]' refers to the situation when 'Form is avoided in newspaper or magazine articles or academic theses. In polite Form is avoided in titles of the researcher are omitted. We also cite the academic articles, the honorific titles of the researchers are omitted. We shout names of athletes without titles in sports broadcasts.

'Other' People do not use Honorifics in such in emergency situations. We shout "*Ahanai* (Watch out!)" rather than politely saying "*Ahanoo gozaimasu* (It is [POL] dangerous.)".

'Intentional' and 'not proficient in Honorifics' refers to the case where L2 learners of Japanese who are not confident about using Honorifics intentionally choose expressions which do not require use of the Honorifics.

'Unintentional' and 'not proficient in Honorifics' refers to misuse by children or L2 learners of Japanese. They are not using Honorifics but their non-use is not intentional. Misuse of Honorifics is not just non-use. There are other kinds of mistakes in using Honorifics, which I will mention later (cf. p.188).¹¹

¹¹ This part is not included in this article. This reference page number is from the original Japanese version.

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