Japanese Culture Reflected in the Language

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
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Errata

P.iii,	L.14;	"Though" should read "through".
P.2,	L.10;	"They acquire" should read "they are to acquire".
P.5,	L.28;	"Cord" should read "code".
P.8,	L.20;	"Cord" should read "code".
P.12,	L.15;	"The language" should read "Language".
P.13,	L.1;	"Further more" should read "Furthermore".
P.19,	L.5;	"Brown & Levinson" should read "Brown & Levinson's".
	L.8;	"Save face of speaker" should read "save the face of the speaker".
	L.28;	"Brown & Levioson's" should read "Brown & Levinson's".
P.34,	L.3;	"Edward Hall's" should read "Edward Hall".
P.43,	L.1;	"It" should read "it".
P.75,	L.13;	"From the above examples [3.12d] illustrates" should read "The above examples [3.12d] illustrate".
P.78,	L.18;	"Have" should read "has".
P.81,	L.27;	"Depending upon the sex of the speaker defines the final particles" should read " The final particle normally suggests the sex of the speaker".
P.86,	L.20;	"Itedaita" should read "itadaita".
P.89,	L.1;	"Nigage" should read "nigate".
P.92,	L.20;	"Indicates" should read "indicate".
P.103,	L.20;	"Students" should read "students' ".
P.109,	L.23;	"Rather" should read "rather than".
P.124,	L.9;	"Sawyer and Smith's" should read "Sawyer and Smith".

ABSTRACT

Culture and language have influenced each other as they have evolved! Should this statement be correct, then second language learning becomes second culture learning. However, this fact is not generally known by most second language teachers and students.

The focus of this study has been to examine how the Japanese culture is reflected in the language, and to demonstrate how cultural aspects can be accommodated in the learning environment. The teaching method used is called "Interactive Competence Approach" which integrates sociocultural competence with linguistic and communicative competence, while giving students an awareness, that learning the Japanese language is also learning its culture. The most effective method of cross-cultural training, "cultural assimilator" is employed to increase students' competence.

The relationship between Japanese language and society is best illustrated in the use of politeness, especially honorifics. They are the core of Japanese polite expressions and reflect vertical and *uchi/soto* (in-group and out-group) social dimensions. This vertical and group oriented society is the reflection of the concept of *"ie"*, a basic family unit. Ellipses and indirect expressions are also well-developed to consider other people's feelings and avoid confrontations. Therefore, using this style of language, it is natural then that the Japanese way of communication, which is often described as "implicit" and "indirect" has evolved.

Finally, two major suggestions are formed from integrating these observations and findings:

1. JSL teachers should place more emphasis on politeness in interactions, and honorifics should be simplified.

2. JSL teachers should assist students in improving cross-cultural competence thus enabling them to unravel any social differences while making their own personal adjustments.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES, DIAGRAMS

* Data based on survey analysis

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

*	ungrammatical, unacceptable
′	stress
Φ	null
COP	copula
D	social distance
DO	direct object
FP	sentence final particle
FTA	face-threatening act
H	hearer, addressee
HON	honorific
ID	indirect object
JSL	Japanese as a second language
Lit	literal
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
P	power
PAST	past
PLA	plain
POL	polite
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
Q	question
R	rating of imposition
S	speaker
SUB	subject
TOP	topic
V	verb

INTRODUCTION

In the past, a number of anthropologists and linguists have studied the interrelations between culture and language, and it is now widely agreed that they are intimately linked.[1] Furthermore, there is clear evidence that mutual understanding and awareness of cultural differences are important for communications between different language speakers.

In Japanese language classes, culture has generally been introduced to students through what may be referred to as "overt culture" such as the tea ceremony, martial arts, and eating etiquette. Language, however, incorporates much "covert culture"[2], which is a reflection of inward feelings, that is, personal aspects of culture and of the resulting social expectations that have evolved throughout the history of Japan.

If Japanese as a second language (JSL) students are domiciled in Japan, they are exposed to the natural environment, and they seem to be able to learn the "covert culture" beyond the confines of the classroom, in their daily life. However, Suzuki (1978) stresses that "covert culture" does not always become apparent despite one living in a country for a long period. This may be because "human beings perceive the cultural environment through the filters and screens of their own world view and then act upon that perception (Brown H. D. 1986:41)", and as Brown notes, it may be "biased".

From the experience of a foreign postgraduate at a Japanese university, this biased perception can become a "cultural friction" which could probably be avoided if culture and language are taught alongside each other from the early stages of learning.[3] His grammatical mistakes were regarded leniently, but not however the wrong choice of topic, phrase or inappropriate speech level, often creating an unpleasant and uncomfortable atmosphere, with whom he was speaking. Ten years

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[1] See, for example, Boas (1953), Hoijer (1954), Hymes(1964), Cole & Scribner (1974) and Ardener (1983).

[2] For further explanations regarding "overt culture" and "covert culture", see page 4.

[3] Derived from an article entitled "Prospects of Japanese Studies" by Kim Su Ji (1996) in Osaka University.

experience of living in Japan has enabled him to analyse the cause of the problem and without doubt it is that he should have been introduced to the cultural aspects of society as he began learning the language.

Put another way, JSL students have developed an awareness of problems from the standpoint of their own cultures, and they have exposed many examples which are striking once they are highlighted. JSL teachers ought to be instructed, that no more emphasis should be put on linguistic competence than cultural competence. No matter what country JSL students live in, they should be able to develop a better understanding and grasp of the "covert culture", if they acquire the necessary sensitivities which form cross-cultural communications. The most important aspect for teaching JSL is how students learn Japanese, not where they learn it.

This study attempts to demonstrate how the Japanese culture and language aspects can be accommodated meaningfully in the learning environment in a student's own country (in this case, New Zealand). I argue that cultural and pragmatic aspects of language should be clearly defined and presented to students as an integral part of the linguistic elements of Japanese.

To fulfil the above aim, initially I wish to examine the connection between language and culture, followed by inherent aspects of Japanese language, communication and culture. Further, I will extract Japanese culture-bound notions from everyday use of the language, and then analyse how the language and culture have changed, based on the data obtained from a survey taken at a Japanese high school. Finally I will demonstrate methods of combining the Japanese culture and language to acquire interactive competence[4].

I trust this study will enable JSL students to alleviate the "cultural friction" dilemma, and to recognise the value of a second language with a cultural understanding leading to a higher degree of self-awareness and personal growth.

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[4] For detailed discussions regarding "interactive competence", see chapters one & four.

CHAPTER 1

THE LEARNING OF CULTURE
AND LANGUAGE

1.1   Definition of culture

What is culture? Let us begin by trying to answer this question. From an anthropologist's point of view, Hall (1973:20) writes: "culture has long stood for the way of life of a people, for the sum of their learned behaviour patterns, attitudes, and material things". He identifies clearly the concept of culture. Now let us consider the report of Robinson (1988:7). In order to make more careful observations on definitions of culture, she asked the following questions of educators[3] :

(1) What does culture mean to you?

(2) What teaching activities reflect the teaching or learning of culture in your classes?

The following categories were the most common responses to question 1:

ideas	behaviours	products
beliefs	language	literature
values	gestures	folklore
institutions	customs and habits	art
	foods[4]	music
		artifacts

Robinson adds that "world view" and "way of life" were also mentioned; however, participants were usually unable to clarify what they meant. From the above categories Robinson found two basic distinctions:

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[3] Robinson (1988) put these questions to over 350 foreign language, bilingual, English as a second language (ESL), and special educators, who participated in her workshops on culture learning.

[4] The word "foods" that is used here probably means "eating habits".

(1) "The categories of behaviours and products reflects a notion of *culture as observable phenomena*."

(2) "The category of ideas reflects a notion of *culture as not observable*: something which is internal but which can also be explicitly described (Ibid.:8)".

This report of Robinson overlaps the classification of "overt culture" and "covert culture", which are the words used by scholars (Hall 1976, Suzuki 1978). Suzuki (Ibid.:22) distinguishes these two cultures in his book entitled "Words in Context: A Japanese Perspective on Language and Culture". He suggests that the evidence of overt culture is "relatively obvious, concrete phenomena". On the contrary, that of covert culture is "not easily visible and therefore not readily noticeable". Suzuki explains how illuminating it can be for a foreign language learner to be aware of covert culture as follows:

Culture is composed of innumerable minute habitual (behavioural) patterns, of which people themselves are often unaware. Noticing this covert side is the key to understanding other cultures. One of the significant goals of foreign-language learning must also lie in this area (Ibid.:23). ... "covert culture" does not always become apparent though one has travelled in a country or even lived there for a long time (Ibid.:107).

His comments indicate that when studying the Japanese language, the observation of the Japanese culture, especially its covert side is indispensable, without which the language cannot be well understood.

Now, let us consider Robinson's (1988) second question, "What teaching activities reflect the teaching and learning of culture in your classes?" She concludes that the responses to the question indicate "how ideas about what culture is coincide with activities taught in the name of culture"(Ibid.:8). In other words, what is taught as "culture" is determined by what the teacher perceives to be "culture".

While overt culture is visibly observable, covert culture such as beliefs and values is not easily apparent although understanding the covert culture is a key point in acquiring a deep understanding of the language. From this,

it is evident that what the teachers perceive to be "culture" and to what degree their knowledge of culture is, have an enormous bearing on what the students are taught.

In summary, it is clear that there are various definitions which reflect different perceptions about what culture is. However, non-observable culture, like values and notions along with ways of thinking, perceiving, behaving, communicating, and problem-solving are indispensable when acquiring a foreign language.

1.2   The language and culture connection

Previously we have been concerned with the definition of culture. The following section will examine the relationship between language and culture, focusing mainly on the role of language.

1.2.1   Which comes first - language or culture?

This is somewhat like the chicken and egg question. Damen (1987) comments that "this question brings us to the recurring puzzle of the influence of language on culture or of culture on language. Although the nature of the language and culture connection is unclear, the binding tie is secure and cannot be ignored (1987:120)".

The following example[6] demonstrates how closely language, thought and culture are related to one another: Take an English scholar who has lived in Japan for many years and is an excellent Japanese speaker, but hesitates to ask directly about questions relating to money in Japanese. He confesses that he can ask how much his publisher will pay for his book in the English language, but not in the Japanese language.

Why does this happen? It is said that the Japanese tend to speak about money ambiguously. In this case, it is apparent that because the English scholar is speaking Japanese, it is assumed that he is also thinking and behaving like a Japanese. According to Takai (1990), this is called "cord switching". Someone who is bilingual is able to switch over his way of

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[6] The original example is in an article written by Toyama (1976a: 50f.).

thinking, adapting to the culture which reflects the language he is speaking.

This theory has been supported by the following experiment using bilingual people of Japanese extraction who spoke both Japanese and English with equal skill, ease, etc.[7]: They responded differently to the questions depending on which language the question was presented in. For instance, the word, *"gantan"* which means "New Year's Day" reminded them of typical Japanese things at New Year such as *kadomatsu* (the New Year pine decoration), *hane-tsuki* (a form of Japanese badminton, played by children during the New Year holidays), *omochi* (rice cake; most Japanese eat *zooni* on New Year's Day, which is a soup containing rice cakes and vegetables) and so forth. On the other hand, the word "New Year's Day" in English reminded them of parties, holidays, newly made clothes, and so on.

They also completed the following sentence, "If there is a conflict of opinion between me and my family.....": In Japanese "it is really unfortunate", whereas in English "I will have my own way".

As the results show, when these bilingual people speak Japanese, they think in Japanese, and when they speak English, they think in English. They switch the code in their mind depending on which language they are using, and it seems to happen automatically. The above shows that there is a relationship between language categories and cultural thought patterns. Let us now take a closer look at the relationship.

1.2.2 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

Culture includes language.[8] Another indication of language is that it is "a major tool of cultural interaction" (Damen:1987). The American anthropological linguists, Sapir and Whorf, insisted on the importance of language especially when discussing the relationship between language, thought, and culture. First, it is essential to consider their belief; the

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[7] Takai (1990:190) refers to Haga (1979), which reports Ervin-Tripp's (1964) research results.

[8] See the responses for what culture means on page 3.

Sapir-Whorf or Whorfian hypothesis. This states that "the way people view the world is determined wholly or partly by the structure of their native language"[9]. This hypothesis has also been referred to as "linguistic relativity" and "linguistic determinism".

The objective of this study is not to debate whether culture creates language or language creates culture. However, in order to demonstrate the strong connection between language and culture, we must examine the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Sapir's (1929) stress on the significance of language is expressed in his well-known work "Language". The following is a quotation from his book:

> Language is a guide to "social reality". Though language is not ordinarily thought of as of essential interest to the students of social science, it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.....The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group (1929:209f).

It is evident from the above statement that Sapir believed that language plays a principal role in the whole of culture. Benjamin Lee Whorf elaborated upon Sapir's ideas and emphasised the primary position of language in a language and culture. Whorf asks:

> Which was first: the language patterns or the cultural norms? In [the] main they have grown up together, constantly influencing each other. But in this partnership the nature of the language is the factor that limits free plasticity and rigidifies channels of development in the more autocratic way (Carroll 1956:156).

Whorf indicated that language determines perception rather than the reverse. He based this point of view on the linguistic data he obtained from his field work amongst the Hopi Indian (an American Indian tribe).

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[9] Cited from "Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics" (Richards, J. et al.1985:167).

Damen(1987:128) explains clearly how Whorf analysed the Hopi language and illustrated his hypothesis that "speakers of different languages viewed the world in different ways":

.....Whorf postulated that language was not only a means of transmitting culture, but also was, in and of itself, a force in the delineation of the world of its speakers. In his analysis of the Hopi, Whorf noted that certain grammatical categories in Hopi did not "fit" the SAE (Standard Average European) system. From these examples he concluded that the habitual thought worlds of the SAE and the Hopi were different (Whorf 1956:147).[10] He suggested that when two language systems show radically different grammars and linguistic characteristics, their speakers inhabit a different thought world - a world circumscribed by their respective language. He apparently believed the content of thought influenced cognitive processes (Carroll 1956:26).

There are, however, problems with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It has been criticised, since the linguistic evidence was not enough to prove that speakers of different languages perceive the world differently, and that languages determine people's thoughts and perceptions. Previous examples of the English scholar's ambiguity about money, and cord switching by bilingual speakers may suffice to show that languages affect people's minds and are a means of social expression. Yet it doesn't necessarily mean that languages determine people's thoughts and perceptions.

For instance, if certain languages do not have a word for the colour *brown*, then according to this hypothesis, speakers of that language do not perceive the colour brown. Robinson (1988:15) advocates, "later research in the perception of colour actually shows that users of a particular language *can* distinguish between different hues even when their language does *not* have terms to label the distinction".

As Damen (1987:130) comments, "the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis remains

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[10] Damen (1987) wrote down Whorf's name here although it is in Carroll's (1956) edited book which is a posthumous collection of the writings of Whorf. Damen says: Because so many extractions are from Whorf's writings, let the man speak for himself.

unproved, and yet not easily dismissed". Whether or not language determines perception, it is clear that language expresses perception and the categorisation of experience. Finally, let me conclude by citing Whorf's words again, "the language patterns and the cultural norms have grown up together, constantly influencing each other".

1.3   Teaching methods of language and culture

The strong connection of language and culture having been clarified, let us consider how Japanese language and culture should be taught. Neustupny (1989:38) introduces a teaching method, referred to as the "Interactive Competence Approach" which "requires more than the teaching of some culture in conjunction with the teaching of language".

In his paper, titled "Strategies for Asia and Japan Literacy", he distinguishes the Interactive Competence Approach from other post-audiolingual approaches[11] to language teaching by: (a) an emphasis on interaction (rather than simply communication or language) teaching, and (b) an emphasis on the use of real communicative situations (rather than exercises or simulations) in the teaching process (Ibid.:36f). He adds: The Interactive Competence Approach does not accept courses that simply teach grammatical or communicative competence as justifiable (Ibid.:38).

He postulates that interactive competence includes sociocultural[12] competence as well as communicative competence, and communicative competence consists of sociolinguistic (non-grammatical) and linguistic (grammatical) competence (See Figure 1, on page 10).

Neustupny (1989:38) insists that "Japanese language teaching must be determined by the function of the system". He divides Japanese language

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[11] Neustupny (1989) refers to the approaches as the Post-Audiolingual Paradigm, in other words, communicative language teaching, comparing with the Audio-lingual approach. The former teaching method emphasises communication and its goal is fluency. In contrast, the latter is focused on grammar and reading comprehension aiming at accuracy.

[12] First, Neustupny used the word "socioeconomic" instead of "sociocultural", and then he changed to "sociocultural".

teaching into the three types. The courses contain: (a) mainly sociocultural competence (with only the minimum of non-grammatical communicative competence included), (b) both sociocultural and non-grammatical communicative competence (but only very little "language"), or (c) all three types of competence. He named the above courses "Japan Literacy 1, 2, 3, " in that order (1991) .

Neustupny's view is worthy of note, since Japanese language teaching has been focused on linguistic competence and then communicative competence. To learn the Japanese language, he introduces interactive competence which integrates sociocultural competence with linguistic and communicative competence emphasised previously. His distinct point is that he divided Japanese language teaching into the three courses depending on the students' needs, and sociocultural competence is included in all courses. Previously, regardless of the necessity, all students had to learn linguistic aspects when they enrolled in a Japanese language course. On the contrary, Neustupny says: "Courses must be available for all categories of learners, not only those who intend to pursue their studies to the 'advanced' level (Ibid.:38)".

This thesis consists of theoretical parts (Chapter One to Three) and a practical part (Chapter Four). This study will be useful for all Japanese language courses which contain sociocultural competence, although the third chapter is specifically designed for students of "Japan Literacy 3" which aims to have the students master interactive competence. It contains all the types of competence which are shown in Figure 1.


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                    INTERACTIVE COMPETENCE


     SOCIOCULTURAL              COMMUNICATIVE
      COMPETENCE                 COMPETENCE


              SOCIOLINGUISTIC          LINGUISTIC
               COMPETENCE              COMPETENCE
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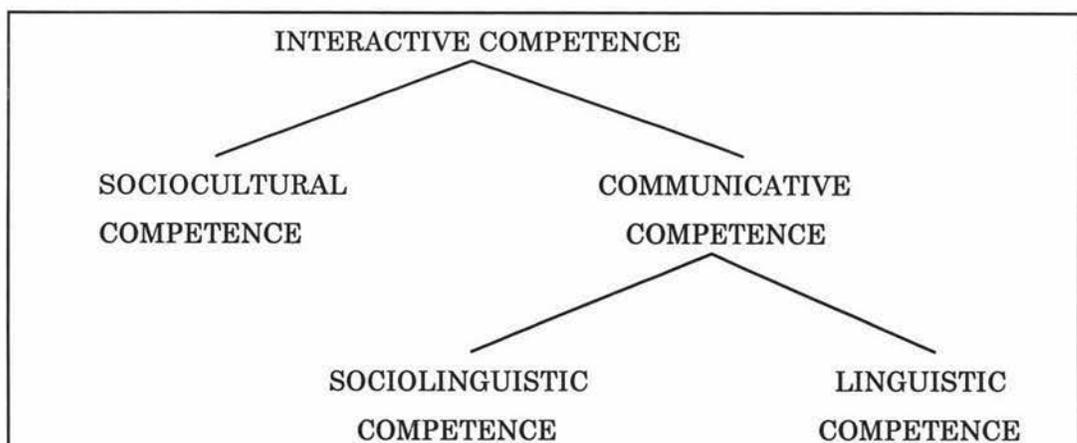
Figure 1   Model of interactive competence (Neustupny 1989:37) [13]

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[13] Neustupny shows the structure of the relationship among the various types of

1.4   Objectives of learning the culture and language

For the last section of this chapter, I wish to examine second language learning from a different perspective and explain what my aims are in teaching Japanese.

1.4.1   Second language and culture learning

Languages can provide a bridge to understanding between people, but on the other hand, languages are cruel enough to discriminate against people who don't speak the same languages. Tanaka (1975), a Japanese sociolinguist views that some languages covetously grow bigger and become major languages by absorbing minor languages. It is easy to support his idea, when we take an example of people in a country under occupation, who are forced to learn the language of that country. He says Mongolians are called Mongolians only because of the fact that they speak the Mongolian language. For example, although all the outward signs indicate they are Japanese, people of Japanese origin born in a foreign country, who cannot speak the Japanese language, are not now Japanese nationals. One's language is a major element of identity. Yet, not many second language learners are aware of this fact.

Brown H. D. (1986:36) has the same point of view, quoting Guiora's words, "...Second language learning in some respects involves the acquisition of a second identity. " Then he adds:

> ...Guiora introduced the concept of language ego to capture the deeply seated affective nature of second language learning, stressing the necessity for permeable ego boundaries in order to successfully overcome the trauma of second language learning (Ibid.:33).

The degree of this trauma may differ depending upon the situation whether learning a second language especially if in a foreign environment or domiciled in one's own country. There are some reports from Japanese language classes, which show that some students are reluctant to bow or

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competence in his paper. He derived the original model from Hymes (1962) and admits that since language teaching is basically a system of communication, the model is applicable.

use honorifics.[14] "Just cannot do it, otherwise losing self-respect." These are utterances often heard from students who mainly originate from western counties. These examples prove that second language learning involves the acquisition of a second identity. Then how do language teachers deal with the above students who are worried about losing their self-esteem? DO NOT FORCE, because reactions of this kind are natural. Therefore teachers should be patient. Brown H.D. comments:

> Second language learning is often second culture learning. In order to understand just what second culture learning is, one needs to understand the nature of acculturation,[15] culture shock, and social distance[16] (1986:33).

Again, most second language learners are unaware that they are also learning a second culture. It's language, however that is "the most visible and available expression of that culture (Brown, H. D. 1986:34)".

The language teachers should be aware of this, introduce a linguistic element with the cultural connotation, and allay the students' fear or repulsion. For instance, make the students realise that they use the rule of politeness in verbal and non-verbal communication through their first language and culture.

1.4.2   Objectives of a second language class

If we acquire a second identity by learning a second language, at the same time, we start to discover our first identity which is usually unconsciously acquired with our native language. It means that learning a second language will enhance our self-awareness and be a valuable experience for our personal growth and development.

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[14] See Hall (1976) and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo (1990:30f) referring to Neustupny (1982).

[15] Acculturation means "the process of becoming adapted to a new culture" (Brown, H.D. 1986:33).

[16] "Social distance refers to the cognitive and affective proximity of two cultures which come into contact within an individual (Brown, H.D. 1986:39)".

It is not whether one culture is superior or inferior. Further more, we do not have to agree or be fond of the different thoughts, values, customs, and so forth. We just accept the differences, be tolerant, and learn from the differences.[17] It may not be an easy task, but one should attempt to have extensive and dynamic interactions with speakers of the target language to fully understand their culture. Therefore my objectives in a second language class are as follows:

(1) awareness that second language learning affects identity, because learning a second language means also learning a second culture

(2) awareness of culture and cultural differences

(3) acceptance of the cultural differences and learn from them for adaptability

(4) "the challenge to people's emotional balance that intercultural experiences inevitably bring"[18]

(5) attainment of personal growth and development

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[17] Based on "Amerika no Nihongo Kyooshitsu kara" by Miura (1992:95).

[18] Cited from Brislin and Yoshida's (1994:5) "The Content of Cross-Cultural Training: An Introduction".

CHAPTER 2

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, AND CULTURE

2.1 Language, communication, and culture

"Indirect", "implicit", "high-context" and "wrapped" - these words are often used for describing the Japanese way of communication.[1] Damen (1987:119) identifies that language is "a special mode of communication". If this is the case, how do the above characterise the communication of the Japanese language? In the same way, Samovar and Porter (1988:20) state that "culture and communication are inseparable". Then, how does the Japanese culture influence the communication?

Before examining the above questions let us take a closer look at Samovar and Porter's (Ibid.:20) views, in order to manifest the intimate relationship between culture and communication:

> Culture and communication are inseparable because culture not only dictates who talks with whom, about what, and how the communication proceeds, it also helps to determine how people encode messages, the meanings they have for messages, and the conditions and circumstances under which various messages may or may not be sent, noticed, or interpreted. In fact, our entire repertory of communicative behaviour is dependent largely on the culture in which we have been raised. Culture, consequently, is the foundation of communication. And, when cultures vary, communication practices also vary.

Most important of all, our communicative behaviour depends on the culture in which we have been raised. For instance, many Americans put a great deal of effort into developing a dynamic *individual* public speaking style. Yet, when these Americans are in Japan, this dynamic style may cause problems. A softer style that emphasises the importance of the total

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[1] See, for example, Hall (1973), Toyama (1976b, 1992), Takemoto (1982), Bachnik (1994), and Hendry (1995).

group can be much more effective in Japan.[2]

Moreover, Ide (1997) wrote a Japanese newspaper article entitled "Spoken Japanese Language which Prevents us from Logical Thinking"[3]. She stressed that a crisp way of speaking is not welcomed by Japanese people. Giving as an example, the candidate for prefectural governor who lost his support after making an eloquent speech on TV. Some people disliked his persuasive speech manner, saying "we understand his political view but we don't like his direct use of speech". Ide inferred that in Japan, manner is more important than content.

For further information, this candidate obtained his PhD in economics at one of the most prestigious universities in America. To attain his doctorate degree in the United States, he must have been able to explain and convince his examiners of his theory via the English language medium. The above instance illustrates however, how his ability in the English language has affected his Japanese pattern of thought. Didn't he switch codes in his mind depending on the language he was using? I postulate that it is not so easy for a person who has mastered clear and direct thinking to revert and express his opinion indirectly and ambiguously. Thus the speech becomes complicated and unclear to understand especially as in this case for the Japanese listeners. The same difficulty applies to JSL students whose own language is of low-context[4] and in which they can clearly communicate but have to contend with speaking Japanese while perhaps unknowingly still thinking in their native tongue.

These examples may suffice to show how important it is for a student to learn the patterns of communication and culture modes of the target language. As Samovar and Porter (1988:24) note that "cultural similarity in perception makes the sharing of meaning possible". Whereas, intercultural communication[5] problems often arise from differences in

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[2] Based on Brislin and Yoshida's (1994:6) example in "The Content of Cross-Cultural Training: An Introduction".

[3] This is my English translation and the original Japanese title is *"Kyakkantekina Shikoo o Habamu Nihongo no Hanashi Kotoba"*.

[4] See the details on page 34 regarding "high-context" and "low-context" communication styles.

[5] "Intercultural communication" is communication between people or groups who do not

perception since messages which people encoded may not be sent, noticed, or interpreted properly.

Once again, I would like to emphasise that culture and communication are inseparable and it's culture that is the foundation of communication. In this chapter, I will examine inherent aspects of the Japanese language, communication, and culture, comparing with those of the English language and English speaking countries.

2.2   Inherent aspects of Japanese language

What are the main characteristic features of Japanese language? We can say that honorifics are first and foremost one of the most distinguishing characters. "Like Korean, but in contrast to English, Japanese has (well) developed polite forms".[6] Furthermore, Neustupny (1987:173) states "distinctions that are virtually absent in English but must be made in Japanese are honorific distinctions". It is true that Japanese language distinguishes itself by having honorifics which are "the core of Japanese polite expressions (Ide 1982:358)" and "conceptually different from English politeness (Obana & Tomoda 1997:72)"[7].

What are other main attributes of Japanese language? The Japanese linguist, Kindaichi (1988) points out that ellipses, and careful consideration to others are significantly observed. Apparently, English also has elliptical expressions and sentences. Japanese ellipses, however, are often used to make a statement implicit and indirect. Therefore in Japanese, what is not said or what is implied is just as important or sometimes even more important, than what is clearly stated.

Kindaichi's second point is that Japanese is a language which when it is spoken, considers the addressee's feelings, and is the manifestation of one's politeness to the addressee. Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al. (1981:5)

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share similar cultural patterns, also called cross cultural communication.

[6] Cited from "Talking About Japan - Q & A " [Kodansha International (ed.)1996:67].

[7] The term "politeness" is well-known from Brown & Levinson's (1978, 1987) work. The details are discussed later.

state: "Self-control in consideration of others' feelings is a proof of maturity (in Japanese society)" and the features of Japanese language and society coincide here. Further observations about the society which requires such self-control are found in Section Four.

Now, I would like to divide the above mentioned aspects into two categories in order to examine them more closely. They are:

(1)   Honorifics: a major Japanese linguistic device for politeness which is the consideration of others' feelings

(2)   Ellipses: the implications of unexpressed words

2.2.1   Honorifics

Since "primary concern of Japanese politeness is use of honorifics (Obana & Tomoda 1997:70)", we tend to regard honorifics as equal to politeness. Brown & Levinson (1987), however clarify that honorifics are only one of the strategies of politeness. Obviously, there seems to have been discrepancies between Japanese (non-Western) and Western interpretations of politeness. Therefore, I would like to observe Japanese honorifics, differentiating the Japanese and Western perspectives of politeness in this section. Grammatical and sociocultural examination of honorifics will be seen in Chapter Three. First of all, let us illustrate what the principles of politeness are.

2.2.1.1 Linguistic politeness

Brown & Levinson's framework
Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) comprehensively put the politeness theory in shape, taking the works of Lakoff (1973, 1975), Grice (1975), Leech (1983) and so forth into account. They (1987:61) claim that "people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction". They derive the notion of "face" from Goffman (1967) and define it as follows:

...face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in

interaction...since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face...(Brown & Levinson 1987:61).

For instance, if we ask someone to do us a favour, it may threaten the addressee's face in a situation where he/she has to decline the request. We (speakers) also may lose face by having our request refused. Brown & Levinson call the action, e.g. asking for a favour, a "face-threatening act (FTA)". They (1987:13) state that "face" consists of two specific kinds of desires ("face-wants") attributed by interactants to one another, which are negative face and positive face. The following are their definitions:

Negative face: the want of every "competent adult member" that his actions be unimpeded by others.

Positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others (Ibid.:62).

Thus, politeness for smooth communication between interactants is implemented by negative and positive face-saving strategies. Brown & Levinson illustrate five major clusters of strategies as "possible strategies for doing FTAs (Ibid.:69)". They are (1) without redressive action, baldly (2) positive politeness (3) negative politeness (4) off record, and (5) don't do the FTA.

What's more, Brown & Levinson (Ibid.:15, 74) recognise that three sociological factors are crucial in determining the level of politeness which a speaker (S) will use to a hearer (H), these are:

(1) the 'social distance' (D) of S and H (a symmetric relation)
(2) the relative 'power' (P) of S and H (an asymmetric relation)
(3) the absolute ranking (R) of the impositions in the particular culture

The above factors,[8] D, P, and R are involved in doing the face-threatening act (FTA). The weightiness of a FTA is calculated by summing up the

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[8] In contrary, Ide (1982:366) identifies four factors that are involved in the rules of Japanese politeness. They are: (1) social position (2) power (3) age, and (4) formality.

measures or values of the three factors. The higher the scale of weightiness, the higher the risk level of face loss. Thus, "the more an act threatens S's or H's face, the more S will want to choose a higher-numbered strategy[9] (Ibid.:60)".

Summing up Brown & Levinson politeness theory, it is the sociological speech act which tries to maintain the face of the parties through smooth and effective communications and thus preserves good human relations. There are five strategies which save face of speaker, hearer, or both, and the strategy chosen depends on the total weight of the three sociological factors: distance (D), power (P), and rank (R).

Japanese politeness

Brown & Levinson propose their principles of linguistic politeness are universal. Non-western language researchers[10], however, claim that their politeness is based on the Western concept of individualism. Obana & Tomoda (1997:64f) point out "the social context and cultural values which the translation 'politeness' refers to in each language, are inevitably different". They contrast that "politeness in Japanese is translated into *reigi* or *teinei* which is closely related to the usage of honorifics". Whereas, Brown & Levinson treat honorifics as no more than one of the strategies of negative politeness.[11]

Ide (1989:226f) strongly argues against Brown & Levinson's politeness theory, stating "they should not be categorised as strategies, since there are some fundamental differences between the choice of formal forms and the use of strategies". She uses the term *wakimae* which is fundamental to politeness in Japanese. The closest English equivalent for *wakimae* is "discernment" which means "capsule definition would be 'conforming to the expected norm' (Hill et al. 1986:347f)".

Obana & Tomoda (1997:67) distinguish that Brown & Levioson's

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[9] See page 18. "Possible strategies for doing FTAs" are numbered from (1) to (5).

[10] "Hill et al. (1986), Ide (1989), and Matsumoto (1988, 1989) from the Japanese viewpoint; Gu (1990) with Chinese examples; Kummer (1992) with Thai politeness" (Obana & Tomoda 1997:64).

[11] Strategy 5: Give deference (Brown & Levinson 1987:178f), which is "either the rising of the other or the lowering of oneself".

politeness is ascribed "to the speaker's intention", on the contrary, Japanese honorifics are "to the socially prescribed norm". They add, "Strategies are volatile, whereas honorifics are conventionally fixed". We can sum up the above statements of Ide and, Obana & Tomoda as follows:

Strategic Politeness   : Volition[12]
Norm Politeness[13]   : Discernment

Hill et al. (1986) reported a cross-cultural study of requests for a pen in Japanese and American English. Shown in the figure below based on the data, they clearly illustrate Japanese and American politeness:
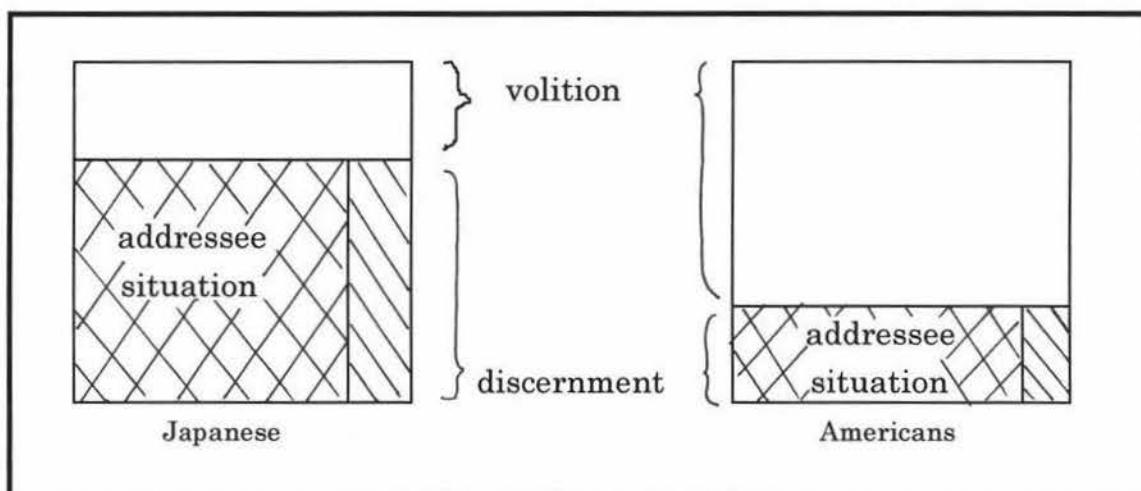
Figure 2   A scheme of strategies for linguistic politeness (Hill et al.1986:348)

The above figure contrasts that Japanese speakers prominently use discernment over volition for the polite use of language, on the other hand, volition appears the choice overwhelmingly favoured by American English speakers.

If JSL students are taught only linguistic elements of Japanese honorifics, it will happen that some students will be reluctant to bow or use honorifics

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[12] Hill et al.(1986:348) use the term "volition". They explain it is "the aspect of politeness which allows the speaker a considerably more active choice, according to the speaker's intention, from a relatively wider range of possibilities".

[13] The choice of pronouns (T or V) in European languages is one of the examples of norm politeness. Brown & Gilman (1960) use the symbols *T* and *V* (from the Latin *tu* and *vos*) which designate a familiar and a polite pronoun in any language.

as the use of politeness in the students' first language/culture is mostly volitional. On the other hand, if sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of Japanese politeness are also presented, they will be able to use Japanese honorifics in a perspective different from their first language/culture. This verifies how important it is to introduce a linguistic element with the cultural connotation.

Linguistic politeness in universe
If as previously examined that "Japanese politeness does incorporate Brown & Levinson's strategies in general (Obana & Tomoda:1997)"[14], then how can we define linguistic politeness universally? Hill et al. (1986:349) conclude as follows:

Politeness is one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish level of mutual comfort, and promote rapport. Under this definition, a system for polite use of a particular language will exhibit two major aspects: the necessity for speaker discernment and the opportunity for speaker volition.

We have already established that honorifics are a major Japanese linguistic device for politeness and the choice of honorifics is obligatory. However, if we understand politeness as one of the constraints on human interaction to consider others' feelings, then we should comprehend politeness in interactions.

2.2.1.2   Politeness in interactions

Taking a clear case from Ikuta's (1997:69ff) examples, let me illustrate what politeness is in interactions, in the following situation:

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[14] Obana & Tomoda (1997:68) point out many positive strategies cannot occur in Japanese language. For instance, "the inferior are not permitted to freely praise the superior's professional performance" and "never ask 'why' of the elder / superior is a golden rule in Japanese society". According to Hill et al. (1986:349f), Brown & Levinson (1978:256) predicted this, stating "for Japan, which has high D relations, symmetrical use of negative politeness and off record strategies, while the western U.S. is taken as a probable example of the opposite: low D and P, with a consequent preference for bald on record and positive politeness strategies".

Two participants (A and B) are close friends. At the completion of a meeting A wants to borrow B's pen, who is sitting next to him. Following are two different scenarios of the request:

(i)   B's pens are laid on the desk.
(ii) B has already put his pens away in his bag and is about to leave.

Ikuta (1997) makes examinations based on Leech's (1983) TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives). Leech (1983:132) claims one of his "Politeness Principles" is "to minimise cost to *other*" in other words "to maximise benefit to *other*". Leech calls two participants *self* and *other*. In conversation *self*, and *other* will be identified with S (Speaker), and H (Hearer). In the context (i), the cost to other (H, in this case B) is not much, whereas, in the context (ii), other's (H's, in this case B's) cost is high.

In the context (i), A will be able to borrow B's pen , if A points to B's pens saying:

[2.1]   A: Kashite.
          'Lend me, (please).'[15]

In the context (ii), although the same speaker makes the same request to the same hearer, the speech act of [2.1] doesn't have enough information to fulfil the speaker's purpose. Ikuta (1997) points out that this act is against the rules of Grice's (1975) "Cooperative Principle" in conversation, which is to give the right amount of information. Then if A presents enough information as follows, will A be able to borrow B's pen?

[2.2]   A: Pen kashite.
          'Lend me your pen, (please).'

In [2.2], the right amount of information may be given, nevertheless, the speech act is not adequate to borrow B's pen without threatening B's face. Then what is an appropriate way to ask, so that the good relationship between the two participants is maintained? Let us take a look at the

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[15] If I refer to "Ranking of politeness of request forms" in Hill et al. (1986:355 Figure 3), then, the equivalent politeness degree of *"Kashite"*, is "A pen" or "Gimme" which may mean "Give me" in American English.

following discourse:

[2.3]   A: Isoideru?
            'Are you in hurry?'
[2.4a] B: Betsuni.
            'Not really.'
[2.5]   A: Warui kedo pen kashite kureru?
            'Sorry, but let me borrow your pen, (please).'
[2.6]   B: Iiyo.
            'All right.'

The speech act shown in [2.3] is coined as a "pre-request" by Levinson (1983). He explains that it is "one way to give prior indication that a request may be coming up (Brown & Levinson 1987: 40)". We can easily find such examples of "pre-requests" in interactions between Japanese. For instance, before inviting someone, we often hear such asides as *Kondo no nichiyoobi hima?* (Are you free this coming Sunday?), and before making a request, or asking a question, *Ima isogashii?* (Are you busy now?) used as "pre-requests". If H (Hearer) says he/she is busy, then S (Speaker) will not do a FTA (Face Threatening Act), or S and H will both be able to maintain face. Ikuta (1997) considers that a "pre-request'" is the ground work before a FTA and postulates the following [2.4b] might be the answer to [2.3].

[2.4b] B: Baito ni okure soo nan da. Jaa ne.
            'I'm likely to be late for my part time job. See you.'

Although getting permission like [2.6], apologetic expressions are often attached after [2.6] as follows:

[2.7]   A: Gomen. Sekkaku shimatta noni.
            'Sorry. You've already put it away, though.'

Ikuta (1988) states that these structures from [2.3] to [2.7] are politeness strategies which are frequently adapted in conversational discourses. However, there are no honorifics used in the above interaction to indicate politeness. This proves that the use of honorifics may not always show politeness in interactions. Even in some cases honorifics could be used in the wrong situation to the wrong person and convey impolite or

inconsiderate impressions. Let us demonstrate using the following example:

[2.8]   A: Anoo osoreirimasu   ga   chotto   pen   o   okari
            excuse me-HON   but   for a moment pen   OBJ borrow-HON
        dekimasudeshoo ka.[16]
            can-HON   Q
        'Excuse me, but I was wondering if I could borrow your pen for a moment.'

[2.8] Here, very polite honorific expressions are used, however, these can be addressed only to a stranger or A's superior in the context (i), but not to B, A's close friend. Honorifics create distance between the participants[17] and this inappropriate level of speech threatens B's positive face. In the context (ii), the above expression is a FTA to whoever A asks.

To conclude, honorifics are the core of Japanese polite expressions, however, in interactions the various strategies adopted depend upon R (ranking) of the imposition.

2.2.2   Ellipses

Ellipses involve the omission of certain words during conversation. They occur (1) when the meaning is obvious from the context or (2) when an incomplete sentence is used as one of the strategies for doing FTAs. This applies both in English and Japanese, but some differences do exist. The following examples show the contrast between English and Japanese usage.

2.2.2.1   Simply omitting words

We leave words out when the meaning is clear without them. For instance, when you are asked "How do you feel?", you reply "Strange" instead of " I feel strange". Ellipses occur in a colloquial conversation, especially within

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[16] The above examples from [2.1] to [2.8] are from Ikuta (1997:69f).

[17] "When formal forms are used, they create a formal atmosphere where participants are kept away from each other, avoiding imposition (Ide 1982:382)."

a family, since the least amount of language is required for mutual understanding. For example, a child asks his or her mother as follows:

[2.9] Otoosan wa. ↗

    'Dad ?'

In [2.9], *Otoosan wa* might imply *iru no*? / *doko*? / *moo kaette kita*? / *moo dekaketa*? and so forth. "Is Dad in? / Where is Dad? / Has Dad come home yet?/ Has Dad gone out? " These are the English translations, which show the mother understands her son/daughter's meaning from the context. This example indicates that the people who leave words out believe or expect that they implicitly understand each other.

Substitution

In English an auxiliary is used "in place of a full verb group, or in place of a verb group and its object in many cases"[18]. For example, you say "John won't like it but Rachel will", instead of "John won't like it but Rachel will like it". We can find a similar example in Japanese but to replace a verb, Japanese copula, "~*desu*" is seen from the following exchange:

[2.10] A: Maiasa   nanji   ni   okimasu ka.

         every morning what time at get up   Q

         'What time do you get up every morning?'

    B: Roku ji han desu.

       half past six   COP

       '(At) half past six.'

In B *"desu"* acts as a substitute for the verb *okimasu* (to get up) which was previously mentioned in A. The English preposition "at", in this case Japanese particle[19], *ni* is not used with *desu*.[20] You can also answer A's

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[18] Cited from "Collins Cobuild English Usage" [Sinclair et al. (eds.)1992:213].

[19] Japanese particles take a very important role in a sentence. They (1) indicate grammatical relationship between a noun and its predicate, (2) convey the speaker's attitude, and (3) link nouns and sentences [Based on "Situational Functional Japanese" Vol.1: Notes 1995:(18)f].

[20] "Unlike in English, where prepositions such as 'in' or 'to' are often obligatory in the answers, many Japanese structure particles such as *ga, de, ni, e*, can not be used with

question using the same verb, "*Roku ji han ni okimasu* [(I) get up at half past six]". However, in colloquial language, a substitution like in [2.10] B is often used. A further example:

[2.11] Boku wa unagi da.
      I   TOP eel   COP
      (lit.) 'I am an eel.'

This sentence is most likely uttered at a restaurant and the speaker is ordering eel when the waitress is asking what will he have. This copula *"da"*, the plain form[21] of *"desu"* can be omitted as *"Boku wa unagi"*, and it doesn't alter the meaning, which is translated to "I will have eel". Ono (1992:223) treats the above as "an elliptical sentence which concludes with the sentencehood marker *da"*.[22] From the above speech act, the following points are identified:

(1)   The speaker is male, because he uses the first-person pronoun, *"boku"* which is only uttered by male speakers. Besides women tend to use more polite speech than men, and it is seldom that women utter *"~da"* in this situation.[23]

(2)   The speaker has his companion(s), as he uses the first-person pronoun *"boku"* and the topic particle *"wa"*, which implies "As for me". This *"wa"* indicates contrast. If he is by himself he doesn't utter the first-person pronoun here. In Japanese, personal pronouns are often omitted unless they are absolutely necessary.

The following is an example of ellipses of pronouns:

[2.12] Kinoo hajimete kabuki o mimashita ga omoshiroi desu ne.
      '(I) saw kabuki play yesterday for the first time and (they) are interesting, aren't they?'

In the above sentence, two subjects, "I" and "they" are omitted. In general,

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desu whereas *kara* and *made* can (Ibid.:204)".

[21] For a detailed explanation of polite and plain forms/styles, see Chapter Three.

[22] For further discussion, see Ono (1992:185-224).

[23] Women's speech is discussed later in Chapter Three.

pronouns scarcely appear in Japanese speech and it would be unnatural if they were stated here.

Personal pronouns

Now, a closer look at the ellipses of personal pronouns. First of all we will clarify the Japanese pronouns. According to Suzuki (1978:120), "when compared with first- and second-person pronouns in European languages, which have histories of thousands of years, the short lives of Japanese personal pronouns stand out in sharp contrast". He adds that "the Japanese have a tendency even today to do without personal pronouns in conversation whenever possible (Ibid.:123). Although the history is short and the high frequency of ellipses can be seen, Japanese personal pronouns have many kinds of expressions and they are characteristically different from those in English. Let us take a look at Ide's (1991:73) illustration below:

	Men's speech	Women's speech
First person		
formal	*watakushi*	*watakushi*
	watashi	*atakushi**
plain	*boku*	*watashi*
		atashi*
deprecatory	*ore*	Φ
Second person		
formal	*anata*	*anata*
plain	*kimi*	*anata*
	anta*	*anta**
deprecatory	*omae*	
	kisama	Φ

Table 1   Gender distinction in personal pronouns (Ide 1991:73)

* marks variants of a social dialect

The above table shows that Japanese pronouns are controlled by the sex of the speaker and the speech level, whereas English pronouns are not. I have mentioned previously that European languages have second-person pronouns symbolised *T* and *V,* which designate familiar and polite pronouns.[24] Brown & Gilman (1960:257) explain that "the original

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[24] See footnote 13 on page 20. According to Brown & Gilman (1960), English speakers

singular pronoun was *T*. The use of *V* in the singular developed as a form of address to a person of superior power". The choice of *T* or *V* is controlled by the difference between a speaker and addressee's "strength, age, wealth, birth, sex, or profession (Ibid.1960:257)".

The above statement is an example of norm politeness in European languages, and similarities in the Japanese language. However, in Japanese, although Ide (1991:73) illustrates "*anata*" is the formal second-person pronoun both for male and female speakers (See Table 1 on page 27), Shibatani (1990:372) states "none of the second-person pronouns is quite appropriate when addressing a person of socially higher status". In that case, which pronoun is used for addressing one's superior? In fact, the second-person pronoun is often left out or the addressee's occupational title[25] is used instead. Following are some examples:

[2.13] Kore ni tsuite wa sensei ni onegai suru no ga ichiban ii to

zonjimasu.   ask OBJ-HON

think/feel OBJ-HON

'About this matter, (I) feel that the best thing would be to ask (you), Professor.'

Oisogashii tokoro taihen mooshiwake arimasen ga

busy SUB-HON   sorry for troubling OBJ-HON

'(I) am terribly sorry for troubling (you), when (you) are so busy, but

ohenji o kaite kudasaru to arigatai n desu kedo.[26]

reply SUB-HON   grateful OBJ-HON

(I) should be grateful if (you could) kindly reply.'

      .... subject honorifics   _____ object honorifics

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also used *T* for "thou" and *V* for "ye" which were later replaced by "you". In "Collins Cobild English Language Dictionary" [Sinclair et al. (eds.) 1987:1522,1697], both "thou" and "ye" are described as "old-fashioned, poetic or religious words for 'you' ".

[25] Occupational titles are, for instance, as *sensei* "teacher, doctor, lawyer or politician" *shachoo* "company president", *yaoya-san* 'Mr Greengrocer' and so forth. These titles are used with reference to the addressee and also used as the vocative, when speaking directly to the addressee. [Based on Suzuki's (1965:114 & 124) explanation.]

[26] Adapted from Yamagiwa's (1965:208) example.

In the above sentences, although personal pronouns are not used at all, honorifics indicate the subjects and objects. The speaker addresses *"sensei"* which means a teacher here, and avoids using the second-person pronoun *"anata"*. He says *"sensei ni onegaisuru* (ask *sensei)"* instead of *"anata ni onegaisuru* (ask you)".

While it is true that *"anata"* is regarded as the standard form of the second-person pronoun,[27] why has it not been used to superiors? Shibatani (1990:364) points out that "fundamental to the honorific mechanism is avoidance of direct attribution of an event to a person". This then causes the high degree of ellipses of personal pronouns "I" and especially "you". Furthermore Shibatani (Ibid.:364) postulates that "Japanese, being a language with a highly developed honorifics system, may have a good motivation for a high degree of ellipsis".

We can also observe the ellipsis of the first- and second-person pronouns in English, for instance "(I) couldn't understand a word." or "(Have you) seen John?". However, it is found almost only in colloquial speech and happens less frequently than in Japanese. The most important point is that in English the ellipsis of personal pronouns takes place when the meaning is obvious from the context. Yet, in Japanese, ellipsis is also a means to avoid direct pronominal reference toward superiors, in other words, ellipsis of pronouns is used to show the speaker's politeness. In fact, although the second-person pronoun *"anata"* is grammatically correct to use to one's superiors, it is prohibited in Japanese society.

2.2.2.2   Be incomplete - one of the strategies for doing face threatening acts (FTAs)

Brown & Levinson (1987:227) suggests that " by leaving an FTA half done, S(speaker) can leave the implicature 'hanging in the air', just as with rhetorical questions". They give as examples, "Well, if one leaves one's tea on the wobbly table..." and " Well, I didn't see you...".

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[27] "In May 1952, the National Language Council in Japan submitted to the Minister of Education a proposal entitled *'Kore kara no keigo* (Honorific language for the future)' (Suzuki 1965:121)". It states that *"anata* (you)" is the standard form and desirable to use for the second-person pronoun.

Read one's mind

In Japanese, incomplete sentences are seen more often than in English. This is a very effective strategy to secure the addressee's sympathy. A speaker expects the addressee to guess what the unsaid part implies, sometimes he or she even invites the addressee to complete a statement as follows:

[2.14] A: Moo jikan desu kara...
'Since it is time now...'

B: .....dekakemashoo ka.[28]
'shall we go out?'

Japanese usually don't say "no" directly, especially when declining an invitation, refusing a request, and so forth. Incomplete sentences convey negative implications indirectly as follows:

[2.15] A: Ashita eiga ni ikimasen ka.
'Shall we go to the movie tomorrow?'

B: Sumimasen ga ashita wa chotto...
'I'm sorry, but tomorrow it's a bit (inconvenient)...'

The above word *"chotto"* which literally means "a little bit" expresses the speaker's hesitation and lets the addressee know that it is inconvenient. *"Sumimasen"* also indicates that "I'm sorry for not having been able to meet your expectations". You can also complain about something politely in the following way:

[2.16] A: Anoo ima ronbun o kaite iru n desu kedo...
'Excuse me. I'm writing my thesis, but...'

B: Hai.
'Yes?'

A: Chotto terebi no oto ga...
'The sound of the TV is a bit ....'

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[28] These examples are from Mizutani O & Mizutani N (1987:26).

B: Aa sumimasen. Ookikatta desu ka.
'Oh, I'm sorry. Was it too loud?'

A: Ee. Onegai shimasu.[29]
'Yes, please.'

In the above, an interjection *"anoo"* is used at the beginning of the conversation. *"Ano"* or *"anoo"* are "useful for getting the listener's attention at the beginning of a conversation or when changing the topic of the conversion. It is also a polite way of showing hesitation (Situational Functional Japanese Vol.3:Notes 1994:110)". Here, again the word *"chotto"* in complaining indirectly about the sound of the TV plays an important part. *"~n desu"* in the first utterance of A is used when the speaker is explaining or asking for an explanation. In the above conversation, the speaker's situation is indicated by first, using *"~n desu kedo"*, and then gradually the complaint is aired. Mizutani O & Mizutani N (1987:29) state that "words such as *kara, node, kedo,* and *ga* are used to imply that a statement is going to be continued or to ask the listener to continue". Let us take more examples using these words.

[2.17] Ano konban chotto osoku naru n desu ga...
'By the way, I'll be back a little late tonight, but (I hope that will be all right).'

[2.18] [To a stranger]
Anoo sumimasen. Shibuya iki no basu ni noritai n desu kedo...
'Excuse me. I'd like to get on the bus for Shibuya, but (do you know where the bus stop is?)'

[2.19] A: Kotoshi no ryokoo Hakone ni shimasen ka.
'Shall we go to Hakone this year? (lit. Shall we decide on Hakone for our trip this year?)'

B: Watashi wa kamaimasen kedo...
'It's all right with me, but (would you ask the others?)'

As previously mentioned, a speaker expects the addressee to understand

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[29] These examples are from Situational Functional Japanese Vol.3 :Notes (1994:148).

what the unsaid part implies and this is a very effective strategy to secure the addressee's sympathy. However, it must be difficult for JSL students to assume the speaker's thoughts, especially in the above situations [2.19]. They might ask "Is it all right with you, but what is the matter?".

Mizutani O & Mizutani N (1987:27) point out that "many foreigners tend to go on and say everything because they believe that using complete sentences is more polite. But always completing one's own sentences can sound as if one is refusing to let the other person participate in completing a sentence which might better be completed by two people". They indicate that although JSL students are able to complete grammatically correct sentences, if they don't know the Japanese way of communication, they are failing to communicate with Japanese people. That's why cultural and pragmatic aspects of language should be clearly defined and presented to students.

Strategy of avoiding honorifics

Honorifics create distance between the participants. Neustupny (1996) states that avoiding honorifics is used as a strategy to reduce the social distance between participants and this strategy is used especially when they meet for the first time. This may be categorised as a non-threatening positive strategy. The following are some examples:

[2.20] Gokyoodai   wa ↑ (*irasshaimasu*   *ka*)
      brothers and sisters-HON   TOP   (have-SUB-HON-POL-PRES Q)
      '(Do you have) any brothers and sisters?'

[2.21] A: Kinoo doobutsuen ni ikimashita.
       'I went to the zoo yesterday.'

      B: Jaa, moo kiiwii wa   ↑ (goranninarimashita   ka)
         already kiwi TOP   (see-SUB-HON-POL-PAST Q)
       'Well, then (have you) already (seen) a kiwi bird?'

Since most honorifics are used in the predicates, they are omitted, stating just a topic with the topic particle *"wa"* in rising intonation. According to Neustupny (1996), native Japanese use this strategy very frequently. However, in English this kind of ellipsis doesn't occur in a formal situation.

2.2.3   Summary

In this section we have been investigating honorifics and ellipses. We identified that Japanese and English politeness are fundamentally different. The former is attributed to the socially prescribed norm, *wakimae* (discernment), so it is obligatory, whereas the latter is optional.

We also discovered that Japanese prefer to avoid direct pronominal references, especially the second-person pronoun *"anata"* which is not used to superiors. This must be emphasised to JSL students whose first language is English which does not have the distinction of *T* and *V* any more.

Summing up, the inherent aspects of Japanese language are (1) obligatory honorifics are well developed (2) indirect and implicit speech are favoured and (3) for smooth communication between interlocutors, let the other person complete any incomplete sentences. It seems that all these various aspects are intertwined in the Japanese culture. Then, what kind of communication mode influences such features of Japanese language? Let us examine those in the next section.

2.3   Inherent aspects of Japanese communication

The Japanese way of communication has been studied often contrasting it with that of America,[30] since America is believed to be the cradle of international communication research. Different terms are used for explaining both ways of communication, however, there is a clear resemblance. Let us observe the main aspects of Japanese communication with reference to   those terms.[31]

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[30] See, for example, Hall (1967), Barnlund (1975), and Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al. (1981).

[31] The ways of communications between Japanese and Americans are contrasted clearly in this section. However, the differences are more a matter of degree rather than black and white.

2.3.1 Japanese communication style and mode of communication

"High-context" vs. "Low-context"
The American anthropologist, Edward Hall's (1976) explains high-context and low-context communication styles giving the following distinct examples:

A high-context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context[32] or internalised in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. Twins who have grown up together can and do communicate more economically (HC) than two lawyers in a courtroom during a trial (LC), (or) a mathematician programming a computer...(Ibid.:79).

Seen by the Americans who have low-context communication, Japanese high-context communication goes round in circles, in other words, it is indirect.

"Coming-to-the-point" vs. *"Going-around-the point"*
Hijirida & Yoshikawa (1987) have the same point of view as Hall, and their portrayal of American and Japanese modes of communication are shown graphically below. They describe the former mode as *"coming-to-the-point"*, and the latter as *"going-around-the point"*.

(American mode of communication)   (Japanese mode of communication)
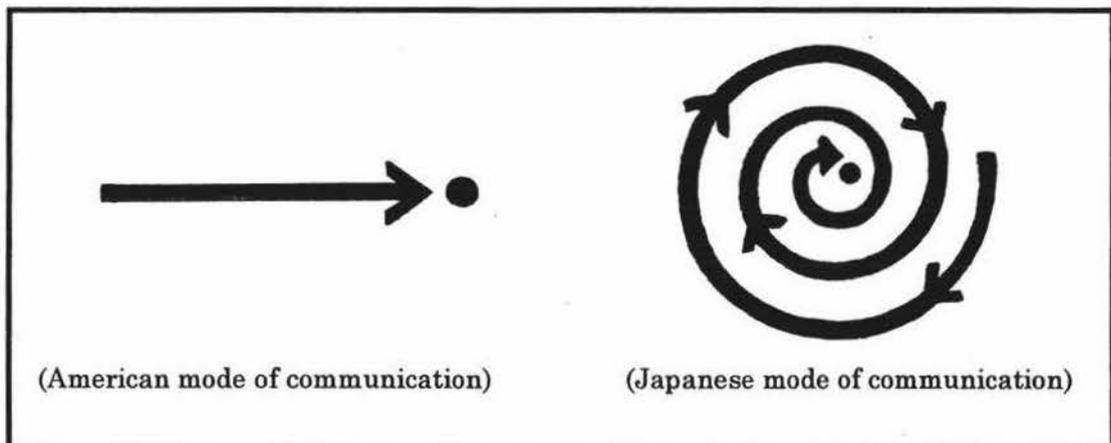
Figure 3   The mode of Japanese and American communication
(Hijirida & Yoshikawa 1987:65)

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[32] "The physical context" here will mean body language or facial expressions.

Hijirida & Yoshikawa (Ibid.1987:66) explain that "Americans are more oriented toward a purpose or task", whereas "Japanese often enjoy the (slow) process of getting to the point so much that they sometimes even lose their original point". Imagine the situation, if a task oriented American and a process oriented Japanese have a business discussion? The American will be frustrated since he can't get to the point. "In America, a person who can express his thoughts clearly, directly and quickly is considered to be articulate in a positive light (Ibid.)". In Japan, however, the American way of communication is considered childish. They think that "a mature adult should be sensitive to the listener's feelings and be able to detect his needs (Ibid.)", so that wrapped and indirect way of communication is inevitable.[33]

"*Implicit*" vs. "*Explicit*"

Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al. (1981:172) state that "personal opinion is communicated implicitly by Japanese, and explicitly by westerners". They analyse that for Japanese "simplicity of expression (non-verbal, or obliquely suggestive) is valued more highly than elaborately reasoned explanations; what is implied in what is left unsaid is just as important as what is said (Ibid.:173)". Needless to say this is why ellipses frequently occur in Japanese language.

"Socially oriented" vs. "information oriented"

Aoki & Okamoto (1988:3) introduce the concept that "in all languages there are at least two modes of communication". These are termed *"socially oriented"* and *"information oriented"* modes.[34] Let us take some examples to identify these modes.

In English when you are asked "How are you?", you will reply something like "Fine, thank you, and you?" This is a typical conversation in the *socially oriented* mode. In this mode, "the objective of the conversation is

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[33] In English, however the indirect way of communication is sometimes adopted. For instance, instead of asking someone to open the window directly, you might say "It's hot today, isn't it?".

[34]The same concepts of *"socially oriented"* and *"information oriented"* communication modes are used by Toyama (1976b:126f) who labels these as "α code" and "β code" respectively. He also points out that men tend to use more β code (information oriented mode) than women, since men speak more logically.

not so much to exchange information as to say 'I am your friend, and I hope you are my friend' (Aoki & Okamoto 1988:6). Therefore, "what is said is not so important as (to say) something" and the primary purpose is to ensure a continued interpersonal relationship.

In Japanese, however, *"Ogenki desu ka* (How are you?)*"* could be in the *information oriented* mode. In Japanese, the above question is not very often heard in daily conversation. It is normally used when someone meets an acquaintance whom he hasn't seen for a long time. *"Ogenki desu ka* (How have you been?)" often follows after *"Shibaraku desu ne* (It's been a long time since I saw you last)." In this situation, the speaker maybe would like to know how his acquaintance has been, so the addressee has to give him some information. Then, how about the following example:

[2.22] A: Odekake desu ka.
       'Are you going out?'

    B: Ee, chotto soko made.
       'Yes, just over there.'

The above conversation is often exchanged between Japanese neighbours on an every day basis. It sounds a silly question to ask someone who is apparently going out. Neighbours will even sometimes ask you *"Dochira e* (Where are you going?)", but don't expect you to answer the question, since this conversation is in *socially oriented* mode.

In contrast, in English if your neighbour asks "Where are you going?", you could feel he is too nosy and has invaded your privacy, since this question does not conform to the acceptable *socially oriented* mode. Aoki & Okamoto (1988:5) point out "it is likely that Japan would figure higher in the use of the *socially oriented* mode than the States".

In emphasising that JSL students must have culture and language taught side by side, *"Ogenki desu ka?"* gives us the perfect example. It cannot be used to ensure continued interpersonal relationship with Japanese, because it belongs in the information oriented mode. Therefore with culture and communication being reflected so clearly in the language it is imperative they are learned together.

2.3.2 Public and private self

We have been differentiating between Japanese and Western (most examples are American) communication styles and modes. We found that Japanese and Americans communicate in opposite ways; therefore, communication between them is often a cause of unintentional friction. Barnlund's (1975) diagrams show why the above problems can happen in communications between Americans and Japanese. He looks at it from the inner structure of personality, since "cultures, of course, do not communicate" and "only individuals communicate (Ibid.:29)". Let us examine his diagrams.
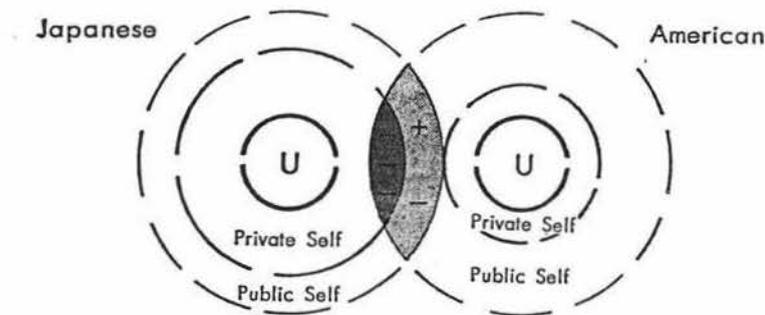
Diagram 1   Intercultural Communication: American Style (Barnlund 1975:40)
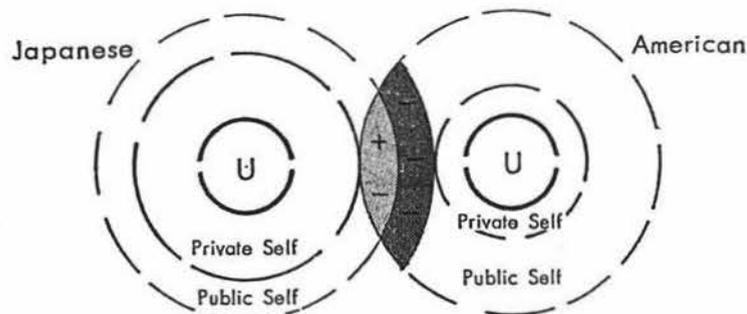
Diagram 2   Intercultural Communication: Japanese Style (Barnlund 1975:40)

Barnlund (1975:31) uses the term "private self" which is "known to self", and "public self" which is "known to others". As we can observe from the above diagrams, Japanese public self is relatively small, on the other hand, the private self is large. This implies that "inner impulses, feelings, and attitudes are less readily shared with associates (Ibid.:32)". In contrast, Americans are the opposite to Japanese; public self is large, whereas

private self is small. It means that Americans are people who are "readily available and easily share with others (Ibid.:33)".

The centre of the personality, 'U' is "the nearly inaccessible psychic assumptions and drives that comprise the unconscious (Ibid.:32)". In other words, it is "unknown to self (Ibid.:30)".

Shown by the + signs in the lightly shaded areas are "the normal areas of agreement and disagreement that can be expected to arise in any discussion". On the contrary, shown by the − signs in the darker areas discussions are "compounded and aggravated by differences in communicative intent and style (Ibid.:39)".

In the American communication style (Diagram 1), Japanese "may be frightened at the prospect of being communicatively invaded". In contrast, in the Japanese way of communication (Diagram 2), Americans are "annoyed at the prospect of endless formality". Moreover, never-ending conversation seems pointless, and long silences waste time for Americans, whereas Japanese may be frustrated with Americans by a "flippant attitude toward formalities" (Ibid.:41).

2.3.3 Summary

We are not comparing which style of communication is superior or inferior here. In fact if we insist on only our way of communication, we can never expect to have mutual understanding in intercultual communication. We have to be aware of the differences and accept them.

We have found that the ways of Japanese and American communications are significantly different. Well-developed honorifics and ellipses occur in Japanese language. Since honorifics create distance between participants and ellipses omit words, communication has become indirect, implicit and high-context. Reflecting on the earlier anecdote (page 15), the candidate for governor lost his support because he delivered his speech logically and clearly. As his style of communication was not in the accepted Japanese way, he lost a large measure of popularity.

In the next section the main features of Japanese culture will be examined and an attempt made to answer the following questions:

(1) why Japanese communication is implicit and high-context

(2) why Japanese public self is relatively small, but private self much larger

(3) why Japanese use the socially oriented mode more than Americans

(4) why Japanese communication mode is indirect or process oriented.

2.4   Inherent aspects of Japanese culture

Japanese society is often described as "vertical" (Nakae:1967, 1970), "group affiliated" (Beardsely:1965), "in-group and out-group orientated" (Quinn:1994a&b), and "mother archetypal" (Kawai:1976) society. These features of the society also create a unique Japanese personality structure, called *"amae"* which is the noun form of *amaeru* that means "to depend and presume upon another's benevolence (Doi 1974:121)".

Before attempting to examine the above characteristics, we should consider what external factors influence them. In the following section we will look at geographical, historical and religious aspects related to the Japanese culture.

2.4.1 Island-nation, Japan (*shimaguni, nippon*)

Geographical and historical features
"Japan is an island-nation (*shimaguni*), rather than just an island (*shima*) or only a nation (*kuni*). The tradition of isolation in Japan is both culturally and geographically abetted (Haglund 1988:84)."

She also points out that "generally, the Japanese have not felt greatly threatened by external military forces; part of the feeling of security comes from absence of land borders, which affords an island-nation a basic immunity from land invasion and international conflicts and concerns (Ibid.:84f)".

As Haglund states Japan is an island-nation (*shimaguni*) surrounded by sea, but Japan can also be described as a mountainous country since "sixty seven percent of its entire land surface is covered with mountains"[35].

Although arable land was scarce, the land itself was fertile, and the Japanese people have engaged in agriculture, centred on paddy-field rice growing for more than two thousand years.[36] "The wet-paddy rice cultivation method used in Japan made it necessary to work in groups and have a system of joint co-operation. The people in an area had to band together during the regular periods of intensive work involved in the planting and harvesting of the rice, and it was also necessary for these groups to institute some system among themselves for allocating the water for the paddies. All this instilled in the agricultural workers a consciousness of belonging to their localised farming communities".[37]

The oceans around Japan also provided an abundance of seafood. Therefore small farming communities tended to be self-sufficient and without fear of invasion because of the above geographical reasons. Isaiah BenDasan's well-known description, "Japanese take for granted the free availability of 'water and safety' (1970:9-25)"[38] is relevant.

Furthermore, during the *Edo* period (early seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century), the Japanese government adopted the National Seclusion policy (*sakoku*) and broke off all relations with foreign countries.[39] Reischauer & Craig (1989:91) comment that "this might be viewed as a national tragedy for which the Japanese paid bitterly in their frenetic efforts to catch up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the same time the *Tokugawa* (*Edo*) period was a time of great cultural creativity".

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[35] Cited from "Talking About Japan Q & A" [Kodansha International (ed.)1996:31].

[36] The information is based on "Nippon: The Land and Its People" [Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) 1988:325].

[37] Cited from Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:327).

[38] The English translation is from "Japanese Patterns of Behavior" (Lebra 1976:6).

[39] Based on Kodansha International (ed.)(1996:137). In fact, not all countries were prohibited from trading with Japan, the Dutch and Chinese were allowed to but only at Nagasaki.

Reischauer & Craig go on to state: "By turning inward on their own resources, the Japanese had a chance to develop fully their own identity and culture, producing in the process distinctive personality traits, social skills, and artistic achievements that constituted an invaluable national heritage (1989:91)."

In short, the isolation of the country for over two hundred years has served to greatly evolve the Japanese culture. Now we will take a closer look at society during the isolation in the *Edo* period.

The *Edo* era commenced in 1603 and continued until 1868 (the *Meiji* Restoration) when the long years under the feudal system ended. In this period the social order consisted of a clear hierarchy of classes listed descending order; (1) warriors (2) peasants (3) artisans and (4) merchants, which are in .

According to Reischauer & Craig (1989:88) "The line between (warriors)[40] and commoners was strictly maintained, but below it class lines were largely theoretical... At all levels of society the family (or 'house', *ie*), rather than the individual, was considered the basic unit...Most families were grouped into administrative units. Among the lower (warriors) these were functional groups, and among peasants and sometimes townsmen they were groups of mutual responsibility for taxes and legal liability".

In addition, "Confucianism, which in China had developed into the philosophy of a bureaucratic ruling class, began to take on a new meaning and an increased appeal (Ibid.:92)" in the *Edo* period. "The Confucian emphasis on filial piety and loyalty and its concepts of a hierarchy of classed fitted early seventeenth-century Japan....(Ibid.:92f)." As a result, "there was a strengthening of the concept of belonging to a family group and, among the warrior class, of belonging to a clan"[41].

Apparently in this *Edo* period, the concept of a basic family unit, *"ie"* and a strong sense of group belonging became deeply rooted in the Japanese people.

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[40] Originally, Reischauer & Craig (1989:89) use the word "the *samurai* (retainer)" instead of "warriors" in their book.

[41] Cited from Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:329).

Religions in Japan

The main religions in Japan are *Shinto*, Buddhism and Christianity. *Shinto* is the indigenous religion of Japan and can be termed a naturalistic religion that grew out of everyday life of the Japanese people in primitive times, but it was refined later by the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism. *Shinto* gods, or *kami*, are worshipped at shrines (*jinja*). All natural objects and phenomena used to be considered as having *kami*, so the gods of *Shinto* were numerous. Gradually *Shinto* practice also extended to the worship of ancestors.[42] "Japan has historically tried to harmonise itself, integrate rather than intervene with nature (Haglund 1988:92)". This is due to the *Shinto* sense of communion with nature.

"Buddhism reached Japan in the six century via China and Korea... There is no God in Buddhism; the emphasis is on ridding oneself of hate and jealousy through infinite love. Fanaticism is rejected; one should try to attain tolerance and equality."[43] The *Zen* sect is a denominations of Buddhism and exerted great influence on Japanese culture. According to the *Zen* sect, truth is something which transcends the expressions of language and letters. It can only be grasped through the direct proof of experiences obtained in the practice of *zazen*, or sitting in silent meditation.[44]

As the Japanese proverb says, "Speech is silver, silence is golden". Toyama's (1976b) statement that the Japanese language has aesthetics of distance and ambiguity, is relevant to the *Zen* philosophy. These aesthetics are also reflected in the poetry of *Haiku* (17 syllables) which was created in the seventeenth century and flourished in the *Edo* period. "*Haiku* gives an objective, fleeting picture of its subject. As it is impossible to depict an actual scene in detail, it is necessary to abbreviate to the essentials, and the "season word"[45] (which must be included in *haiku*) is one such abbreviation".[46]

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[42] Based on Kodansha International (ed.) (1996:183) and Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:275).

[43] Cited from Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:277).

[44] The explanations are based on Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:277&279).

[45] A "season word" refers to an animal, plant, event or custom of the season.

[46] Cited from Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:225& 227).

Christianity first reached Japan in 1549, and later It came to be considered a danger to the feudal order and was eventually repressed and banned. That's why the Japanese government adopted the National Seclusion policy (*sakoku*) in the *Edo* period. After the *Meiji* Restoration (1868) the ban was lifted and the present number of Christian believers is about one percent of the Japanese population.[47]

Christianity has rather a short history in Japan. It was during the *Edo* period, when Japan took the chance to develop more fully its own identity and culture, that the government took steps to have it banished. Therefore in general Japanese have been influenced by *Shinto* and Buddhism but very little influence has come from Christianity. Now, considering the above factors let us examine the Japanese society.

2.4.2   Japanese society

Previously we observed that traditionally Japanese people grew rice working in groups, and in the *Edo* period, *"ie"*, the basic family unit was found at all levels of society from warriors to merchants.[48] Although a variety of terms are used for describing Japanese society,[49] it is the group consciousness that is the basic concept of this society. Therefore I will discuss the features of Japanese society based on this group consciousness. Then I will attempt to illustrate how such social structures affect the organisation of self and society, in other words, private and public self.

2.4.2.1   Japanese social structures

Group oriented society
Feudal patriarchalism was abolished after World War II. However, till then civil law determined that the eldest son would inherit the wealth and the patriarchal rights of the family.[50] Under such a family structure it must have been very important whether you were younger or elder, male

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[47] The information is from Kodansha International (ed.) (1996:181) and Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:279).

[48] See page 41.

[49] See page 39.

[50] Based on Kodansha International (ed.) (1996:145).

or female. Thus evolution of the patriarchal rights is reflected in the present language, and especially in family terms. In Japanese one is not able to state just brother or sister without indicating elder or younger. For instance, *ani* means elder brother(s) and *otooto* is younger brother(s).[51]

Nakane (1970:7) points out that "Though it is often said that the traditional family (*ie*) institution has disappeared, the concept of the *ie* still persists in modern contexts". In other words, although the feudal family structure no longer exists, a strong sense of belonging to the group still remains. Nakane (1970:7f) gives an example as follows:

> A company is conceived as an *ie*, all its employees qualifying as members of the household, with the employer at its head. Again this "family" envelopes the employee's personal family; it "engages" him "totally"...The employer readily takes responsibility for his employee's family, for which, in turn, the primary concern is the company, rather than relatives who reside elsewhere.

The above statement explains why Japanese have a strong sense of loyalty to their company, and use *uchi* (a colloquial form of *ie*) referring to one's work place. For instance, "*uchi no kaisha*" may be translated as "my / our company" in English. However, *uchi no* implies far more than the English translation can convey. Referring to Nakane (1970:3), "The term *kaisha* (company) symbolises the expression of group consciousness. *Kaisha* does not mean that individuals are bound by contractual relationships into a corporate enterprise, while still thinking of themselves as separate entities; rather *kaisha* is 'my' or 'our' company, the community to which one belongs primarily, and which is all-important in one's life."[52]

Japanese are often said to give priority to groups rather than individuals. However, this may be natural behaviour since at one's company, he or she suppresses individuality, as the group concept becomes all important for each member. Group harmony is carefully maintained considering other members' feelings before instituting any new procedures or suggestions.

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[51] For more detailed discussion, see Chapter Three.

[52] For more detailed discussion, see Kondo's (1994) "*Uchi no Kaisha:* Company as Family?".

Beardsley (1965:362f) writes that "as Ruth Benedict (1946) emphasised, group responsibility for each member gives him sponsored entry into social intercourse; a person standing among new acquaintances is uncertain until his introduction shows which group vouched for him". In other words, "the group offers the Japanese a sense of security as well as a collective identity (Haglund 1988:91)".

Rigid vertical system
Nakane (1967, 1970) explains that the Japanese social structure is vertical, and a ranking order is rigid and fixed. In other words, "hierarchy (or rigid vertical system) is widely regarded as one of the central organising parameters in Japanese society (Bachnik 1994:8)."

Although class distinctions were officially abandoned in 1868, we can see that this vertical society which was greatly influenced by Confucianism in the *Edo* period, is still evident in Japan today. According to Nakane (1970), hierarchical ranking is accomplished via parameters such as age, sex, and status, and the ranking must be grasped from the situational context.

Therefore it is a crucial act for Japanese company employees to exchange their name cards, since name cards "make clear the title, the position and the institution of the person who dispenses them (Nakane 1970:30)." In fact, "by exchanging cards, both parties can gauge the relationship between them in terms of relative rank, locating each other within the known order of their society (Ibid.)".[53] Participants, therefore don't feel comfortable until they know which level of speech they should use, resulting in preliminary discussions having a high degree of honorifics and polite expressions used as safeguards.

A society which is dominated by power is often referred to as a vertical society. Here, inferiors are obliged to obey superiors' opinions, and as a result, they consider themselves oppressed by the influential "man of power". However, Kawai (1976) points out that superiors often make decisions which will maintain the balance of the group and to do so, they even suppress their own inclinations. Consequently, both inferiors and

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[53] In Western societies they also exchange business cards, however it is much more significant in Japan where one will immediately know the speech level to be used on receipt of the card.

superiors have the feeling of being unheard.

Mother archetype

All societies have mother and father archetypes, however, Kawai (1976), a Japanese psychoanalyst, observes that Japan has rather more characteristics of a mother archetypal culture, whereas European society tends more towards a father archetype. According to him, a mother archetype includes every child equally, in contrast, a father archetype makes distinctions amongst children and so they are classified under their ability or personality. He explains the above to us giving an extreme example; the mother archetype brings up children with the view that all her children are good, whereas the father archetype has only the good children being related to him.

Kawai (1976) points out that Christianity is a religion based on the father archetype, and only a person who has carried out an agreement with God will be saved. On the other hand, Buddhism emphasises tolerance and equality.[54] At this point it is fair to say that with the introduction of Buddhism along with the emergence of mother archetype, Japanese society was greatly influenced.

Structural Morality

Tsukishima (1976) asserts that God judges one's behaviour in Western society, whereas people are the judges in Japan. In other words, the group or society to which one belongs arbitrates on one's behaviour. We observed that in *Shinto*, people worship their ancestors, which implies that humans are divine. Therefore it may be natural that the Japanese have developed a structural morality where the group influences the individual's conduct.

Haglund (1988:90) has a similar view to Tsukishima saying "There is, in Japan, a structural morality, rather than an individual code of ethics... Anyone involved in some ignominious act can be expected to suffer from feelings of reproach, due to the opprobrium exacted by his or her social censors - the members of one's social group or work enterprise". Because being excluded from the group or society means losing one's security.

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[54]

Furthermore, Ruth Benedict (1946:225) points out that "they (Japanese) have been brought up to trust in a security which depends on other's recognition of the nuances of their observance of a code". Consequently "conformity is the norm in Japanese society. The way that Japanese behave is influenced by the behaviour of others and by one's concern for what others will think of him.[55] Therefore, "in Japan, even when venturing an opinion or expressing a personal feeling, one is gambling; if what is communicated appears ludicrous or inappropriate to others, there is cause for the speaker to suffer the dreaded loss of face (Haglund 1988:91)".

Honne and *tatemae*

To avoid loss of face, the speaker must consider the addressee's feelings. We have observed, that this is one of the features of the Japanese language. "The tactics of *tatemae* (enunciated principle) are often used in order to solve problems efficiently without hurting anyone, while pushing one's opinions too hard tends to be avoided."[56] Lebra (1976:136) explains the contrast between *tatemae* and *honne* as follows:

> *Honne* means one's natural, real, or inner wishes and proclivities, whereas *tatemae* refers to the standard, principle, or rule by which one is bound at least outwardly.

In other words, *honne* is "the inner life of feelings" versus *tatemae* "the surface world of social obligations" (Hamabata 1990:134)".

Ujiie (1996) analyses that one can not state one's *honne* (real wishes) when the group includes one's superior, or a stranger in public. She states that from the language usage in Japanese society we can observe a significant feature, that is *iwanai* (not to mention). She (Ibid.:66-71) states the three reasons: for the "not to mention" are (1) one must not say, or (2) it needn't be said, or (3) one can not express. Following are examples for the reasons[57]:

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[55] Based on Nippon Steel Human Resources Department (ed.) (1988:323).

[56] Based on Kodansha International (ed.) (1996:149).

[57] Based on Ujiie (1996:66-71), but some statements are additional.

(1)   *Honne* (real wishes) and the second-person pronoun, *anata*
        should not be mentioned to one's superiors.

(2)   If people share a family-like society for a long time, they do not
        have to confront the necessity of explanation. They assume that
        they understand each other implicitly.

(3)   If one has to communicate with a person (e.g. foreigner) who has
        different values, experience, etc., it may be difficult to express
        oneself, therefore one may avoid certain subjects.

Foreigners who have a much different culture from that of the Japanese
may not be getting appropriate explanations or statements, as Japanese
can not or do not express their meanings very well. However, the number
of foreigners who can speak Japanese has increased rapidly in the past
years, hence Japanese should also be trying to improve their
communication with them. Intercultural communication relies on both
sides to participate, therefore Japanese people must endeavour to play
their part in helping foreigners understand their culture and language.

2.4.2.2 Self and society

The levels of speech fluctuate depending on whom one addresses and
whether it is in a formal or informal setting. We can observe these levels in
all languages. However, according to Nakane (1970), the Japanese
language has much wider and more elaborate codes (levels of politeness)
than European languages.

The speech levels express the social and psychological distance between
the speaker and the other participants in a conversation. We can observe
that this social distance has two dimensions in Japan, which are vertical
and horizontal.[58]

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[58] Based on Situational Functional Japanese Vol.1:Notes [1995:(20)].

The vertical distance is drawn by social structure, which is equal to the hierarchical ranking which is of a rigid nature.[59] Whereas the horizontal distance, or *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) distinctions are drawn not by social structure but by constantly varying situations.[60] To differentiate between *uchi* and *soto* may not be so simple for JSL students, since *uchi* and *soto* change in different situations and not all students have a sense of belonging to a group in their own culture.

Bachnik (1994:3), however points out that "*uchi/soto* is a major organisational focus for Japanese self, social life, and language". Does this need, to be organised, have such a large influence on Japanese society and the language? Following is a definition of Japanese self and society exploring the *uchi* and *soto* orientations.

Uchi and *soto*

Originally *uchi* means "in" or "inside", whereas *soto* means "out" or "outside". These distinctions are not limited to Japanese, but are also used by people in other societies. Yet, *uchi* and *soto* imply much more lexical meanings than the above. Quinn (1994a) contrasts the conception of these two words. First he collects *uchi-/soto*-based words and phrases classifying them in certain categories, and then summarises them as in the table that follows:

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[59] Regarding the relative use of Japanese honorifics, in which people do not apply honorifics to their superiors when speaking to outsiders (the members of *soto* or out-group). For further discussion, see pages 77 & 78.

[60] Based on Lebra (1976:112) and Situational Functional Japanese Vol.1:Notes [1995:(20)-(23)].

UCHI	:	SOTO
INDOORS	:	OUTDOORS
CLOSED	:	OPEN
EXPERIENCED	:	OBSERVED[61]
HIDDEN	:	REVEALED
FULLY BOUNDED	:	PARTLY BOUNDED
CLEARLY DEFINED	:	LESS CLEARLY DEFINED
LIMITED	:	LIMIT-IRRELEVANT
SACRED	:	SECULAR (Cf. imperial palace vs. outer building, outer shrine vs. inner shrine at *Ise*, etc.)
SELF(-VES)	:	OTHER(S)
LINEAL FAMILY	:	EXTRALINEAL FAMILY
FAMILIAR	:	UNFAMILIAR
"US"	:	"THEM"
PRIVATE	:	PUBLIC
INCLUDED	:	EXCLUDED
KNOWN	:	UNKNOWN
INFORMED	:	UNINFORMED
CONTROLLED	:	UNCONTROLLED
ENGAGED	:	DETACHED
EARLY/PRIMARY	:	LATE/SECONDARY

Table 2.   Lexical *uchi* vs. *soto*, regular conceptual contrasts (Quinn 1994a:64)

The above table indicates that the *uchi* domain is one's PRIVATE area. It is such a FAMILIAR area that one can reveal HIDDEN parts of oneSELF away from the PUBLIC. In other words, *honne* (real wishes) can be stated in the *uchi* domain.

Then, whom can one state one's *honne* to ? They could be one's family or close friends etc., but whoever they are, it is unquestionable that an intimate relationship certainly exists with him/her. I wish to call this domain "primary *uchi*" or "absolute *uchi*". In this domain, a basically casual style speech is used, whereas in the *soto* domain a formal style of speech is used.[62]

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[61] "Observed" probably means viewed but not participated in.

[62] The details of casual and formal style speeches are discussed later in Chapter Three.

Lebra (1976:112) states that "the Japanese are known to differentiate their behaviour by whether the situation is defined as *uchi* or *soto*. That distinction perhaps characterises human culture in general, but it is essential in determining the way Japanese interact. Where the demarcation line is drawn varies widely: it may be inside vs. outside an individual person, a family, a group of playmates, a school, a company, a village, or a nation". For instance the word *uchi* (inside) is used as follows:

[2.23] *Uchi* wa minna saishoku shugisha desu.
'All *my family* are vegetarian.'

[2.24] *Uchi* no seito wa mainichi yoku benkyoo shimasu.
'The students of *our school* study hard every day.'

Uchi implies one's group organisation which is one's family or school in the above examples. Both sentences could be uttered by the same person, since the domains of *uchi* and *soto* fluctuate depending on which group the speaker thinks he/she belongs to when he/she is actually speaking. Again, the essential point is that distinctions between *uchi* and *soto* are drawn by constantly varying situations. Let us look at the following example:

[2.25] Sugu *uchi* no mono ni yarase masu.
'I'll make someone (in *my group*) do that right away.'

The above sentence could be uttered by one to another household member or another company employee or someone who lives in the next village. In each case, the speaker regards the addressee as the outsider of his/her group. We have been unable to find any English equivalent of *uchi* which implies my/our group like this. I wish to call this group "secondary *uchi*" or "relative *uchi*", since the *uchi* and *soto* domains fluctuate depending on the situation.

Uchi is described as 内 in *kanji* ,the Chinese character, and implies the meanings of 中 and 家 combined. 中 is pronounced as *naka* also *uchi,* and means "in", "inside" and "within". 家 is pronounced as *ie* also *uchi,* and the meaning is "family" and "house". Previously we observed that *uchi no kaisha* (my/our company) is used when referring to one's work place which is regarded as an 家 (*ie*) and envelopes the employee's personal family. This example proves that the 内 (*uchi*) domain includes the

concept of 家 (*ie*, a basic family or group unit).

Omote and *ura*

Lebra (1976:112) urges that "the *uchi-soto* dichotomy is a necessary criterion for defining a situation, but not a totally sufficient one" and she suggests a second dichotomy, *omote* and *ura*. "*Omote* refers to 'front' or 'what is exposed to public attention', whereas *ura* means 'back' or 'what is hidden from the public eye' (Ibid.)." As Lebra notes, we can see an overlap between *uchi* and *ura,* and between *soto* and *omote*, "nevertheless, they are mutually independent dichotomies (Ibid.)". She combines these dichotomies in various ways and introduces "the three domains of situational interaction" as follows (Ibid.):

	Omote ("Front")	*Ura* ("Back")
Uchi ("In")	—	Intimate
Soto ("Out")	Ritual	Anomic[63]

"The *Uchi-omote* combination, namely, a situation both 'inside' and yet 'front,' is unlikely to occur...*Uchi* and *ura* combine into an intimate situation, *soto* and *omote* into a ritual situation, and *soto* and *ura* into an anomic situation (Lebra 1976:112f)." I wish to analyse the above three domains, illustrating Japanese society and self. The following diagrams depict Japanese and American situational domains.[64]

A: *Uchi-ura* (Intimate)
B: *Soto-omote* (Ritual)
C: *Soto-ura* (Anomic)

Japanese   American
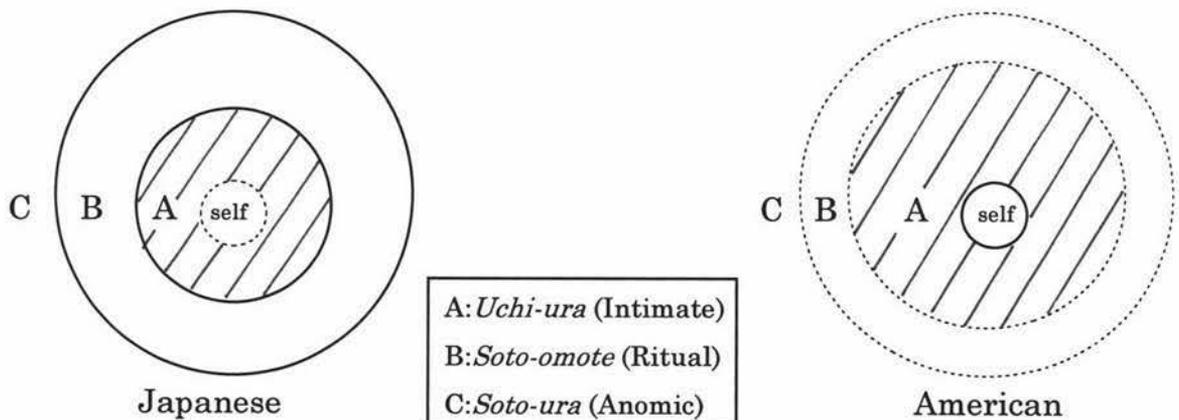
Diagram 3   The three situational domains

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[63]The word "anomic" is used by Lebra (1976:112). I suppose it to be the adjective form of "anomie" which means lack of moral standards, breakdown of societies rules etc.

[64] These diagrams are derived from the illustration from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:75), but it is said that the original model is based on Ide (1977). The concept of the three domains is also drawn from Lebra (1976:114).

In the diagram, self is enclosed by the three circles. From the centre the sizes of the first and third circles are equal for the Japanese and the Americans. We must also take into account the differences between the full lines and the dotted lines. The full lines indicate that a clear boundary exists between the adjacent domains, and the "barrier" is too great to transcend. Whereas the dotted lines act as borderlines between domains that are not clearly defined and therefore regularly fluctuate.

The domain A is the *uchi-ura* (in-back), B is *soto-omote* (out-front) and C is the *soto-ura* (out-back) domains. Now, let us examine these three domains referring to Lebra (1976) and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990).

Uchi -ura (Intimate situation)

This domain is shown as A in the above diagrams. The borderline between Japanese self and the domain A is rather ambiguous, in contrast the American self depicts a clear distinction. This is because Americans strongly preserve one's own "territory", but Japanese "self" easily mixes with the members of *uchi*.

American intimate situations appear much larger than Japanese, since they tend to show themselves more openly. Previously we had the diagrams which illustrated American and Japanese styles of intercultural communication (See Diagrams 1 and 2 on page 37), there the sizes of the American and Japanese second circles are the opposite of the above diagrams. We should note that the diagrams on page 37 indicate the portions which one has of private self (known to self) and public self (known to others). They show that Japanese have a greater degree of intimacy hidden from public eyes than do Americans. However, the above diagrams illustrate situations, show that Japanese don't interact as intimately as Americans do.

The unique Japanese personal structure, *"amae* (dependency on indulgence)"* is observed in this domain. This term became well-known through Doi(1971, 1973, 1974). Referring to Matsumoto's (1988:407) summary, *amae* "generally refers to an infant's feeling towards his/her mother, a feeling of dependency, a desire to be passively loved, and an unwillingness to be separated from the warm mother-child circle and cast into a world of objective reality." However, according to Doi (1974:121), *amae* is also observed between mature adults, "such as the relationship

between a husband and a wife or a master and a subordinate".

Lebra (1974:54) states that "The role of expressing *amae*, called *amaeru* must be complemented and supported by the role that accepts another's *amae*. The latter role is called *amayakasu*". The *amaeru-amayakasu* relationship may explain "why Japanese try to be accepted by others rather than insisting on their individuality (Matsumoto 1988:407)".

Soto-omote (Ritual situation)

In domain B *tatemae* (enunciated principle) is often present. "There is great emphasis on self-control, distance, and hiding inner feelings (Hall 1976:57)" in this domain. We can observe the frequent use of polite and respectful language. With whom does one interact in this domain? Friends, fellow businessmen, acquaintances with whom one has a social and psychological interest.

The American borderlines between A and B are rather vague, whereas Japanese have a clear distinction between *uchi* and *soto*. *Enryo* ("restraint" or "holding back") is often perceived in this ritual domain. Doi (1973:38) points out that "in the parent-child relationship there is no *enryo*...the relationship being permeated with *amae*...With other relationships outside this parent-child relationship, *enryo* decreases proportionately with intimacy and increases with distance."

There is a remarkable difference in behaviour and language use between Japanese domains A and B. If one uses the language of a ritual situation in domain A, he or she will be disapproved of as *mizukusai* ("strangerlike"), *ojoohin butte iru* (to pose as a refined gentleman/lady). In contrast, if one uses the language of intimacy as in domain B, he/she will be criticised for being arrogant, rude and be regarded as not well-educated.

Soto-ura (Anomic situation)

In Japanese domain C, one "is freed from the concern that an audience is watching his behaviour (Lebra 1976:113)". Therefore, one "is allowed to be 'heartless' (Goffman 1967:11), and offensive. *Omoiyari* ('empathy') is irrelevant (Lebra 1976:131)." The basic behaviours observed in this domain are surly mannerisms, silence, and disregard.

Strangers and passers-by with whom one doesn't have any interest in are in this domain. Therefore, JSL students who don't have any Japanese friends or acquaintances will be treated in the above manner. Generally in anomic situations, it may not always be necessary for polite style speech to be used.

Most JSL students who have just come to Japan will remain in domain B and C for sometime after they have arrived. When therefore, will they be allowed to use the language of the intimate domain? How will they know when the time is right? The following questions are often asked by JSL students:[65]

(1) You are my teacher and we are very close now, so I don't have to use honorifics any more to you, do I?

(2) What level of language should I use to children when I get lost and ask for directions ?

(3) When I said "*Son-na koto dame yo* (Don't do such a thing)"using casual style speech to the lady with whom I have been boarding for two years, she cautioned me saying "Watch your language". What have I done wrong?

JSL teachers should give answers to the above questions with clear and proper explanations.[66] In the next chapter, I will explore the language that should be used in intimate and ritual situations to make it easier for JSL students to understand. Before that I wish to sum up the inherent aspect of Japanese culture answering the four questions which are listed in the communication section. (See page 39).

2.4.3 Summary

The concept of *"ie* (family/household)*"* was introduced through Confucianism, and still remains in vogue in modern Japanese society such as in one's company where people have a strong sense of belonging to the

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[65] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:73).

[66] See pages 64 & 65, for answers.

group. They differentiate between *uchi* (in) or *soto* (out) groups, and the behaviour and language used are also distinguishable.

Another social dimension is the vertical distance which is arrived at by the social structure. One uses a variety of polite expressions and honorifics to one's superior. However, in the same group, both superiors and inferiors give priority to the group rather than to themselves and try to maintain the group harmony.

The group offers a security and collective identity however, which forms a structural morality. In other words, Japanese create social sensors themselves so that every one is very conscious how others, especially one's group members will think of them. As a result, Japanese are renowned for considering other people's feelings more sensitively than some other nations or societies, and try not to push their opinions or hurt anyone. To do so, the content of speech becomes ambiguous. In such circumstances, it is natural to avoid the point, since "going-around-the-point" is more "socially oriented".

To consider other people's feelings, Japanese also differentiate between *honne* (real wishes) and *tatemae* (enunciated principle). *Honne* is one's hidden part ("private self") and this is a far larger portion than for Americans as we learned from diagrams 1 and 2 (page 37).

Finally, it is said that Japanese communication is "implicit" and "high-context". Since geographically and historically Japan has been isolated and in such a family-like society there is no need to state everything clearly. Moreover, the following three situations are considered not necessary to be mentioned by Japanese:

(1) INTIMATE   It needn't be said.
(2) RITUAL   One must not say.
(3) ANOMIC   One can not express.[67]

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[67] Derived from "the three reasons why they do not mention" on page 48, and "the three domains of situational interaction" on page 52.

CHAPTER 3

JAPANESE CULTURE REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE

The relationship between language and society in Japan is best illustrated in the use of politeness, especially honorifics, that reflect vertical and *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) social dimensions. Ellipses and indirect expressions have also evolved to consider other people's feelings and avoid confrontations.

In the first section of this chapter, I will give clear explanations on the extraction of culture-bound notions from the Japanese language. I wish to focus especially on the speech act in *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) distinctions. I will also explain briefly Japanese women's speech in this section. Because "in a discussion of polite language, women's language cannot be ignored, for one of the fairly wide-spread features of women's language is its politeness (Ide 1982:357)".

Then, in section two, I wish to analyse how language/society has changed on the basis of data collected. We observed in chapter one, that the language patterns and cultural norms constantly influence each other as they have evolved. Yamagiwa's (1965:191) following statements support the above. "If language reflects cultural history, it also has a hand in making it. The role of language in social or intellectual change is never completely passive, for a language can influence the capacity of a society to change under a variety of circumstances". Through the current analysis of changing language, I will attempt to examine how the Japanese society is changing.

3.1 Culture bound notions

Verbs of giving and receiving in Japanese are significantly reflected by *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) and depend on the social hierarchy of the donor and recipient. Moreover they are also used as auxiliary verbs, and JSL students are apt to get these verbs confused. Therefore, I wish to

begin this section by discussing the giving and receiving verbs.[1] Then, I will explore honorification of nominal elements such as family, address terms, and of predicative elements, which are the addressee, subject and object honorification, including the language of women. Lastly, I wish to extract other polite expressions, such as indirect, modest, and the repeating of one's appreciation.

3.1.1 Verbs of giving and receiving

Why is it more complex for JSL students to learn the giving and receiving verbs? The Japanese language has two types of verbs for "giving" and the speaker has to choose the right one "depending upon the relative social status of the giver and receiver as well as the direction of favours (Ono 1996:65)". Let us observe the following examples:

[3.1] a. Boku wa neko ni miruku o yatta.
'I gave the cat milk.'
[receiver is inferior (including animals/ plants) to giver]

b. Boku wa Taroo ni hon o ageta.
'I gave Taroo a book.'
[receiver is about equal status to giver][2]

c. Boku wa sensei ni hon o sashiageta.
'I gave my teacher a book.'
[receiver is superior to giver]

[3.2] a. Hanako wa boku/ otooto ni hon o kureta.
'Hanako gave me/ my younger brother a book.'
[giver is equal status or inferior to receiver]

b. Sensei wa boku-tachi ni hon o kudasatta.
'Our teacher gave us books.'
[giver is superior to receiver]

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[1] In this section, however we will not discuss auxiliary verbs of giving and receiving.

[2] *Ageru* (non-past form of *ageta*) is sometimes used when even the receiver is inferior to giver, especially in women's speech. For more detailed discussion, see section two of this chapter.

c. Dare ga hon o kureta no[3]?
'Who gave (you) a book?'

As shown in the above examples, *yaru/ ageru/ sashiageru*, (non-past form of *yatta/ ageta/ sashiageta*, the latter being the more polite) and *kureru/ kudasaru* (non-past form of *kureta/ kudasatta*) are used when giving something to someone. I wish to explain these two giving verbs using Makino's (1995:65) terms, "*uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person)" and "*soto-ninshoo* (out-group person)".

The recipient of *ageru* is used for *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person) and *kureru* is for *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person). *Ageru* describes the action from <u>the giver's point of view</u>, whereas *kureru* describes the action from <u>the receiver's point of view</u>. For instance, the examples from [3.1a] to [3.1c] are described from the giver's (in these cases all the speaker's) point of view. In contrast, from [3.2a] to [3.2c] are from the receiver's (in [3.2a] the speaker's or his/her brother's, in [3.2.b] the speaker and his/her classmates', in [3.2c] the addressee's) point of view.

The example [3.2c] indicates that the addressee is regarded as *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person), since the verb, *kureta* (past form of *kureru*) is used.[4] How, then, do we decide which choice of verb to use when the giver and recipient are both from the speaker's family? Let us consider the following examples:

[3.3] a. Boku wa chichi/haha ni tokei o ageta[5].
'I gave my father/ mother a watch.'

b. Chichi wa haha ni tokei o ageta/ kureta.
'My father gave my mother a watch.'

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[3] The sentence final *"no"* (*"n/no desu ka"* in formal speech), often appears as a female question marker in informal speech. We will discuss women's speech later.

[4] According to Makino (1995:65), the second person, "you" is *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person), since the speaker empathises with interlocutors.

[5] "*Sashiageru* is never used when referring to family members; therefore only *ageru* (or *yaru* for junior members) can be used for giving to a family member (Situational Functional Japanese Vol. 2: Note 1994:137)."

In [3.3a] the verb *ageta* which is used for *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person) is selected, since "the speaker has to empathise more with himself than with anyone else (Ono 1996:66)"[6]. Then, why can both verbs, *ageta* for *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person) and *kureta* for *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person), be used in [3.3b]? According to Makino (1995:65), when *ageta* for *soto-ninshoo* is used, the speaker considers his father to be closer than mother in his group. Whereas, when the speaker uses *kureta* for *uchi-ninshoo*, he regards his mother as closer than father. As Kuno (1978) asserts we can observe here that the hierarchical empathy exists among the participants in speech acts. Therefore, when choosing one from the giving verbs, *ageru* and *kureru,* we have to take notice of "whether the speaker feels empathy to the recipient (Makino 1995:64)".

Now, let us observe the verbs for receiving:

[3.4] a. Boku wa Hanako ni/kara[7] hon o moratta.
     'I received a book from Hanako.'
     [giver is equal status or inferior to receiver]

   b. Boku wa sensei ni/kara hon o itadaita.
     'I received a book from my teacher.'
     [giver is superior to receiver]

   c. *Hanako wa boku ni/kara hon o moratta.
     'Hanako received a book from me.'

   d. Oosutoraria wa Nyuujiirando kara kiiwii o moratta.
     'Australia received kiwi birds from New Zealand.'

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[6] Ono quotes from Kuno's (1978:146) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy. This Hierarchy reflects one of "the universal principles of viewpoint" stated by Makino & Tsutsui (1986:57). They say that "the speaker usually describes a situation or an event from his own viewpoint rather than from others' when he is involved in the situation or the event".

[7] Both the particles *"ni"* and *"kara"* are used to mark the giver. 'When one receives something from an institution (e.g. a school, a company or the government), however, *"kara"* should always be used (Total Japanese: Grammar and Conversation Notes 1994:159)'. Makino & Tsutsui (1986:262) explain that "this seems to be due to the fact that *"kara"* carries the idea of source, while *"ni"* conveys the idea of direct contact".

As can be seen in the above examples, *morau/ itadaku* (non-past form of *moratta/ itadaita*, the latter is more polite) are used for "receiving". The action is described from <u>the viewpoint of the receiver.</u>

Here, it should be noted that [3.4c] is unacceptable, since this is against one of "the universal principles of viewpoint".[8] The speaker is involved in this situation so the action should be described from the speaker's viewpoint, stating "*Boku wa Hanako ni hon o ageta.* (I gave Hanako a book.)" Then, how about [3.4d]? If the speaker is a New Zealander or living there and feels empathy to New Zealand, he/she states "*Nyuujiirando wa Oosutoraria ni kiiwii o ageta* (New Zealand gave kiwi birds to Australia), describing the action from <u>the giver's point of view</u>. In short, the receiver of *morau* can be anybody, whereas the giver cannot be *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person). In other words, the giver of *morau* has to be *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person).

The following table is a summary of the verbs of giving and receiving:

Give (out-group)	Give (in-group)	Receive (from out-group)
Giver's Viewpoint	Receiver's Viewpoint	Receiver's Viewpoint
The speaker's degree of empathy when the giver and receiver are both his in-group members (e.g. "Giver>Receiver" means that the speaker empathises with the giver more than the receiver.)		
Giver > Receiver	Giver < Receiver	Giver < Receiver
yaru ●	*kureru* —→●	*morau** ●←
ageru ●—→	*kudasaru* ●	*itadaku** ●
sashiageru ●		

<div align="center">Table 3   Giving and receiving verbs[9]</div>

*The arrows of *morau* and *itadaku* are drawn from right to left, since this is to do with sentence construction in which the giver and the receiver are both contained.

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[8] See the footnote 6 on page 60.

[9] The idea of this table is derived from Makino & Tsutsui (1986:216). The degree of politeness is shown whether + (positive) or − (negative). The verbs under the bold lines are used when the giver or receiver is one's superior.

3.1.2 Honorifics

3.1.2.1 Honorifics and speech levels

It is generally accepted that honorifics are used for indicating respect, distance, elegance, formality, and beautification.[10] It is true that honorifics create distance between the participants. Ide (1982:376) points out that some people use honorifics "as a useful device for keeping others away, people can maintain a distant relationship". For instance, people living in the urban areas use honorifics more than those in the rural areas in order to "protect their own individual space and their privacy (Ibid.:376f)".

Currently honorifics are used to show the speaker's politeness or courtesy rather than his/her respect for the addressee or referent.[11] Having a good command of honorifics indicates that the person is well-educated and a mature member of society. Ide (1982:378) also states that "the elaborate use of honorifics is considered as a manifestation of good upbringing, higher social class, just as careful pronunciation is a marker of a higher social class in English". Therefore, it is natural for women to use honorifics frequently, since they always try to behave in a well-mannered way.

We previously observed that Japanese honorifics are socially prescribed norms and conventions. In fact, the elaborate use of the obligatory norms is not very easy, even for some native speakers. This is because the speaker has to consider whom he/she is addressing and whom he/she is talking about. Before grammatically exploring honorifics, we need to clarify general guidelines to whom and when honorifics are used, considering cultural reflections.

We learned that the degree of politeness is controlled by the factors of social and psychological distances between the participants. It was also made manifestly clear that the distances were affected by the vertical and group orientated Japanese society. I wish to look at these two features together and sum up their influences on honorifics as follows[12]:

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[10]For more detailed discussion, see Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:95f).

[11]For further discussion, see Miyaji (1983).

[12]Derived from Shibata (1988) in Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:83) and I have

I. Vertical Society
    ue/shita (higher/lower)

        (1) age (elder/younger)

        (2) sex (male/female)

        (3) social status (higher/lower)

II. Group Oriented Society
    uchi/soto (in-group/out-group)

        (4) primary *uchi/soto*
            (intimacy/distance)

        (5) secondary *uchi/soto*[13]
            (in-group/out-group)

The five elements above are derived from the *ue/shita* (higher/lower) and *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) factors. These two main factors intertwine and contribute to make up the various complex speech levels. Regarding the social and psychological distances, a speaker experiences distance with his/her *ue* (higher) or *soto* (out-group), whereas none exists with the *shita* (lower) or *uchi* (in-group). Let us illustrate, dividing these tangled factors into four axes.
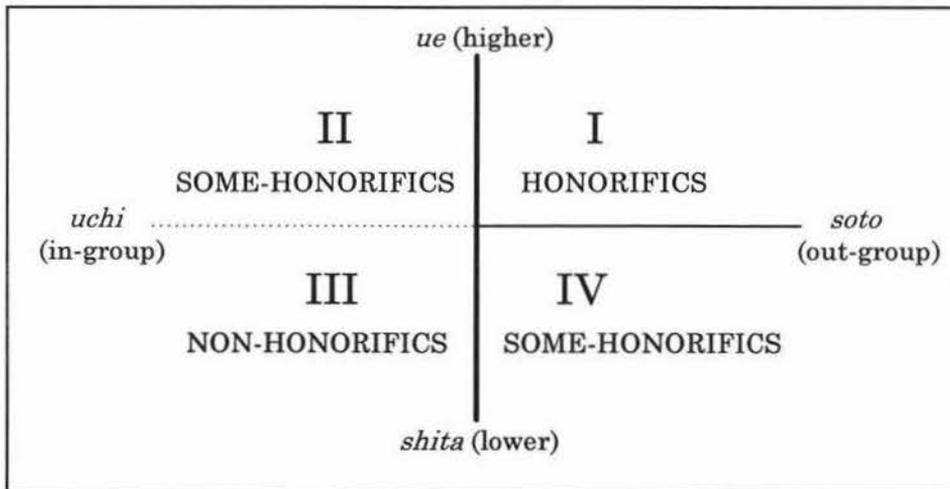
Figure 4.   The four axes used in honorifics[14]

added some terms we have previously discussed. The elements (1), (2) and (3) overlapped Ide's (1982:366) view. See footnote 8 on page 18.

[13] The speaker feels closeness such as intimacy to the members of "primary *uchi*", they can be his/her family or close friends. Whereas, the domain of "secondary *uchi*" fluctuates depending on the situation. The detailed discussion on pages 50 and 51.

[14] Derived from figure 5 in Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:84).

In the above figure, the vertical bolder line divides on the left *uchi* group and on the right *soto* group. In general, honorifics are not used to *uchi* (in-group) members, whereas they are used to *soto* (out-group) members. However, this does not always apply. In Axis II (*uchi-ue*, in-group and higher), honorifics are used, the only exceptions depending on the addressee and the situation. Whereas, in Axis IV (*soto-shita*, out-group and lower) theoretically honorifics are used but not always necessary. Let us look at some examples from questions raised by JSL students in the last chapter.

In cases (1) and (3) on page 55, the student feels the addressee is close, so he/she tries to use the language in *uchi*, Axis III, where no honorifics are used. However, the student's teacher has the higher social status, and the land lady is older than the student, so the speech level should be in Axis II, and honorifics should be applied in both cases.[15] The student's utterance to her land lady, *"Son-na koto dame yo* (Don't do such a thing)" conveyed in casual style speech (plain form) is seen as being very rude. Usually only such warnings or advice come from higher-status/senior to lower-status/junior. Ide (1982:377) explains that "when a person uses plain forms in a setting where the addressee expects polite forms, the address may take it as an expression of the speaker's contemptuous attitude toward the addressee".

In Japan, especially the relationship between a teacher and student seems to last for an eternity. For instance, although a teacher is retired, his/her former students call him/her "*sensei* (address term to teachers, doctors, lawyers etc.)" and use honorifics, even although that former student may now be the president of a prestigious enterprise. Moreover, a student's family, such as parents will speak to their son/daughter's teacher using honorifics. In Japan, once a speech level has been established, based on *ue/shita* (higher/lower) factors, it is fixed and does not change easily. I can prove this postulate from my own experience some ten years ago.

Mr Edwards, my English teacher, was a retired principal who was a respected, elderly professional man. When I met him for the first time, he

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[15] However, this does not always apply to all landladies. Some may prefer that honorifics are not used to them. The students will be given general explanations, and they have to be aware these are fluctuating areas of speech levels.

introduced himself as Mr Edwards. Since then I have called him Mr Edwards and his title "Mr" implied the meaning of *sensei* (teacher). However, after I married my husband, he became our close friend, and one day he asked me to call him by his first name. At that time, he was no longer my English teacher, but I recall it was almost impossible for me to call him by his first name. In his lessons, Mr Edwards gave me the following advice: "Think in English not in Japanese". However, although I spoke in English, trying to think in English was affected by my Japanese cultural background. I felt a closeness to him and he was my *uchi* (in-group) member, however, all the vertical factors (age, sex and social status) were higher than I. Therefore, I practised honorifics when meeting him. The above anecdote also proves that *wakimae* (discernment) is fundamental to Japanese honorifics.[16]

In case (2), where a student may ask younger children for direction, the speech level used is in Axis IV and honorifics are not required, since the student is much older than the children.

Now, how about the following case?[17] After having studied Japanese for nine years, a Chinese student visited Japan and he couldn't believe the rude behaviour of Japanese diners. Often they would walk out of a restaurant without replying to the waitress's words of appreciation. In China the reverse occurs. In general Chinese diners or customers do say thank you to the waitress or sales assistant, so this student left the Japanese restaurant politely saying, *"Doomo arigatoo gozaimashita.* (Thank you very much)".[18] However, if he had really understood the Japanese culture, he would have said *"Doomo* (Thanks)." or *"Gochisoosama deshita* (Thank you for the meal)."

Although the student's language competence is very high, he does not seem to have learned aspects of the Japanese culture. He should have been informed that levels of speech between a customer and the waitress or sales assistant are quite different. Ide (1982:377) points out that "an extensive use of honorifics is observed by salespersons and other people

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[16] For more detailed discussion, see pages 19 and 20.

[17] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:26).

[18] *"Doomo arigatoo gozaimashita."* which is a way of expressing gratitude to someone very politely, is not normally uttered by Japanese customers in this situation.

engaged in the service industry...they make customers feel good by confirming the status of power customers have". Therefore, the customer does not use the same degree of polite language and it sounds rather peculiar, if especially a man replies so politely as in the above situation.

As observed from the above examples, honorifics cannot be introduced without integrating the two main social factors, *ue/shita* (higher/lower), and *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group). JSL students need to be advised the level of honorifics to be used and to whom. Clear explanations of cultural aspects in various situations will assist the students' appreciation of honorifics.

3.1.2.2. Honorification of nominal elements

Nouns with polite prefixes
The prefix *o-* or *go-* is attached to objective nouns that are linked to a person of respect. Normally *o-* goes with Japanese nouns, and *go-* is attached to Sino-Japanese nouns (those that are borrowed from Chinese). The following are some examples:

[3.5]   O-tegami   doomo arigatoo gozaimashita.
        HON-letter   thank you very much
        'Thank you very much for your letter.'

[3.6]   Sensei,   go-ryokoo wa   ikaga   deshita ka.
        Professor HON-trip   TOP   how   was   Q
        'How was your trip, Professor?'

The prefix *o-* and *go-* are also used for the beautification of speech. In other words they can be attached to nouns which are not related to the speaker's superior. They are called *bika-go* (beautification honorifics), and often observed in women's speech.[19]

Address terms and reference terms
One of the common mistakes made by JSL students is to equate the Japanese suffix *-san* with the English titles of Mr, Miss, or Mrs. Let us consider the following:

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[19] For further discussion, see page 81.

[3.7] a. Watashi wa Sumisu desu.
          'I am Smith.'

      b. *Watashi wa Sumisu-san desu.
          'I am Mr Smith.'

      c. *Watashi wa Sumisu sensei desu.
          'I am Mr (teacher) Smith.'

      d. (to one's teacher)
          * Sumisu san, ohayoogozaimasu.
          'Good morning, Mr Smith.'

In English "I am Mr Smith" is a possible sentence to indicate the distance from the addressee. School teachers often use their titles to pupils as shown in [3.7c]. However, both [3.7b] and [3.7c] are unacceptable in Japanese. "The suffix *-san* expresses some degree of respect to the person and it is not customary to so overtly express respect about oneself (Aoki & Okamoto 1988:13)". Besides, *sensei* (teacher) being a social role term, must only be used on its own, as it cannot be connected to one's name when interacting with students.

What is wrong with the sentence in [3.7d]? If the addressee has an occupational title or rank, such as *shachoo* (president of a company), *buchoo* (division chief), and *sensei* (teacher, doctor, lawyer and so forth), this should be either used independently or with the last name (e.g. *Sensei*, or *Sumisu-sensei*). In [3.7d], the speaker addresses his/her teacher as *Sumisu-san*, and this "could be misinterpreted as indicating that the speaker is unjustifiably familiar or is not showing enough respect (Aoki & Okamoto 1988:14)".

JSL students have to keep firmly in mind the following two points:

(1) Call the addressee by his/her name and suffix *-san* only at the last resort.
    -If he/she has an occupational title, address them by it.
    -Remember that such address terms are rigid and can continue for many years later (e.g. for a lifetime you may call your teacher Mr Smith, *Sumisu-sensei*).

(2) Suffix *-san* is never attached to your own name.

The statement (2) above applies when he/she speaks to the *soto* (out-group) members referring to the speaker's family members. Therefore, *"Boku no okusan no An-san wa nihongo ga joozu desu.* (My wife, Ann speaks good Japanese.)" is completely unacceptable. If "*boku no* (my)" is replaced with "*Howaito-san no* (Mr White's)", it becomes correct Japanese.

The above sentence is not only grammatically wrong but also in some cultural aspects. As the English expression "to blow one's own trumpet" has a negative connotation, Japanese similarly do not praise themselves or their own family members. To display how incorrect the above sentence is, let us translate it literally into English: "My someone else's wife, Mrs Ann is good at Japanese". The word *"okusan"* is used for referring to someone else's wife, so *"boku no* (my)" is incompatible.

In English the term "wife" is used for both "my wife" and "someone else's wife", while Japanese differentiate with *"kanai"* and *"okusan"* respectively. We have also learned that in Japanese we are unable to state just brother or sister but must indicate elder or younger. These examples suggest that Japanese family terms are related more to vertical and *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) aspects of the culture. Let us take a closer look at Japanese family terms. Table Four in the next page shows reference and address terms.

First, let us look at reference terms. There are two forms: *uchi-ninshoo* is used to refer to in-group members, and *soto-ninshoo* for out-group members. The former being the humble form, while the latter is the polite form with honorific prefix *o-* and *go-*, and suffix *-san* for out-group family members.

As we know, under the pre-war family structure the eldest son inherited the family property. Therefore, the terms of elder brother/sister and younger brother/sister are clearly determined. Moreover, in Japanese, one's brothers and sisters are called *"kyoodai"*, which is compounded by the two Chinese characters 兄 and 弟 and they indicate elder brother and younger brother respectively. In written Japanese, sisters are described as 姉妹, *"shimai"* (elder sister and younger sister), however this is rarely used in conversation. Although originally *"kyoodai"* means just brothers, the

term implies both brothers and sisters. If a clear distinction is required, brothers and sisters are described as *"otoko no* (male) *kyoodai"* and *"onana no* (female)*kyoodai"*. Tsukishima (1976) points out that this may be the manifestation of male-oriented Japanese society in the past.

MEANING	REFERENCE TERMS		ADDRESS TERMS	
	Uchi-ninshoo In-group (humble/neutral)	*Soto-ninshoo* Out-group (honorific)	Self-address	Alter-address
family	*kazoku*	*go-kazoku*	—	—
husband	*shujin*[20]/ *otto*	*go-shujin*	1st Person Pronoun	anata/FN-*san*
wife	*kanai/ tsuma*	*oku-san*	1st PP	First Name[21]
child	*kodomo*	*kodomo-san*	1st PP	FN
son	*musuko*	*musuko-san*	1st PP	FN
daughter	*musume*	*musume-san*	1st PP	FN
parents	*ryooshin*	*go-ryooshin*	—	—
father	*chichi*	*o-too-san*	*o-too-san*	*o-too-san*
mother	*haha*	*o-kaa-san*	*o-kaa-san*	*o-kaa-san*
brothers & sisters	*kyoodai*	*go-kyoodai*	—	—
elder brother	*ani*	*o-nii-san*	*o-nii-san*	*o-nii-san*
elder sister	*ane*	*o-nee-san*	*o-nee-san*	*o-nee-san*
younger brother	*ototo*	*otooto-san*	1st PP	FN
younger sister	*imooto*	*imooto-san*	1st PP	FN

Table 4   Family Terms

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[20] Originally *"shujin* (one's husband)"* means "the master of the house or the head of the family". As the traditional family system became obsolete, some women began to avoid using this term by uttering their family name without suffix -*san,* or using the other term of one's husband *"otto"*. These women also prefer to be described as *"tsuma* (one's wife)" when their husbands refer to them, instead of *"kanai"*, which the meaning implies is "inside the house". This phenomenon is evidence that society is influencing changes in the language.

[21] Usually men call their wives by her first name omitting the suffix -*san,* however some men utter *"oi* (an interjection which men use to get someone's attention, when addressing close friends or inferior", and *"okaa-san* (the term which children call their mother but also often used by the children's father to address his wife)".

Let us now discuss the address terms. The terms "self-address" and "alter-address" are derived from Makino & Tsutsui (1986:36). These terms reflect the vertical relationship in a family. As we already know "the power principle is that older have more power than the younger, and males than females (Aoki & Okamoto 1988:15)". Observe the following examples (Note that the speaker is the same person):

[3.8] a. (to one's mother)
  Okaa-san, kore okaa-san ni ageru yo.
  Mum, I'll give you this.'

  b. (to one's younger brother called Taroo)
  Taroo, kore omae ni yaru yo.
  'Taroo, I'll give you this.'

In [3.8a], the term *okaa-san* (mother) is used for the speaker to attract the addressee's attention, and in place of the second-person pronoun "you". We have to remember that Japanese prefer to avoid direct pronominal references, especially the second-person pronoun which is not used to superiors. As we learned a student addresses the occupational title, *sensei* to his/her teacher instead of using the second-person pronoun, in the same way, the out-group (honorific) family term, *"okaa-san"* is used in the above. It is natural to address senior family members in honorific terms, but not to use humble terms.

In contrast, in [3.8b] when the speaker calls his younger brother, he uses the brother's first name, Taroo. Moreover, he uses the second-person pronoun *"omae"* which is only used by male speakers to a person who is of lower status. In short, the speaker calls his/her elder family members by honorific kinship terms[22], whereas younger members by their first names.

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[22] This rule doesn't apply to a husband and wife. Suzuki (1978:127) treats spouses as equals saying "between husband and wife, a difference in age is of little importance; relative status appears to be determined by other factors". However, if they are equal, they should call each other by their first name. It is most likely to be seen only in couples of recent generations. Besides, wives normally uses *"anata* (the second-person pronoun)" or husbands' first names with suffix *-san* (which has honorific connotation). This is contradictory, but these address terms may reflect the speaker's value, thoughts, perceptions, etc.

Now let us consider self-address terms. The following statement is from a mother to her son/daughter:

[3.9]   Okaa-san ima isogashii kara otoo-san ni kiite yo.
        'I am busy now, so please ask (your) father.'
        [Lit. (Your) mother is busy now, so please ask (your) father.]

The mother refers to herself as *"okaa-san"* instead of using the first-person pronoun. Let us recall that Japanese are renowned for considering other people's feelings more sensitively than some other nations or societies. In the above case, the speaker puts herself in the addressee's (her son/daughter's) position referring to herself as *okaa-san* (mother). Suzuki (1978:130) identifies that the speaker talking to his junior members "can call himself by the kinship term which shows his relationship to the addressee seen from the latter's perspective". For instance, in a conversation between brothers, an elder brother can call himself *"nii-san"*, but the younger brother can not refer to himself as *"otooto-san"* nor *"otooto"*.

3.1.2.3   Honorification of predicative elements[23]

Honorification of predicative elements can be divided into two types, which are addressee-controlled and referent-controlled. Let us call the former "addressee honorifics" and the latter "referent honorifics", and discuss them in detail.

Addressee honorifics
Addressee honorifics are called *teineigo* (polite language) in grammatical terms. The terms which have appeared in the previous chapters, such as "polite/formal style speech" and "casual/informal style speech" are all related to this *teineigo* (polite language), which indicates speech levels.

In European languages, addressee honorifics are observed as the distinction of the second person pronoun T and V.[24] However, this honorification is an example of nominal elements, but not predicative elements. In English, "Today is Saturday" can be uttered to anybody. For

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[23]Focused mainly on verbal elements.

[24] For further discussion, see pages 20, 27 & 28.

instance, if the Queen asks you "What day is it today?", you will reply "Today is Saturday, your Majesty" in a respectful manner. How then, will you answer, if asked the same question by your son? You will respond "Today is Saturday, Paul" in an easy manner. The tone of the speech and address terms are different, but the main sentence "Today is Saturday" can be used regardless of the relative rank of the addressee and the *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group). In Japanese, however "no utterance can be neutral with respect to the social context (Matsumoto 1989: 208)". Let us observe her following examples:

[3.10] a. Kyoo wa doyoobi da.
     today TOP Saturday COP-PLA
     'Today is Saturday.'

b. Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.
  today TOP Saturday COP-POL

c. Kyoo wa doyoobi degozaimasu.
  today TOP Saturday COP-SUPER POL

The meaning of the preceding sentences are all the same in English. However, [3.10a] is widely used in written Japanese such as newspaper, books, magazines, and so forth. It may also be uttered to one's *uchi* (in-group) members, for instance from father to son and the reverse order.[25] This speech is called "casual/informal style speech", and the "plain from" of all copulative, adjectival, and verb expressions is used in the sentence.

In contrast, [3.10b] has a broader range of speech use. Known as "polite form", "the copula *desu,* and the comparable verb-ending *masu,* would be the appropriate form in a conversation"[26] with one's *soto* (out-group) members. This speech is called "polite/formal style speech", and most JSL students are required to master this style of speech first, then learn the casual style.[27] This may be because formal style is never rude to

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[25] It will be a more natural utterance if the final particle such as *"yo"* or *"ne"* etc. is added at the end of the sentence, otherwise it sounds like a monologue.

[26] Cited from Matsumoto (1989:209).

[27] Some Japanese textbooks, however, which were published in the 90's, such as a series of "Situational Functional Japanese", introduce both the formal and informal speeches

anybody,[28] besides in most cases, for Japanese people JSL students are out-group members.[29] In other words, as soon as formal style speech is learned, it can be used immediately outside the class. Furthermore, it does not have the distinction with men and women as informal speech has, so it is easier for students to learn. In written Japanese, formal style speech can be found in children's books.

In [3.10c] this is called super-polite or super-honorifics and used by adults on very formal occasions. This expression, for instance, would be used as a reply to the Queen or a formal speech to a large audience. We should note that "a child would not use it, nor would an adult use it when speaking to a child (Matsumoto 1988:415)".

Let us consider some more examples:

[3.11] a. Neko   wa   matto   no   ue   ni   iru.
          cat   TOP   mat   POSS   top   LOC   be/exist-PLA
        'The cat is on the mat.'

      b. Neko   wa   matto   no   ue   ni   imasu.[30]
          cat   TOP   mat   POSS   top   LOC   be/exist-POL

Here the verb of [3.11a] is in plain form, while that of [3.11b] is in polite form.[31] In English, however there are no differences. To sum up the choice of speech level depends upon the formality of the utterance and the relation between the speaker and addressee, which is determined by *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) factor, the relative rank of addressee (*ue/shita*, lower/higher). The choice of speech level should not be categorised as a strategy, since it is not the speaker's volition.[32]

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from the beginning.

[28] This is true, however if the formal style is used in intimate relations, such as among one's family or close friends, the addressee will feel as if he/she is treated with distance (See page 54). In fact, foreign students often point out that the style of language they learn at school is not used by their peers in Japan.

[29] For further discussion, see pages 54 & 55.

[30] The above examples, [3.10] and [3.11] are due to Matsumoto (1989:209).

[31] Super-honorifics do not exist here.

[32] For more detailed discussion, see page 19 and 20.

Referent honorifics

Referent honorifics are divided into subject honorifics and object honorifics. The former is called *sonkeigo,* which literally means "respect language", and the latter is called *kenjoogo,* meaning humble language. These honorifics designate the speaker's attitude toward the referents who are worthy of respect. First, let us consider subject honorification which is to express deference to the referent of the subject of the sentence:

[3.12] a. Plain:
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o tabeta.
      'Professor Suzuki has already had dinner.'

    b. Subject honorifics:
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o taberareta.
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o otabe ni natta.
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o meshiagatta.[33]

    c. Addressee honorifics:
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o tabemashita.

    d. Addressee and subject honorifics:
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o taberaremashita.
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o otabe ni narimashita.
      Suzuki sensei wa moo bangohan o meshiagarimashita.

[3.12b] indicates that there are three forms of subject honorifics, which are passive, regular, and irregular.[34] "Passive honorifics" are to attach the suffix *-(r)eru* (homophones with the passive suffix) to verbal stems. This formula applies to all the verbs with almost no exceptions.[35]

"Regular honorifics" are "to attach a disjunctive honorific phrase *o...ni*

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[33] It is also said as "*o meshiagari ni natta* (the past form of *naru*) ", which is an honorific phrase, *"o..ni naru"* attached to the continuative form of honorific verb, *"meshiagaru"*. This is more polite than *"meshiagatta"*, however, this rule does not apply to all the honorific verbs.

[34] The above classification is due to Situational Functional Japanese, Vol.2: Notes (1994:18).

[35]There almost are no exceptions other than *iru, shiru.*

naru[36] 'someone worthy of respect coming to do something' to the continuative form of verbs (Ono 1996:64)". Many verbs are applicable for forming subject honorifics using this pattern, however there are some exceptions. It does not apply to some *go-dan* verbs, most *ichi-dan* verbs which have two syllables such as *miru, kiru* and Irregular verbs, *kuru*, and *suru*.[37] The formation of honorifics is often taught to JSL students without explaining these exceptions, so they naturally make mistakes when trying to apply to all verbs.[38]

Only certain verbs have "irregular honorifics", and some of the verbs can not be formed using the above pattern of "regular honorifics". For instance, *iu* (to say) can not be *"o-ii ni naru"*, the irregular honorifics verb *"ossharu"* is used instead.

From the above examples [3.12d] illustrates that addressee and subject honorifics are combined together. Let us now observe the speech levels and honorifics considering the relation between the speaker and the addressee. [3.12a] and [3.12b] would be uttered to the speaker's *uchi* (in-group) member, such as his brother. In this case, the professor is superior to the speaker, so subject honorifics should be used as example [3.12b]. However, if neither the addressee nor any relevant bystanders have any connection with Professor Suzuki, [3.12a] is more likely to be uttered. It is worthy to note that honorifics are most effectively used when the referent of honorifics or the person who is related with him/her is within hearing distance of the utterance.

[3.12c] would be used to *soto* (out-group) person[39], and [3.12d] for instance, to the speaker's *senpai* (senior student), who assists Professor Suzuki's tutorial which the speaker is taking. In this case, addressee honorifics have to be used to the *senpai*, and subject honorifics for the professor.

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[36] In the case of Sino-Japanese predicates, *"go...ni naru"*.

[37] Japanese verb groups consist of *"go-dan", "ichi-dan"* and "irregular" verbs . The details of these groups have not been discussed here.

[38] More detailed studies of honorifics should be required by Japanese grammarians to give a clearer explanation to JSL students.

[39] One of the honorific expressions from [3.12d], however this is often used even to *soto* (out-group) person, when referring to one's teacher.

Let us now consider object honorification:

[3.13] a. Plain:
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o kiita.
　　　　'I asked Professor Suzuki his schedule.'

　　　b. Object honorifics:
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o okiki shita.
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o ukagatta.

　　　c. Addressee honorifics:
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o kikimashita.

　　　d. Addressee and object honorifics:
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o okiki shimashita.
　　　　Watashi wa Suzuki sensei ni yotei o ukagaimashita.

[3.13b] suggests that there are two kinds of object honorific forms, which are "regular honorifics" and "irregular honorifics". The former honorifics are "to attach a disjunctive honorific phrase *o...suru* 'an inferior doing something for someone worthy of respect' to the continuative form of verbs (Ono 1996:70)". The latter, "irregular honorifics" are formed by only certain verbs. It is natural that these forms are called the "humble language", since they describe someone's (often the speaker's own) action/state to superiors. Let us consider some common mistakes made by JSL students observing the following conversation:

[3.14]　A: Professor Suzuki　　　B: Student

　　　A: Kinoo　　nani　　o　　shimashita　　ka.[40]
　　　　yesterday　what　OBJ　do-POL-PAST　Q
　　　　'What did you do yesterday?'

　　　B: *Hon　　o　　o-yomi-shimashita.
　　　　book　OBJ　read-OBJ-HON-POL-PAST
　　　　'I read a book.

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[40] Professors or teachers normally speak to adult students in polite style speech.

B: *Sorekara kissaten de koohii o   o-nomi- shimashita.
   then   coffee shop at coffee OBJ   drink-OBJ-HON-POL-PAST
'Then I had coffee at the coffee shop.'

Student B tries to express his/her respect to Professor Suzuki, using humble object honorifics which describe his/her own action, "*yomu* (to read)" and "*nomu* (to drink)". However, these actions are misdirected towards the student's own status but not to the professor. The disjunctive honorific phrase "*o...suru*" is only used when the action is related to the person whom the speaker respects. Then how about the following?

[3.15] A: Professor Suzuki   B: Student

A: Kono hon   moo   yomimashita   ka.
   this book already   read-POL-PAST   Q
' Have you read this book yet?

B1: Hai, moo   o-yomi-shimashita.
    yes   already   read-OBJ-HON-POL-PAST
' 'Yes, I have (already read).'

B2: Hai, moo   yomimashita.
    yes   already   read-POL-PAST

Which answer is correct, B1 or B2 ? It depends upon the situation. If the student read the book which Professor Suzuki wrote, B1 is correct. Whereas if he/she read a book which had no relation to the professor, B2 is the right answer.[41] Now let us consider another common mistake observing the following conversation:

[3.16] A: Customer B: Secretary

A: Yamada Shachoo   irasshaimasu   ka.
   Yamada president be-SUB-HON-POL-PRES   Q
'Is (the company) President, Yamada in?'

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[41] The examples [3.14] and [3.15], and the syntactic explanations are due to "Nyuumon Nihongo Kyoojuhoo" (Tokyo YMCA Nihongo Gakkoo (ed.) 1992:271).

B:*Mooshiwake gozaimasen ga

Shachoo　wa tadaima gaishutsushite irassshaimasu.

president　TOP　now　　go out　　　be-SUB-HON-POL-PRES

'I'm sorry, he is out at the moment.'

There is usually a great vertical distance between the company president and his secretary, so she always has to use referent honorifics to him. However, when she talks to a person outside of the company, a customer in the above example, she has to refer to the president as her *uchi* (in-group) member. As we have discussed before, this *uchi* domain which we called "secondary *uchi*" fluctuates depending upon the situation.[42] The secretary should have said *"gaishutsu shite orimasu"* in humble language.

The above example indicate that JSL students have to note that when they talk to *soto* (out-group) person about their *uchi* (in-group) member, they have to use humble language[43], even when referring to their superiors. Since some native Japanese speakers are often unsure and in light of the above, new company employees are normally trained in the proper use of honorifics.

Now we understand that even if the formula of honorifics have been learned, they are not as simple to put to use as other grammatical points. It is true that Japanese honorifics are a morphologically well-defined system. Therefore, Japanese teachers should be totally aware that for JSL students it takes a tremendous effort to understand and acquire honorifics, since they have to consider not only social and psychological distances, but also choice of the correct words which often includes knowing the many exceptions. Honorifics should be gradually taught depending upon the students' level of Japanese, and be simplified accordingly, by giving clear explanations and numerous examples in varying situations.

3.1.2.4　Women's language

It is said that generally women's speech is more polite than men's speech world-wide.[44] This certainly applies to the Japanese language. Reynolds

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[42] For detailed discussion, see pages 50 and 51.

[43] The same case is seen in family terms. For detailed discussion, see page 68.

[44] See, for examples, Brown (1980), Zimin (1981).

(1991:130) points out "language use reflects Japanese society of the past, in which women were viewed as the inferior, weaker sex and were expected to talk accordingly". The feudal society which she is referring to was dominated by men over women, and in such a hierarchical structure "women (were) represented only as wives, mothers and mothers-in-law (Ibid.:131)". This cultural norm is easy to locate in Japanese language. For instance, when Mrs Tanaka introduces herself to her husband's friend, she says *"Tanaka no kanai desu* (I'm Tanaka's wife)". Whereas, Mr Tanaka says to his wife's friend, saying "*Tanaka desu* (I'm Tanaka)", without using "*shujin* (husband, reference kinship term for in-group)". In the above case, the family name *"Tanaka"* is represented by Mr Tanaka who is the master of the house, but not Mrs Tanaka.

As shown in the above, even though women may perceive themselves as equals of men, women's language evokes the older image of women or the traditional family (*ie*) institution. Reynolds (1991:135) argues that "in order to be accepted as a 'good' woman, a female speaker of Japanese must choose to talk non-assertively, indirectly, politely, (and) deferentially".[45] It is natural that the high frequency use of honorifics is seen in women's language, since formal speech creates distance and makes expressions indirect and polite. Besides women often use soft expressions such as "sentence final particles" to make a statement polite or non assertive. Ide (1982, 1991) states there are four linguistic features that contribute to women's polite speech, which are (1) personal pronouns (2) avoidance of vulgar expressions (3) beautification honorifics[46] and (4) feminine sentence final particles. Let us examine these features.

(1) Personal pronouns
Previously we have learned that Japanese personal pronouns have a difference in levels of formality and depend upon the speaker's sex,

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[45] Reynolds (1991:135) asserts "given the constraint that a woman should talk *'onna-rashiku* (as expected of women)' regardless of her role, which is far more mandatory in Japanese than English".

[46] Ide (1991:74) originally classifies (3) as beautification/ hypercorrected honorifics, however, I have not included hypercorrected honorifics here. She defines it as a high level of formality of linguistic forms, giving the following example: *Haha ga o-kaeri-ni narimashita* (My mother returned). Here, subject honorific is used for the speaker's own mother. I will treat this as improper usage rather than hypercorrected honorifics.

however this is not apparent in English. Let us take a closer look at Table One on page 27 again. As shown in the table, there are no deprecatory words in women's speech. Besides the first person pronoun, *watashi*, for example, is a formal form for men, whereas a plain form for women. These findings indicate that women are required to use more formal forms than men. Ide (1991:74) claims that "categorical differences in the repertoire of personal pronouns lead to women's automatic expression of deference and demeanour.[47] This makes women's speech sound politer".

(2) Avoidance of vulgar expressions

"Women's speech lacks expressions of profanity or obscenity (Ide 1991:74)". For instance, the deprecatory suffix *yagaru* (e.g. *ii-yagaru* 'talk') is used only by men. Moreover, the words which have derogatory connotation such as *dekee* (the original word is *dekai* 'big'), *umee* (*umai* 'delicious') are never used by women, since these vulgar forms are normally used when men display their masculinity. Let us consider the following statements:

[3.17] a. Ore   no   raamen umai   n   da   zo.
           I (Vulgar) POSS   noodle   delicious (Vul.) NOM   COP-PLA   FP(male)
           'The noodle (I made) is delicious.'

           Kue   yo.
           eat(Vul.)-Imperative   FP
           'Eat (it).'

    b. Atashi   no   raamen oishii   no   yo.
           I (female) POSS   noodle   delicious   FP(female)   FP(female)

           Tabe te.
           eat-Imperative
           'Please eat (it).'

Apparently, [3.17a] is uttered by men while [3.17b] is by women, and never the other way round. The former is spoken in vulgar speech and the

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[47] Ide uses Goffman's (1968:56-77) terms "deference" and "demeanour", which are the basic elements and ceremonial components of concrete behaviour. "Deference concerns the sentiment of regard toward the recipient, while demeanour (does toward) the actor him/herself to show how well-demeaned a person he/she is (Ide 1991:72)."

latter when informal style speech is used. If both the man and woman talk in polite style speech, the above statements change as follows: *"Watashi no raamen wa oishii n desu yo. Tabete kudasai"*, and is indistinguishable for male or female speech, unless the man uses *"boku"*, a male first pronoun. Most distinctions of men and women's speech levels are seen in informal situations. Women who do not have vulgar expressions are people with better demeanours.

(3) Beautification honorifics

Beautification honorifics (*bika-go*) are different from referent and addressee honorifics as used by women. They are used only to beautify speech, so can be used even in referring to the speaker's belongings, such as *uchi no o-daidokoro* (our kitchen). As shown in the example, prefix *o-* or *go-* is attached to nouns to beautify. As we have previously learned these prefixes are also used for honorifics. Let us compare the following:

[3.18] a. sensei no *o*-saifu   (honorification)
           'teacher's wallet'

       b. watashi no *o*-saifu (beautification)
           'my wallet'

In [3.18a] the prefix *o-* indicates the speaker's deferential attitude toward the referent, whereas in [3.18b] it is used to just beautify the speech. Shibatani (1990) points out that women sometimes over-use the beautification honorifics, such as *o-biiru* (beer), *o-nyuugaku* (children's entrance to a prestigious school) etc.

(4) Feminine sentence final particles

"It is well known that the Japanese language possesses a large set of sentence final particles which typically occur in conversations and signal the speaker's various sentiments (McGloin 1991:23)". Depending upon the sex of the speaker defines the final particles. For instance, "the masculinity of particles *zo, ze, sa* and *na* comes from the stronger degree of assertive force implied by these particles. The assertive force of particles *wa* and *no*, on the other hand, is considerably weaker (McGloin 1991:36)" and these particles are generally associated with feminine speech. Let us observe the following sentences:

[3.19] a. Aishite iru yo.

    '(I) love (you).'

    b. Aishite iru wa.

    c. Aishite iru no.

Let us imagine the above statements are in a film script. In English, unless knowing the roles, it is impossible to judge which is the male or female's utterance. Whereas, although both the subject and object are not stated in Japanese, the final particle *yo* indicates [3.19a] is the male speech and *wa* and *no* show [3.19b] and [3.19c] are the female speech.

Yo attached to the plain form of predicates is more typical of men's speech and indicates the speaker's mild insistence. On the other hand, "the femininity of *wa* and *no* stems from the sense of conversational rapport they create between the speaker and the hearer (McGloin 1991:36)". She adds that "*wa* directs an emotional emphasis toward the addressee and thus engenders an emotional common ground with the addressee, while *no* engenders a feeling of shared knowledge".

McGloin interprets *wa* as an empathy creating strategy, which is a positive strategy in Brown and Levinson's (1978) framework of politeness. However, Ide (1991:75f) argues that *wa* has both the softening function (a negative politeness strategy) and the creation of "an atmosphere of sharedness" (the effect of positive politeness strategy). Let us observe some examples of the softening function:

[3.20] a. Watashi wa   ragubii ga   suki   desu.

    I   TOP   rugby   NOM like   COP-POL

    'I like rugby.'

    b. Watashi wa ragubii ga suki da.

                          COP-PLA

    c. Watashi wa ragubii ga suki da wa.

                          FP (female)

[3.20a] is uttered in formal style speech, whereas [3.20b] is informal, since copula *da* is plain form. Ide (1991:76) states that "the blunt ending of an

utterance with *da* sounds assertive, and it is by the addition of *wa* (in [3.20c]) that the utterance becomes less assertive and therefore becomes a soft statement".

Overall, women's speech is represented by softness and politeness. For the impression of softness, women use the native Japanese words (*wa-go*) more frequently than the *Shino*-Japanese words (*kan-go*) which sound rather rigid.[48] "Women tend to be concerned with how they appear more than with what they are, owing to their label-less status in society (Ide 1982:382)." Therefore, they try to reduce assertion and express formality or politeness using both positive and negative politeness strategies.

3.1.3 More expressions of politeness

We have previously observed the way that Japanese language is influenced by the behaviour of others and by one's concern for what others will think of him/her.[49] This may also be true of Western societies, however, the degree of influence is much higher in Japanese society, since people also see it as a judgement of one's own behaviour. Therefore, strict structural morality exists, rather than an individual code of ethics. The group which one belongs to is all-important in his/her life, because to be excluded from the group means losing one's security. As a result, it is said that "conformity" is the norm in Japanese society. In the Japanese language there are various well-developed expressions that reflect the society.

As Hill et al (1986) state the purpose of politeness is to consider other's feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport.[50] Therefore, I will regard these expressions as politeness, and divide them into the following three groups:

1. INDIRECT
   To be in conformity with others, indirect expressions are frequently used.

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[48] See, for example, Shibatani (1990) and Makino (1996).

[49] See "Japanese society" in chapter two.

[50] See page 21.

2. MODEST

The speaker shows his/her modesty by not arousing others' antipathy

3. REPEATED

Social oriented communication mode is well-developed, especially expressions of repeating one's appreciation to keep a good relationship with the addressee.

Let us now discuss the above in detail.

3.1.3.1 Indirect

If you speak indirectly, the speech becomes ambiguous and the level of politeness increases. Let us look at three examples of indirect expressions that we can observe especially in the Japanese language.[51]

(1) Non-committal expressions

It is said that Japanese addressees prefer softer expressions to definitive and clear endings of sentences.[52] For instance, *de aroo/ to omoo* (I think/ I suppose) or *to omowareru* (it is thought that) are preferred heard at the end of a sentence, instead of defining with *da,* or *de aru.*[53] The latter expressions not only show the speaker's confidence but also make disagreeable impressions to the addressee. In order for his/her statement to be accepted, the speaker ought to use softer expressions. According to Toyama (1976) this applies even in public speech and physic or science theses, which are required to be accurate and logic. Let us observe the following:

[3.21] a. Nihon-jin wa hataraki sugi masu.
'Japanese work too hard.'

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[51] We have already discussed how ellipses make sentences indirect. For details, see page 29-32.

[52] See pages 14 & 15, and for further explanation, refer to Toyama (1976).

[53] We have observed that words such as *ga* and *kedo* are frequently attached to the end of sentences to imply the statement is going to be continued (See page 31). These expressions are also used to soften a statement.

      b. Nihon-jin wa hataraki sugiru to omoimasu.
         'I think Japanese work too hard.'

      c. Nihon-jin wa hataraki sugiru to omoware masu.
         'It is thought that Japanese work too hard.'

      d. Nihon-jin wa hataraki sugiru no de wa nai ka to omoware
         masu.
         'It is thought that Japanese may work too hard.'

Just in case the addressee does not agree with the speaker's opinion, [3.21c] is the safest among the first three statements to avoid confrontation, since the impersonal expression "*omowareru* (it is thought)" is used. This expression may be called "I-less".[54] Furthermore, as shown in [3.21d], *~no de wa nai ka to omowaremasu*[55] expresses the speaker's opinion more indirectly. The negative word, *nai* is included in the expression, however it is not used as a negative in this instance, so this often confuses JSL students.

(2) I-less expressions

To keep distance from the addressee or the topic, impersonal expressions, such as spontaneous forms or intransitive verbs are frequently used in Japanese interactions. Let us consider the following sentences:

[3.22] Rainen nihon ni iku koto ni narimashita.
      'It has been decided that I will go to Japan next year.' (Although the interpretation is correct in this instance, "it" is the equivalent of "I" or the company's decision, etc.)

[3.23] Sonna fuu ni mo kangaerare masu.
      'It is also considered in that way.'

In the above examples both are translated as passive sentences in English, however in Japanese [3.22] is used as the intransitive verb *naru* and in [3.23] the spontaneous form of *kangaeru* is used. In these expressions the speaker does not address directly, so they are regarded as indirect and

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[54] Haglund (1988:92) uses this term "I-less" in her paper.

[55] In plain form, *~n ja nai* with rising intonation.

polite sentences. These expressions are not familiar to most JSL students, and some of them feel that such expressions show lack of responsibility by the speaker for his/her statement.[56]

(3) Approval/ Non-approval expressions
Even though the speaker disagrees with the addressee, first he/she acknowledges his/her opinion. Eventually the speaker will slowly and indirectly show disapproval. Let us observe the following:

[3.24] A: City life advocate   B: Countryside advocate

A: Tokai wa yappari benri de ii desu ne.
'City (life) is really good, isn't it? Because it is convenient.'

B: Soo desu ne. Tokai wa ii desu yo ne. Demo inaka mo kekkoo ii tokoro ga arimasu yo. Tatoeba...
'Yes, it is. City (life) is good, but there are some good points in the countryside too. For instance....'

In the above example, at the end, A will understand B is a countryside supporter. However, the following conversation shows that you should not take pleasing words as what you want them to mean.

[3.25] A: Dealer   B: Company employee

A: Dewa kono ken ni tsukimashite wa go-ryooshoo shite itedaita to kangaete yoroshii deshoo ka.
'Is it all right that we consider you are in agreement with this matter?'

B: Hai. Nochi hodo jooshi to soodan shita ue de seishiki ni go-henji mooshiagemasu.
'Yes. I will reply to you officially after consulting with my superior.' (although it has been decided to decline)

To avoid loss of face to both the speaker and the addressee, Japanese

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[56] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:26).

people often state *tatemae* (enunciated principle),[57] as B did in [3.25]. March (1996:24) analyses that "*tatemae* is a part of good manners and proper civilities in Japan", and calls it "hypocritical politeness".

3.1.3.2 Modest

Approbation and modesty
Modesty is a manifestation of politeness. According to Leech (1983), it is one of his six "Politeness Principles", and modesty and approbation make a pair. Let us extract these two from Leech's Principle (1983:132):

(III) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
   (a) Minimise dispraise of *other* [(b) Maximise praise of *other*]

(IV) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
   (a) Minimise praise of *self* [(b) Maximise dispraise of *self*]

In Japanese society, *other* is regarded as *soto* (out-group) and *self* as *uchi* (in-group). Let us take some examples showing the above:

[3.26] A: Otakuno musuko-san yoku odeki ni naru soo desu ne.
   'I hear your son is very clever.'   (Maximise praise of *other*)

   B: Iie, tondemo arimasen. Benkyoo wa shinai shi, iu koto wa kikanai shi komatte iru n desu yo.
   'No, not at all. He doesn't study, and doesn't listen to me, so we have trouble with him.'(Maximise dispraise of *self*)

[3.27] A: Tookute fubenna tokoro nanoni yoku irashite kudasaimashita.
   'Thank you for coming a long way to such an inconvenient place' (Maximise dispraise of *self*)

   B: Iie, shizuka de ii tokoro desu ne. Midori mo ooi shi.
   ' No, this is a quiet and nice place. Besides there is a lot of greenery.' (Maximise praise of *other*)

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[57] For further discussion, see page 47.

B: Watashi no tokoro nado gomigomi shiteite urusaishi...[58]
'Around my house is squalid and noisy...' (Maximise dispraise of *self*)

As shown in the above examples, approbation and modesty maxims are used in sets. However, Leech (1983:137) notes "It appears that in Japanese society, and more particularly among Japanese women, the Modesty Maxim is more powerful than it is as a rule in English-speaking societies, where it would be customarily more polite to accept a compliment 'graciously' (*e.g.* by thanking the speaker for it) rather than to go on denying it". For instance, in [3.26] when an English-speaking person's son is praised, he/she may reply saying "Yes. He is doing well." or even modestly " Well, he is not too bad.".

Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al. (1981) assert that Japanese value of self-deprecation is considered as distasteful by Westerners. However, in Japanese society, as "one is always seen not as alone but as part of a supporting group, one should try not to stand out ('show off'), but should always speak in self-deprecatory terms[59]...(Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al. 1981:165)". JSL students should be given a full explanation of the above.

Expressions of excuses

The more formal the occasion, the more excuses are uttered in Japanese language. Let us observe the following examples:

[3.28] a. Totsuzen no go-shimei de nani o mooshiagete ii no ka
wakarimasen ga...
'I don't know what to say since I was appointed suddenly...'

b. Junbi busoku de makoto ni mooshiwake arimasen ga...
'I'm terribly sorry that I haven't prepared enough.'
(even though the speaker has been preparing for a long time and now is conversant with the subject or topic which he/she is going to talk about)

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[58] The example [3.27] is adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:119).

[59] It is true, however, that among the younger generation they tend to express their feelings more straightforward. We will observe this matter in the next section.

c. Hitomae de hanasu no wa nigage de umaku hanaseru ka dooka
wakarimasen ga...
'I'm poor at speaking in public, so I'm not sure if I can do
well or not, but...'

d. Yabun osoku o-denwa shite mooshi wake arimasen.
'I'm sorry to phone so late at night.'

In the first three examples, the speaker is preparing an excuse just in case
he/she cannot speak well or if something goes wrong. These excuses are
more likely to be accepted by a Japanese audience, rather than over
confident comments, since they are expressed to indicate the speaker's
modesty. However, some JSL students may interpret them as negative
connotations.[60] It should be understood that these expressions of excuses
and *tatemae* (enunciated principle) are a manifestation of Japanese
politeness to avoid loss of face.

All the above examples may be regarded as "*makura kotoba/ maeoki
koboba* (introductory remarks)". These remarks are present in the English
language as well, such as "Sorry to interrupt you, but...". However, in
Japanese language various types of introductory remarks are well-
developed and have a precise role for warming up the conversation.

In [3.28d] if the caller started to talk without using the above expressions,
he/she may be considered as an impolite person. These expressions can
"Minimise cost to *other* (Leech's [1983:132] one of the Politeness
Principle)", and work as a "shock absorber"[61] to the addressee. Let us take
more examples:

[3.29] a. O-isogashii tokoro sumimasen ga...
'I'm sorry to disturb you, when you are busy...'

b. Yarasete itadakitai to omotte ita no desu ga. ainiku...
'I am willing to do this, but unfortunately...'

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[60] Ono (1996) writes an anecdote that an invited lecturer was regarded as being arrogant
by the university students since she said she prepared the lecture at the airport.

[61] The term "shock absorber" is derived from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990:126).

In [3.29a] the phrase *o-isogashii tokoro* can be replaced to *o-tsukare no tokoro* (when you are tired), *o-shokuji chuu* (when you are having a meal), and so forth. Irrespective of what the addressee is doing when the speaker interrupts, these expressions sound much politer than just addressing "*Sumimasen ga*..(I'm sorry.)"

The expression in [3.29b] apparently has a function to absorb the addressee's disappointment before he/she actually hears the decline from the speaker. In English an expression such as "I'm sorry, but.." or "I wish I could help you, but..." can also be used as a shock absorber. However, Japanese expressions are used more frequently and indirectly, even sometimes only introductory remarks are stated, and the speaker expects the addressee to understand, what is unsaid but implied. As we have previously learned this is a very effective strategy to secure the addressee's sympathy.[62]

3.1.3.3 Repeated expressions

In Japanese society one's appreciation should be at least addressed twice, the first time when the speaker receives the favour and after he/she meets the person who carried out the favour.[63] It is said that this second appreciation sounds strange to non-Japanese and they often forget to do so.[64] The expressions that follow can be regarded as stock phrases:

[3.30] a. Senjitsu wa doomo arigatoo gozaimashita.
'Thank you very much for your kindness the other day.'

b. Senjitsu wa iroiro osewa ni narimashi ta.

The above examples have almost the same meanings, however when showing appreciation of receiving a gift from the addressee, [3.30b] is not appropriate, since it indicates the addressee has taken some action on behalf of the speaker. In both expressions a topic before *wa* can replace

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[62] For further discussion see pages 30-32.

[63] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkuujo (1990:124).

[64] Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al.(1981) gives an example; an American woman who forgets to say *"Kono aida wa doomo* (Thank you for your past favour)" even after 18 years living in Japan and being married to a Japanese.

many words, usually time words such as *kono aida* (recently, the other day), *yuube* (last night), *ano setsu* (that time), and so forth. The above expressions are phrases expected to be uttered by the recipient, and can be considered as a kind of greeting to maintain good relationships with each other.[65]

3.2 Current analysis of continual changes to language and society

We have previously observed culture-bound notions from the Japanese language. However, language and culture/society are constantly influencing each other. Therefore, in this section, I wish to examine current use of the Japanese language analysing how the above stated notions have changed or otherwise, and how cultural aspects (such as change of values, perspectives, ways of thinking, and so forth) have influenced the language. A survey was conducted on my behalf on these matters which are referred to above. It is generally said that uses of language differ depending upon the speaker's sex, age, occupation, academic background, and the region he/she lives in.[66] Considering this, let us examine the data collected in Japan. I also wish to supplement some instructive surveys conducted by Japanese socio-linguists.

3.2.1 Methodology

In order to collect the data from people who speak standard Japanese, the survey was conducted on third year high school students, their parents and teachers in Tokyo in 1996.[67] The high school called *Tokiwamatsu Gakuen* is a private girls' school which encourages global education, using English in class, and where most families are middle-class. The following tables show details of the sex, age and occupations of these sampled:

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[65] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkuujo (1990:124f).

[66] See, for example, Yoshioka (1997a), and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990).

[67] Although it is said that Tokyo is the place where standard Japanese is spoken, many of the residents are originally from regions outside of Tokyo. However, most families who have a high school student member can be considered as habitants of Tokyo.

	TEENS	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	?	TOTAL
Students	41							41
Parents		1	2	26(1)	5		6	40 (1)
Teachers		3	10(4)*	9 (5)	5	2 (1)		29(10)
TOTAL	41	4	12(4)	35(6)	10	2 (1)	6	110(11)

Table 5   Age groups sampled

* The numbers in parenthesis are the male participants.

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
High school students	41	37.3%
High school teachers	29(10)*	26.4 (9.1)
PARENTS' OCCUPATION		
Company employee	2 (1)	1.8 (0.9)
Government official	2	1.8
Self-employed	4	3.6
Housewife	29	26.4
Not stated	3	2.7
TOTAL	110 (11)	100 (10)

Table 6   Occupations

* As above parenthesis equals male.

As the above tables indicates the number of males sampled is small (only ten percent of the total), since most students' fathers were too busy to fill in the form. As a result, only one sample was collected from a student's father.

The range of students' ages are from seventeen to nineteen, while most of their mothers are housewives in their forties.[68] By using three categories; female students, their parents and teachers, we can observe current tendency of language usage and way of thinking.

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[68] As seen from Table 5, even though this was an <u>unsigned</u> questionnaire, six of the women were afraid to state their age.

3.2.2   Analysis and conclusion

The notions observed in the previous section will be analysed and concluded in the same order.

3.2.2.1 Survey of giving and receiving verbs

Analysis

It is said that the verb, *ageru* is sometimes used even when the receiver is inferior to giver, especially in women's speech.[69] Is this statement correct? In order to examine the above, let us discuss whether the following sentence which was asked in the questionnaire is acceptable or not.

QUESTION[70]:

① O-kozukai wa musume ni wa ikka-getsu go sen en age, shujin ni wa san man en yatte imasu.

'As for pocket money, I give 5,000 yen to my daughter and 30,000 yen to my husband a month.'[71]

Let us now analyse the answers. In terms of acceptability, the above sentence is wrong, since the verb usage is against the accepted rule. This female speaker should say *"...museme ni wa ...yari, shujin niwa ...agete imasu"*, using *yaru* (to give something to one's inferior) for her daughter and *ageru* (to give something to someone who is about equal status of the giver) for her husband. However, the collected data does not show such a simple answer. The results are divided into six groups. Let us examine the following table:

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[69] See footnote 2 on page 58.

[70] The survey consists of fourteen questions, and the following sentences ① and ④ are derived from question 10. Samples of the completed questionnaires in both English and Japanese are attached in appendix I & II.

[71] In Japan, most men give all their salary to their wives first, then they are given monthly allowance, since Japanese wives hold family finances.

	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
GROUPS				
1. speaker =*daughter				
↓ *husband				
...age, ...yatte imasu	6	2	1(1)	9(1)
...age, ...ataete imasu[72]	1	0	0	1
2. ↑ *speaker				
daughter = husband				
...yari,...yatte imasu	0	0	3	3
3. ↑ husband				
speaker = daughter				
...age,...sashiagete imasu	1	3	0	4
4. speaker = husband				
↓ daughter				
...yari, agete imasu	2	7	6(1)	15(1)
5. speaker = daughter = husband				
...age,...agete imasu	15	4	8(3)	27(3)
6. Using other verb/copula				
..watashite imasu	7	7(1)	3(2)	17(3)
...desu	0	1	1(1)	2(1)
shujin wa ...tsukatte imasu	0	1	0	1
Unacceptable				
(but no correction has been made)	5	14	6(1)	25(1)
Don't know	3	1	1(1)	5 (1)
Not answered	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	41	40(1)	29(10)	110(11)

Table 7   The summary of Question 10 ①

* The symbols represent, equal status =, higher ↑, and lower ↓ respectively.

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[72] The verb *ataeru* has almost the same meaning as *yaru* which is used when giving something to one's inferior (including animals and plants etc.) Yoshikawa (1997b) treats *ataeru* as *bika-go* (beautification honorifics) of *yaru*.

The above groups one, two and three are not acceptable. The speaker's husband is not considered as her inferior, so she cannot use *yaru*, or *ataeru*. That is why groups one and two are wrong. Group three is also unacceptable. As we have observed in the previous section, *sashiageru* is never used when referring to family members.[73] Therefore, the speaker cannot use it when referring to her husband, even if she respects him greatly. About 47 percent of the mistakes were made by the students. This may be because they are still in the process of learning the use of Japanese honorifics. Besides they have never been in a position to talk about their husbands and daughters, therefore some students may not know how to use properly.

In groups four to six the answers are correct. 79 respondents made corrections and the majority, 27 (34.2 percent) chose group five. It indicates that the speaker considers women, daughters and husbands are all of equal status. We know that *ageru* can be used when even the receiver is inferior to giver, especially in women's speech. We can observe this phenomenon particularly among the students. Yoshioka's (1997a) statements support this. He obtained the data for his survey in four different areas in Japan, and pointed out that girls whose ages ranged between 10 to 19 tend to use *ageru* instead of *yaru*, and this tendency is seen especially in the *Kantoo* area (which includes Tokyo).[74] I wish to examine this matter further in the next example.

In group six, other verbs or copula are used to avoid indicating the giver and receiver's status. In fact, by using *...desu* (My husband's allowance is ...) and *shujin wa...tsukatte imasu* (My husband spends ....), it is shown that the wife is not a giver anymore.[75] The other correction, the verb *watasu* means give or hand over, this sentence, however can also be used to one's superior, e.g. *Sensei ni tegami o watashimashita.* (I gave/handed over a letter to my teacher.) *Watasu* is probably not as strong as *ageru* when used for the meaning of giving benefit to the receiver.

Now let us examine a more detailed use of *ageru* in place of *yaru*.

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[73] See the footnote 5 on page 59.

[74] Yoshioka (1997a:63) explains the above example stating the use of auxiliary verbs of giving and receiving.

[75] In reality this must be the case in most situations.

Following the correct usage, *yaru* is used when the receiver is inferior to the giver. A pet is definitely one's inferior, so when the speaker gives something to his/her pet, *yaru* should be used. If so, is the following statement incorrect?

④ Asaban ni-kai neko ni esa o agete imasu.
'I feed the cat twice (a day) in the morning and evening.'

The above word *esa* means food for animals or fish. To make people fully aware the food is being given to a cat (in other words, to feed a cat), it is used deliberately to avoid confusion, since *miruku* (milk) or *gohan* (meal) are also used by humans. Let us analyse the results. The following table shows the verbs which are used when giving food to a cat:

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
ageru	35	20(1)	11(7)	66(8)
yaru	4	10	13(1)	27(1)
ataeru[76]	2	5	2(2)	9(2)
Unacceptable (but no correction made)	0	3	2	5
Don't know	0	1	1	2
Not answered	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	41	40	29(10)	110(11)

Table 8　The verbs for giving food to a cat

The above table clearly shows that *ageru* is used even though the receiver is not of equal status. 66 respondents (more than half of the sample number) approved the use of this verb when giving food to a pet. One of the teachers stated that *ageru* is allowed to be used in this situation according to the current usage of Japanese language. Furthermore, one of the students writes that she knows *yaru* is grammatically correct instead of *ageru*, however she does not want to use *yaru* to her cat, probably due to the sense of vulgarity it implies.

We have observed that female speakers tend to use *ageru* more frequently than male speakers when they should use *yaru*. However, it does not seem to apply to the teachers. Only 4 female teachers (21.1 percent of the female

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[76] See the footnote 72 on page 94 for the explanation of *ataeru* .

teachers) approved *ageru*, in contrast 7 male teachers (70 percent of the male teachers) thought it acceptable. The above results show that female teachers tend to apply the correct usage,[77] whereas even though the male content in the survey is small, the majority chose the colloquially accepted verb. To compare the ratio of the use of the verbs more clearly, let us look at the following graph:
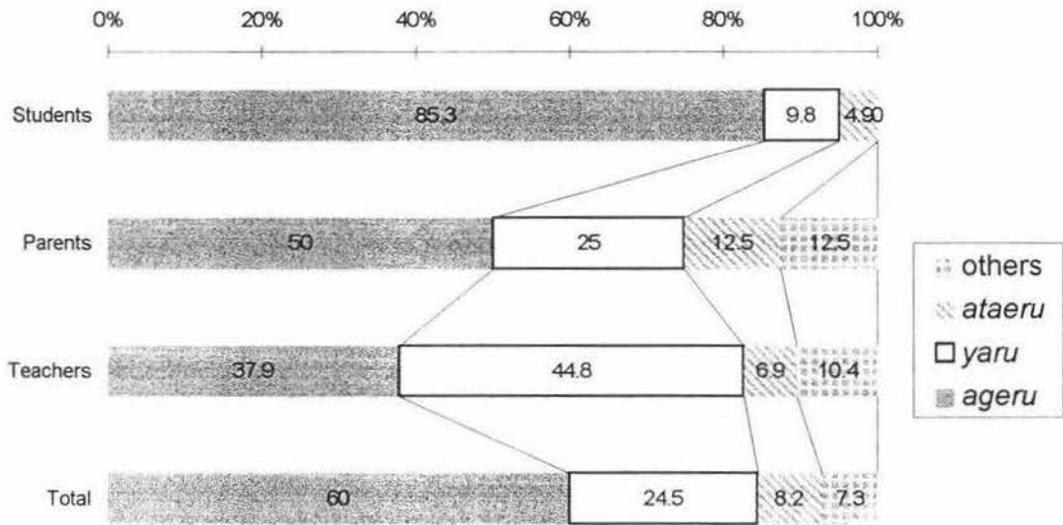
Figure 5   Comparison of the use of verbs

The above graph indicates that the female teenage students (85.3 percent of the total) prefer overwhelmingly the use of *ageru*. Whereas, 50 percent of their parents and 37.9 percent of teachers approved it. Yoshioka (1997a:63) states that "*yaru* does not sound refined, so *ageru* is used to beautify the speech"[78]. *Ageru* is originally formed for object honorifics.[79] However, it is said that "such an acknowledgement no longer exists. Moreover, *ageru* even becomes just a common word now rather than beautification of honorifics (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 1992:128)".[80]

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[77] "This is probably since teachers tend to apply prescriptive grammar for the social expectation, particularly in survey situations. However, they would adopt the same usage in their own daily conversation as any other female person (Ono, Personal communication: 1997)".

[78] Yoshioka's (1997a:63) statement is originally written in Japanese. This is my English translation.

[79] See, for example Yoshioka (1997a), Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1992).

[80] It is concluded as the above based on Uno's (1980) field work, and is written in Japanese. The above is my English translation.

Conclusion

We can sum up that currently the verb *ageru* is almost accepted in colloquial speech even though the receiver is inferior to giver. It is used to beautify speech especially by teenage girls in Tokyo area.

3.2.2.2 Honorifics survey

Analysis 1

The degree of politeness is controlled by vertical (*ue/shita*, higher/lower), and horizontal (*uchi/soto*, in-group/out-group) distances. In practice, to whom do Japanese people use honorifics? Let us examine the answers relating to the above two categories.

QUESTION[81]: To whom do you use honorifics?

(Numbers = respondents)

VERTICAL	-*meue* (superior)	52
(*ue*, higher)	-elder person	24
	-teacher	22
	-*senpai* (senior student etc.)	5
	-*jooshi* (boss)	4
	-respectable person	2
HORIZONTAL	-people who meet for the first time	14
(*soto*, out-group)	-*tanin* (outsider/unrelated person)	5
	-*shiranai hito* (stranger)	3
	-*soto no hito* (out-group person)	4
	-non intimate person	4
	-colleague	3
	-someone other than family and close friends	3
	-person whom one hates and despises	1
VERTICAL /	-neighbour*	1
HORIZONTAL	-father's co-worker*	1
	-mother's friend*	1
	-friend's family*	1

Table 9   To whom do you use honorifics?

* Stated by students. These people are older than the students and also their out-group, so both vertical and horizontal factors are involved.

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[81] This is derived from Question 7 in the survey.

The above selections were indicated by the respondents with some of them giving several choices. This then causes the total to number more than those sampled. Moreover, some answers overlapped with others. For instance, *tanin* (outsider/not related person), *shiranai hito* (stranger) and someone other than family and close friends are all *soto no hito* (out-group people). However, they are shown separately in order to detail people's viewpoints.

It is natural that the majority of people stated they use honorifics to their *meue* (superior), because they have been taught to do so from their childhood. However, some people also stated that they use the horizontal category. Especially they used the word *soto,* that indicates some people are aware of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) concept. This is a phenomenon worth noting.

Another significant point is that honorifics are used to a person whom the speaker hates and despises. Only one person (student) listed the above, however, this indicates she uses honorifics deliberately to keep distance from the addressee or ensure exclusion from him/her. However, using honorifics to one's colleague may not be for the same purpose, since the people who made this indication were all female teachers in their twenties and thirties. Considering Yoshioka's (1997a) survey, generally the criterion of honorifics used by women, in their twenties and thirties, is reasonably high. Besides, it is said that the use of honorification in school is different, say from use in companies or even other places.[82]

Analysis 2
Do Japanese people have confidence in using honorifics? Let us observe the results of the following question.

QUESTION[83]: Personally do you think you use honorifics correctly?

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[82] For instance, "*Tanaka sensei wa kyooshitsu ni irasshaimasu* (Mr/Mrs Tanaka is in the classroom)" this answer is given to someone outside of the school grounds. *Tanaka sensei* is in-group to the speaker, however he/she uses subject honorifics. For detailed discussion, see Yoshioka (1997a) and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (1990).

[83] This is derived from Question 6 in the survey.

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
Correct use	12	18(1)	14(6)	44(7)
	29.3%	45%	48.3%	40%
Incorrect use	11	10	6(2)	27(2)
	26.8%	25%	20.7%	24.6%
Don't know	18	10	9(2)	37(2)
	43.9%	25%	31.0%	33.6%
Not answered	0	2	0	2
	0%	5%	0%	1.8%
TOTAL	41	40(1)	29(10)	110(11)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 10 Personally do you think you use honorifics correctly?

N.B. Numbers in parenthesis are male.

The above table shows more than half of the respondents (58.2 percent of the total, 64 our of 110, or the sum of "Incorrect use" and "Don't know" figures) are not sure if their selection of honorifics is correct. Especially students (70.7 percent of the total, or 29 out of 41) do not have much confidence with their accurate use of honorifics.

Why do so many Japanese people show lack of confidence in using honorifics? Possibly it's because the use of honorifics is so complicated. Not only must they be grammatically correct, but also the social and psychological distance between participants has to be considered when using honorifics. Generally it is when one starts working that employees are expected to manipulate honorifics and to acquire their correct use in a working environment.

The use of object honorifics which are frequently incorrect.[84] For instance, in the survey, respondents made corrections but were grammatically wrong as follows:[85]

[3.31] (a student handing over a bunch of flowers to the teacher)
    *Itadaite kudasai.
    'Please (humbly) receive (this).' ???

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[84] For further discussion, see Ide (1982) and Yoshioka (1997a).

[85] This is derived from the response to Question 10 ⑩ in the survey.

*Purezento sasete itadakimasu.

'I'll receive the favour of being allowed to give (you this).' ???

The verb, *itadaku* is the object honorific of *morau* (to receive), so it is incorrect to use when asking the addressee to receive a present. The second sentence is also wrong. *~Sasete itadaku* is a causative-form verb combined with *itadaku*, which means "receive the favour of letting me do~" and is often used when asking for permission politely.[86] It is hardly correct to think that the addressee gives permission to the speaker to present flowers to himself/herself. It seems that it is difficult for even native Japanese speakers to use object honorifics correctly. According to Yoshioka (1997a), the use of object honorifics is on the decline except within companies. Does this mean then that Japanese are now trying to simplify honorifics? Let us examine the following question and the responses.

Analysis 3

QUESTION[87]: During the early post war period it was mooted that perhaps teaching honorifics was not necessary. What is your opinion of honorifics?

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
Should be left intact	21 51.2%	23(1) 57.5%	19(6) 65.5%	63(7) 57.3%
simplified	16 39.0%	12 30%	9(3) 31.0%	37(3) 33.7%
abolished	2 4.9%	1 2.5%	1(1) 3.5%	4(1) 3.6%
Others	1 2.45%	1 2.5%	0 0%	2 1.8%
Not answered	1 2.45%	3 7.5%	0 0%	4 3.6%
TOTAL	41 100%	40(1) 100%	29(10) 100%	110(11) 100%

Table 11 Should we change honorifics?

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[86] The use of *sasete itadaku*, however is currently changing. For detailed discussion, see Kikuchi (1997).

[87] This is derived from Question 9 in the survey.

As seen in the above table, 63 respondents (57.3 percent of the total) think we should leave honorifics as they are. However, 41 respondents (37.3 percent of the total) consider they should be simplified or abolished. Two other answers were: (1) it is all right to use honorifics, if the addressee does not feel distance or is given the "cold shoulder", and (2) The use of honorifics is sometimes troublesome, however it is an integral part of Japanese culture, so it should be by choice and if people want to use honorifics, they are free to do so.

Simplification of honorifics seems to have already begun. A major Japanese newspaper, *Asahi Shinbun* did not use honorifics to describe the Princess Sayako's (the daughter of Japanese Emperor) trip to Eastern Europe. There were no single honorifics used in the article of September 25th 1996. In contrast, for the Crown Prince and Princess honorifics were used in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, another major Japanese newspaper. However, over-use of honorifics was avoided in the September 29th 1996 article. Let us consider the following sentence from the article:

[3.32] Kootaishi gofusai ga hon-ken o otozureru no wa ni-nen buri.
'The Crown Prince and Princess visited this prefecture two years ago.'

In the above sentence, only prefix *go-* is attached to the noun *fusai* (man and wife, Mr and Mrs) to show respect to the Crown Prince and Princess. However, the verb which describes their actions, *otozureru* (to visit) was not the honorific form.

Conclusion of Analysis 1, 2 & 3
Currently Japanese people are conscious that they use honorifics to not only consider the vertical but also the horizontal (*uchi/soto*, in-group/out-group) concept as well. Object honorifics are often incorrectly used, and not many people are fully confident with their competency of honorifics. Some people agree to simplify honorifics.

3.2.2.3 Survey of more expressions of politeness

Analysis 1
Modesty is a manifestation of politeness. However, Japanese women

particularly, show a high standard of this type of politeness.[88] Is this true? In order to find out, respondents were asked the following question:

QUESTION[89]: What do you think about the modest expression, "*Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo* (There is nothing [to eat], but please...)"?[90]

Let us examine the answers as follows:

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
Positive acceptance	19	11(1)	19(5)	49(6)
Conditional acceptance*	6	7	6(2)	19(2)
Emotional rejection	10	12	3(2)	25(2)
Don't know	4	3	0	7
Not answered	2	7	1(1)	10(1)
TOTAL	41	40(1)	29(10)	110(11)

Table 12   What do you think about the modest expression,
"Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo"?

* The condition is if only the addressee does not take this expression at face value, in other words, only acceptable in "Japanese" society.

The results show, the number of women, especially among students mothers, who accept the above expression (17 out of 39 students' mothers, the sum of "Positive acceptance" and "Conditional acceptance" figures), were far lower than our expectations. We have previously observed women speak more politely than men, and Leech (1983) states that Japanese women minimise praise to themselves more so than people of English speaking countries.[91] However, the above women's opinions seem to differ. Let us look at the graph below for comparisons:

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[88] See pages 87 & 88.

[89] This is derived from Question 13 in the survey.

[90] Ono (Personal communication 1997) argues that what the Japanese really mean is "There may be nothing palatable for you, but...", therefore it is not a contradictory statement at all.

[91] For further discussion, see page 88.
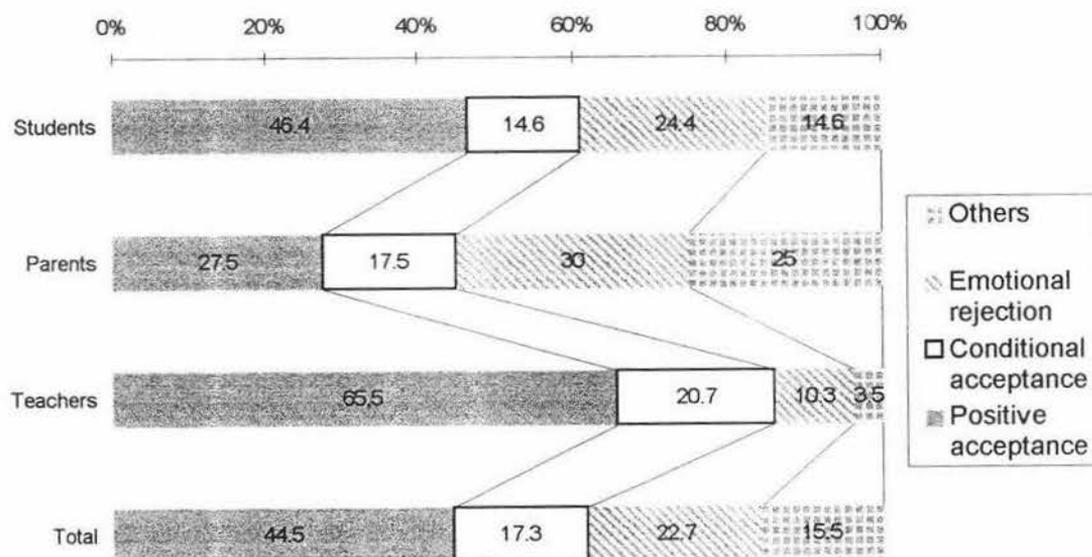
Figure 6   What do you think about the modest expression,
"Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo"?

As seen in the above graph, teachers favour the modest expression. 65.5 percent of teachers (78.9 percent of female teachers) accepted it. Moreover, if the number which chose the conditional acceptance is added to the above, the expression *"Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo"* was accepted by the majority of teachers (86.2 percent). Whereas, only 45 percent of parents approved it either positively or conditionally. The reasons for supporting the expression are as follows:

- It is one of the most beautiful expressions in Japanese showing virtue of humbleness.
- It is such a rich and familiar expression (idiomatic Japanese) so that it is used naturally and unconsciously.
- It works as lubrication for interactions.

In contrast, the following are opposing statements:

- It is too humble, and ambiguous.
- If there is really nothing to offer, better not to say.
- It is contradictory, since the speaker had prepared a lot of food, etc.
- The young generation never use such an expression.
- Better to say more openly using direct expressions or just simply say "*Doozo* (please)".
- Say to a close friend "I made something special for you, would you like to try it?"

The most significant phenomenon is that 25 respondents (22.7 percent of the total) rejected this expression and some were conscious of the view of non-Japanese, stating this expression may be rude, disliked, misunderstood by foreigners. One of them had an experience where a Chinese person could not understand the meaning, so she suggested better not to use it to foreigners.

Other worthy comments were: (1) whether it sounds operative or unnatural depending upon the speaker's age, and the atmosphere within a situation (2) it should be changed, however the expression is a reflection of Japanese culture and there are not any other good expressions to replace it.

Comment (1) above was from a female teacher in her thirties, who is a careful observer of Japanese language. For instance, if a student offers food to her teacher using the above expression, it sounds artificial. However if the student's mother uses "*Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo* (There is nothing [to eat], but please...)", it sounds modest offering food, while not imposing. Whereas if the mother says the above, in an affected way, to her close friend, when offering some delicious food, it sounds unnatural and is distasteful. This reminds us that the use of honorifics may not always show politeness.[92] If honorifics are used in the wrong situation to the wrong person, they convey impolite or inconsiderate impressions.

Analysis 2
We have observed indirect expressions are frequently used to be in conformity with others. The following is an example of how a complaint is expressed indirectly.

QUESTION[93]: Please answer the following questions after reading the conversation between Mrs A and Mrs B.

   A: Your daughter has started taking piano lessons, hasn't she? She is so
      talented that you must consider her future to be as a pianist.

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[92] For detailed discussion, see pages 23 and 24.

[93] This is derived from question 14 in the survey, which was based on Naotsuka & Sakamoto et al.(1981:70).

B: No, not at all. She is just a beginner, and we don't know about her future yet.

A: Well, we are really impressed with her. She practises for hours and hours until late every night.

B: Oh, we hadn't realised that you could hear her playing. I'm terribly sorry for disturbing you.

Did you realise that Mrs A was complaining?

How would you feel about Mrs A's expressions?

How would you make a complaint, if you faced a problem such as described above?

Let us examine the results of each question.

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
Realised	33	35(1)	22(6)	90(7)
	80.5%	87.5%	75.9%	81.8%
Not realised	7	2	7(4)	16(4)
	17.1%	5%	24.1%	14.6%
Not answered	1	3	0	4
	2.4%	7.5%	0%	3.6%
TOTAL	41	40(1)	29(10)	110(11)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 13   Did you realise that Mrs A was complaining?

The above table indicates 90 respondents (81.8 percent of the total) realised a complaint was being made by Mrs A. The parents (35 out of 40, or 87.5 percent) had the largest percentage of responses in this category. Whereas, teachers (22 out of 29, or 75.9 percent) had a smaller percentage in this category. This is due to the fact that only 60 percent of male teachers recognised the complaint, and probably men speak more directly than women.

Now let us look at the next question, "How would you feel about Mrs A's expressions?".

CATEGORY	STUDENTS	PARENTS	TEACHERS	TOTAL
Positive acceptance	4	5	2	11
	9.8%	12.5%	6.9%	10%
Conditional acceptance	8	8(1)	17(6)	33(7)
	19.5%	20%	58.6%	30%
Emotional rejection	23	11	7(2)	41(2)
	56.1%	27.5%	24.1%	37.3%
Others	0	4	2(1)	6(1)
	0%	10%	6.9%	5.4%
Not answered	6	12	1(1)	19(1)
	14.6%	30%	3.5%	17.3%
TOTAL	41	40(1)	29(10)	110(11)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 14   How would you feel about Mrs A's expressions?

The table shows only 10 percent of respondents accepted Mrs A's expressions positively, stating she did well to avoid confrontation. However, the largest percentage of respondents (37.3 percent of the total) fell into the category of emotional rejection. It should be noted that more than half of the students (23 out of 41, or 56.1 percent) rejected Mrs A's expressions. The reasons for rejection were as follows:

The expression is
   -sarcastic and insulting
   -too indirect and roundabout (Mrs B may not understand Mrs A is
    complaining)
   -over-use of honorifics.
How distasteful Mrs A's expressions are. The complaint should be made directly and clearly.

People who rejected the indirect expression stated that the complaint should be made as follows:

-Please ask your daughter not to practise the piano at night.
-Could you please be more considerate in her practising the piano late
  at night?

The second largest percentage (30 percent) of respondents fell into the category of conditional acceptance. Especially teachers (58.6 percent) seem

to prefer stating more directly and clearly, but in a polite manner. The following are how the complaint should be made:

1. First praising, then complaining
   -Your daughter practices the piano hard and that's very good, but could she possibly not play so late at night?

2. Stating in an apologetic manner and asking her not to play after a certain time
   -I hope you don't mind me saying this, but I would appreciate if your daughter didn't play the piano after nine o'clock.

3. Stating a reason then complaining
   -My children study until late every night/ My husband has to get up very early in the morning, so could your daughter possibly not practise so late?

4. After complaining politely, encouraging
   -I would appreciate if your daughter didn't play the piano so late at night, but anytime during the day is OK, and I hope she keeps practising and enjoying it.

Other suggestions were made by 6 respondents, and they are:
   -not to make a complaint
   -phone Mrs A and complain without giving caller's name
   -write a complaining letter without signing one's name

Conclusion of Analysis 1 & 2

To sum up, many people are aware that modest expressions work effectively only when they are used to speak to *soto* (out-group) members and people who share the same culture. In other words, Japanese probably do not use these expressions to foreigners, if they think non-Japanese will misinterpret their modesty.

Indirect expressions are not very favoured by most respondents. They prefer clearer and direct complaints but in a polite manner. Both modest and indirect expressions are rejected by many teenage students. It means that women of the young generation prefer to use more direct speech. Unexpectedly women (students' mothers in this case) also didn't like the

indirect expressions. We can conclude that polite expressions work effectively, depending upon the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and in what situation.

3.2.3 General conclusion

We have analysed and divided the survey results into three categories, which are (1) verbs of giving and receiving (2) honorifics, and (3) more expressions of politeness. The analysis and results indicate that language and the culture are constantly changing, and suggest to us the following conclusions:

1. Not many Japanese people are confident with their use of honorifics, and some of them agree to simplify honorifics.

2. Some people are aware of the use of certain Japanese expressions to foreigners, who may not understand the Japanese culture.

3. Consideration of other people's feelings is still regarded as one of the features of Japanese language, however using honorifics and polite expressions, does not always show clearly one's consideration. Only when they are used in the right situation to the right person, is the politeness conveyed. Moreover, many people prefer less modest and indirect expressions.

4. People are more aware of using honorifics in horizontal relationships and some of them understand the concept of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) clearly.

5. Honorifics tend to be used to beautify one's speech rather showing his/her respect to the addressee. For instance, the word *ageru* (to give something to one of equal status) has become just a common word and only used for speech beautification. Even men, who are generally considered to use less polite language than women, accept *ageru* is used for giving something to one's inferior.

To sum up, honorifics and polite expressions are an indication of consideration of other people's feelings. However, in the current near equal Japanese society, the speaker uses them for showing his/her politeness or courtesy rather than his/her respect for the addressee or referent. This may be because the person who is able to manipulate honorifics and other polite expressions, will be regarded as refined and well-educated. In short, it could be considered that people today use honorifics for their own benefit.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS OF ACCOMMODATING THE JAPANESE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

4.1 Cultural crossover in language learning

In the previous chapters, we have observed that "language and culture are inextricably tied together"[1], examining inherent aspects of the Japanese language, communication and culture, extracting culture-bound notions from the language, and analysing the data collected in Japan to examine how the language and society have changed. Now, in the last chapter, I wish to suggest an approach to Japanese language teaching for the acquisition of interactive competence, on the basis of the above findings. First of all let me explain what I consider interactive competence to be.[2]

Over the years, second language teaching methods have changed from the emphasis of linguistic competence to communicative competence. As a result, more situations and functions rather than structures now bring stress on language teaching.[3] In a language class, however, it is almost impossible to introduce all the patterns of speech acts, to different situations and functions. What the teacher can do is make students realise that a different language has different cultural and social patterns. Furthermore, as the students learn rules and guidelines of the patterns, they acquire basic sensitivities which form cross-cultural communications, and assist to improve their competence. Eventually they will be able to unravel the cultural differences and adjust to them by themselves.[4]

Now I wish to suggest methods of accommodating the Japanese culture and language aiming at acquiring interactive competence. The approach of cross-cultural communication is widely considered, and teaching materials

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[1] Referring to Sawyer and Smith (1994:295).

[2] We have previously discussed Neustupny's(1989,1991) "interactive competence" on pages 9 and 10. He emphasises the importance of interaction teaching, and use of real communication. I agree with him, however I wish to add my views here.

[3] See, for example, Tanaka (1988), and Richard & Rodgers (1986).

[4] The idea is adapted from Matsuda (1990:66).

which explain Japanese cultural aspects are analysed. They are as follows, divided into two categories, and itemised:

I. Linguistic factor
    1. Honorifics simplification
    2. Emphasis of politeness in interactions

II. Cultural and linguistic factor
    1. Self-assessment exercises
       ① Language and culture issues
       ② Comparison of English and Japanese languages

    2. Cultural assimilator

    3. Field exercises

Let us demonstrate these suggestions one by one.

4.1.1 Linguistic factor

There are two major suggestions I wish to make when teaching the Japanese language. We should simplify honorifics for JSL students and place more emphasis on comprehension of politeness in interactions.

4.1.1.1 Honorifics simplification

From the survey analysis in the previous chapter, we have learned even native Japanese speakers make mistakes in the use of honorifics. Furthermore, Japanese people don't have much confidence with their own use of honorifics, and some of them accept the idea that honorifics be simplified. Taking these findings into consideration, it would be acceptable to simplify honorifics for learners of Japanese as a second language.

Usami (1996) urges that students cannot learn anything or cannot improve their language skills at all, if they are taught too high a level of honorifics. Therefore honorifics should be gradually introduced depending

upon the students' level of Japanese.[5] However, most introductory textbooks introduce subject and object honorifics accompanied with comparison tables of neutral, humble and honorific forms.[6] This glut of information is difficult to absorb due to lack of cultural and linguistic competence at this early stage.

The most effective order to teach honorifics is from the simplest to the most difficult, considering the necessary level to be acquired. In other words, teach acceptable honorifics which have less exceptions, so that JSL students can apply them as soon as possible, after learning the formula. I wish to suggest that honorifics be taught in the following order in five stages[7]:

Stage 1
Plain and polite forms (plain form and addressee honorifics)

Stage 2
"Passive honorifics" from subject honorifics

Stage 3
"Irregular honorifics" from subject honorifics

Stage 4
"Regular honorifics", *o...ni naru* from subject honorifics

Stage 5 (optional)
"Irregular honorifics" from object honorifics
"Regular honorifics", *o...suru* from object honorifics

As shown above, I wish to suggest that object honorifics are not taught unless JSL students need to learn them, or their use of subject honorifics is competent enough to distinguish the use of object honorifics, considering social and psychological distances. We have observed that the use of object honorifics is frequently incorrect and currently is on the decline, except

[5] For further discussion, see page 78.

[6] The above textbooks, for example, Bunka Shokyuu Nihongo Vol.2 (1990), Japanese for Everyone (1990), and Communication in Japanese (1992).

[7] Focused on honorification of predicative elements.

within Japanese companies, therefore only students who intend working at such, need learn them. Using polite form or addressee honorifics can be a substitute for object honorifics, and they can still convey the speaker's politeness.

In my opinion, subject honorifics should be introduced in this order as passive, irregular (only 7-8 forms), and regular (with some exceptions) forms. Although the formula for passive honorifics applies to all verbs with almost no exceptions, the introduction of this form has been neglected in most textbooks. *Situational Functional Japanese*, Volume 3 is the only textbook to introduce the passive honorific form. Furthermore, it also clearly defines all the honorific forms in a step by step process which is easy for students to comprehend, however it leaves the passive form to last, when I believe it should be taught first.

There are New Zealand teachers who teach Japanese who do not know the passive honorific form either.[8] Teachers who have visited Japan found they could not properly answer the following question, usually from their host family: "*Itsu Nihon ni korareta n desu ka.* (When did you come to Japan?)". *Korareta* is the past passive form (and potential form as well, in this case) of *kuru* (to come), so the teachers interpreted the question as "When did you have somebody come to Japan, and was it trouble???" or "When could you come to Japan??".The passive honorific form is very simple and widely used by Japanese.[9] However as the above example shows it is not even understood by foreign Japanese teachers, therefore it is imperative that they learn this useful form from the beginning.

4.1.1.2 Emphasis of politeness in interactions

In the past, honorifics have been taught as the core of Japanese polite expressions, since Japanese people tend to regard honorifics as equal to politeness. However, we have observed that the use of honorifics may not

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[8] The following information was obtained in conversation with various New Zealand Japanese teachers.

[9] It is said that when the Japanese Crown Prince and Princes married, especially young people used the passive honorific form for describing their marriage rather than regular or irregular honorifics since its formula was simple, and this tendency seems to be continuing.

always show politeness in interactions, and in some cases is almost totally inconsiderate.[10] Instead of the use of honorifics, various strategies such as "shock absorbers"[11], "pre-requests"[12], etc. are adopted depending upon the rank of the imposition. These observations suggest we should regard all speech acts considering other's feelings as politeness as well as honorifics. However, honorifics should be treated as just one of the strategies which express one's politeness, and should be introduced in various interactive situations with a clear cultural explanation provided.

At the beginning of the course, discussions should be conducted on the meaning of politeness in interactions, to enable JSL students to understand it, e.g. the borrowing a pen from a friend etc.[13] Some expressions of politeness may pertain only to the Japanese language, but the students themselves can identify expressions of similar politeness in their own native languages. The most important point is, to repeat, that the teacher guides students to be able to unravel the cultural differences and adjust to them by themselves.

4.1.2 Cultural and linguistic factor

4.1.2.1 Self-assessment exercises

As we have quoted Brown's (1986:34) statements before, "most second language learners are unaware that they are learning a second culture as well".[14] Therefore, I wish to suggest adopting some exercises which help JSL students to develop an awareness of the various ways in which the language reflects the culture of the Japanese.

Language and culture issues
The following exercise is from Sawyer and Smith (1994), and it should be used as the orientation module, and be done before JSL students are introduced to their first Japanese words. This may be repeated in a few

[10] See pages 23 and 24.

[11] See page 89.

[12] See page 23.

[13] See the section of "politeness in interaction" from page 21 to 24.

[14] See page 13.

months after start of the course, to ensure the students are clearly understanding inter-cultural communications. Let us observe the exercise below.[15]

Self-Assessment Exercise: Language and Culture Issues

The following statements are designed to elicit your judgements on issues that language learners in cross-cultural situations must face all the time. Circle the option that best reflects your opinion. Base your response on your immediate reaction to the statement. Then, if you begin to feel that "It depends..., " try to specify the factors your response depends on.

1. Language and culture are inextricably tied together.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

2. Genuine communication across cultures is impossible.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

3. Becoming a successful cross-cultural communicator involves confronting your own values and beliefs.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

Sawyer and Smith (1994:301) note that the above exercise "should be of some help in learning to tread the fine line between being perceived in a new culture as either lacking initiative or lacking sensitivity". They also give explanations for each statement, and moreover introduce some references for further discussion on the fundamental language/culture issues as they relate to language teaching.

Comparison of English and Japanese languages
In Japanese, the degree of politeness is controlled by social and psychological distances between the participants as well as formal or

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[15] The exercise is from Sawyer and Smith (1994:296ff), and actually it consists of 17 statements, which is attached in appendix III.

informal situations. The distances are dictated by the vertical and group oriented Japanese society. Having introduced the above fact, I would then suggest conducting the following exercise, the aim of which is to make JSL students aware that there are also different speech levels in English. However the use of politeness in English, relatively depends upon the wishes of the speaker. Let us take a look at the exercises.

1.   Read the following conversation and answer the question.

     A: What are your parents working at?
     B: Dad is a school teacher, and Mum is a nurse at North Shore
       Hospital.

     Where do you think the above conversation took place and
     explain why you think so?

In the above exercise, it is very unlikely that anybody would reply that the above conversation took place at a job interview, since B used family terms, Dad and Mum, instead of Father and Mother. Now let us take a look at exercise 2.[16]

2.   Suppose that the person whom you are interacting with has a pen that you wish to borrow. The following is a list of expressions you might use in such a situation. For each person, please choose the expression(s) you think you would MOST LIKELY use.

EXPRESSIONS
a. Can you lend me your pen for a minute?
b. Give your pen for a minute.
c. I was wondering if I could borrow your pen for a minute.
d. Would you lend me your pen for a minute?
e. Do you have a pen I can use for a minute?
   (You already know that the person does have one.)
f. Let me borrow your pen for a minute.
g. Would you mind if I borrow your pen for a minute?
h. Lend me your pen for a minute.

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[16] The idea of exercise 2 is derived from Hill et al. (1986:364,366, 367).

i. Is it all right if I borrow your pen for a minute?

j. Got a pen I can use for a minute?

(You already know that the person does have one.)

k. A pen!

l. Would it be all right if I borrowed your pen for a minute?

SITUATIONS

① A younger brother/sister with whom you're talking at home.

② The professor who is your academic adviser, in his/her office.

③ A city police officer issuing you a parking ticket which you know you deserve.

④ Your mother with whom you're talking at home.

⑤ A person who works with you at your regular/part-time job.

⑥ Your "meaningful other" (spouse, lover, etc.), talking in your room/flat.

⑦ A stranger wearing faded-blue jeans standing behind you in line at the bank.

⑧ Your workplace supervisor/boss on the job.

⑨ A younger professor with whom you have a small class, who is sitting with you in the department lounge.

⑩ A middle-aged, well-dressed stranger standing behind you in line at the bank.

⑪ An older brother/sister with whom you're talking at home.

⑫ A physician in his/her office, after an examination.

The above exercises are for JSL students to recognise how to distinguish the levels of speech depending upon the addressee (his/her social position, age and power), and from formal/informal situations in English. Most importantly, these exercises are intended to teach JSL students an aspect of English politeness which allows the speaker a considerably more active choice, depending upon the speaker's intention, whereas Japanese politeness (especially honorifics) is "discernment" or the expected norm.[17]

The next exercise should be conducted after teaching the concept of *uchi/soto* (in-group, out-group), and the verbs of giving and receiving. The aim of this exercise is to make JSL students understand the *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) concept in New Zealand society. Let us look at this

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[17] For further discussion, see pages 19 and 20.

exercise:

3.   *Ageru* and *kureru* are both giving verbs, however the recipient of *ageru* is used for *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person) and *kureru* is for *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person). The latter includes the speaker and "someone with whom the speaker empathises".[18] Which verb would you use *ageta* or *kureta*[19] in the following examples?

   a.   The Australian government gave the London Zoo a baby kangaroo.

   b.   The Australian government gave the Auckland Zoo a baby kangaroo.

   c.   My father gave the Auckland Zoo a donation.

The verb of *soto-ninshoo* (out-group person) is used for the examples "a" and "c", whereas *uchi-ninshoo* (in-group person) for "b", since students will feel empathy towards the Auckland zoo. By participating in the above exercises, JSL students will be able to understand more fully the concept of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group), a most important concept in Japanese language and culture.

4.1.3   Cultural assimilator

"Cultural assimilator" is an approach to cross-cultural training, which was developed by Triandis and other scholars. It is a learning programme in which students are required to respond to a detailed example of various cultural settings, and feedback is given on an individual basis. Progress is made by regularly repeating these cross-cultural training exercises.[20]

Cultural assimilator is based on analysing "subjective culture", which was named by Triandis et al. and they define that "the perception of rules and

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[18] Cited from Makino & Tsutsui (1986:262).

[19] Both *ageta* and *kureta* are past tense of *ageru* and *kureru*.

[20] These explanations about cultural assimilator are derived from Sano (1992:34f).

the group's norms, roles, and values are aspects of subjective culture (1972:4)". Subjective culture is in other words, "covert culture" which we have previously observed[21] as indispensable, when learning a foreign language. Analysing subjective culture makes implicit or subjective culture explicit or visible. Triandis et al. (1972:3) state that it will "help us to understand, predict, and possibly even control human behaviour".

In that case, how can we apply a cultural assimilator to Japanese language classes? I wish to demonstrate with reference, to an episode from Kataoka and Kusumoto's (1993) book called "Japanese Cultural Encounters and How to Handle Them". The book consists of 56 episodes of conflicts, problems, and embarrassing situations often encountered by newcomers from Western countries. Each episode has a question, followed by four possible answers along with a cultural explanation to the question. Now let us take a look at one of the episodes:

WHERE ARE YOU GOING?[22]
On his way to visit a female Japanese student whom he had met the week before, Tom saw his next door neighbour, Mrs Yamada. He greeted her by saying, "*Konnichiwa. Ii otenki desu ne!* (Hello, it's a nice day, isn't it!)". Mrs Yamada greeted him too, then asked, "*Dochira e?* (Where are you going?)". Although Tom thought that it really wasn't her business, he answered that he was going to *Ueno* Park. Mrs Yamada became really interested, and started asking him if he were going to the zoo to see the panda, who he was going out with, and so on. Tom started getting irritated, thinking his neighbour expected him tell her all about his private life.

Why did Tom get into the situation in which he was telling his next door neighbour about his private life?

A.   Mrs Yamada just like other middle-aged Japanese women, is nosy.

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[21] See page 4.

[22] This is episode 50 of Part III Commonly Misused or Misunderstood Japanese Expressions, Japanese Cultural Encounters and How to Handle Them (Kataoka & Kusumoto 1993:54, 65, 69, 100, 114).

B.   Most Japanese people do not consider such topics too intimate or private. Tom should expect such questions all the time.

C.   The question *"Dochira e?"* should not have been taken literally. It is simply a substitute for "How are you today?". If Tom had known this, he would not have found himself having a lengthy conversation with Mrs Yamada.

D.   Tom misunderstood Mrs Yamada's questions. She was asking for directions to *Ueno* Park.

The explanations to each answer are as follows:

A.   Mrs Yamada may be a nosy person, but we can't tell from this dialogue alone. Try again.

B.   Incorrect. Some Japanese people are very curious about foreigners and ask personal questions, especially when they first meet, but they "do" consider the topic of dating rather private and don't expect detailed answers.

C.   Correct. When Japanese people ask *"Dochira e?"* they are not expecting to hear where you are going. They are simply acknowledging your presence, and sometimes they tell you that you look very nice (therefore, you must be going somewhere) by this greeting phrase. It is similar to "How are you?" in English, and an explanation is not expected.[23] The most appropriate reply to *"Dochira e?"* is *"Chotto soko made* (Just down the way.)". If Tom had answered this way, Mrs Yamada would probably not have continued with more questions.

D.   No, Tom did not misunderstand anything. Read the episode again.

The above episode is an example of the different communication modes between Japanese and English speaking people. We have previously observed the above question "*Dochira e?* (Where are you going?)" is social

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[23] The underlined part is changed to more natural English from the original.

oriented mode in Japanese, whereas is information oriented mode in English.[24]

The explanation to the correct answer C is informative and useful. However, as Kataoka and Kusumoto (1993) note that the teacher can provide more analytical insight or detailed information on Japanese culture. Moreover, they suggest that some of the episodes may present good topics for discussion in intermediate and advanced Japanese oral classes. I wish to also recommend that students are paired and elicit the correct responses from each other, using the conversation method.

Another episode reveals that a foreigner unwittingly upset a Japanese friend when using the -tai (want to do) form.[25] She had made invites like "Would you like to go to a party?/ Would you like something to drink?" etc. In these situations, the -tai (want to do) form should never be used since the form is only used for referring to the personal desires of the speaker, but not someone else's desires.[26] However, in the past students were taught the grammatical explanation and they tend to memorise -tai means "want to ~/ would like to~", therefore this is a reason why this kind of mistake can happen. If the above episode is introduced at class level when teaching the -tai form to JSL students, such rude invitations will not occur.

The above examples prove cultural assimilator is the most effective approach to cross-cultural training. Mizutani and Mizutani's (1977, 1979, 1980, 1981,1983) "Nihongo Notes", Volume one to five can be also used for informative cultural assimilator. Furthermore, "Japanese Language and Culture for Business and Travel" by Hijirida and Yoshikawa (1987), "Rules for Conversational Rituals in Japanese" by Aoki and Okamoto (1988) are the textbooks which really provide cultural depth as well as linguistic explanations.

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[24] For further discussion, see pages 35 and 36.

[25] This episode is from Kataoka & Kusumoto (1993:47).

[26] Sometimes the -tai (want to do) form is used for asking about the desires of the speaker's very close friends or family members, but in other cases it is considered rude.

4.1.4   Field exercises

Lastly, I wish to demonstrate field exercises for JSL students in New Zealand to develop the ability to communicate effectively across cultures. The following examples are adapted from Sawyer and Smith's (1994) work of cross-culture and Neustupny's (1989) interactive competence approach. Let us consider the following examples:

1.   Acquire one or more videotaped films in Japanese. Watch the films, concentrating on sections that are especially rich in culture-specific interactional features; replay such sections many times. Notice especially how the characters greet and take leave of each other, how they address each other, how topics are initiated, how topics and the tone of the conversation differ from what you might have expected, and how language use changes with different combinations of conversational partners.[27]

2.   Phone an unknown Japanese person living in New Zealand; identify who you are and apologise for being rude, but wish to ask him/her for assistance with your field exercise. Arrange a time and place to meet and you must speak Japanese while telephoning. Ask the Japanese person about his/her problems and frustrations relating to living in Japan and New Zealand. Discuss the problem areas either in Japanese or English.[28]

The first exercise can be used for all levels from novice to advanced students. For instance, body language and physical distance in interactions, also tone of conversation can be observed at an early stage. Follow this with address terms, the use of formal and informal speech, other honorifics and polite expressions, which are quickly recognised by the students. After the field work, students will be able to give a presentation of their findings in class, and receive feedback from other students and the teacher. Students will be required to submit a written report as well. This exercise will help students awareness of verbal/non-

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[27] Based on Sawyer and Smith (1994:310).

[28] The idea is devised from Sawyer and Smith (1994:310) and Neustupny's (1989:40) "extra-mural activities" (e.g. visit to a restaurant, language camp, hosting a Japanese student, penfriends etc.).

verbal culture and cultural differences.

The second exercise is profitable for JSL students to improve their linguistic/sociolinguistic competence by real interactions with Japanese people, as well as help them to acquire sociocultural competence. Phoning an unknown Japanese person using Japanese language may not be an easy task for JSL students, since the chosen person may politely decline their request or even abruptly reject it. However, by experiencing such refusals this enhances the process of acquiring interactive competence.[29]

Sawyer and Smith's (1994) recommend this exercise saying both student and respondent are likely to benefit from it, and the student will gradually be able to identify the fine discriminatory line between reality and stereotype.

4.2 Summary and implications

The origin of this study is to find the most effective approach of teaching Japanese. I believe that teaching grammar points within situations and functions is not a perfect approach to a second language acquisition. As Neustupny (1989:39) insists "it is essential that the teaching process contains a component that will assist students to independently acquire the interaction system ('dynamic learning competence')". This system is learned by understanding and appreciating the subjective, covert culture of Japanese.

We have discussed the intertwining of culture and language, observing inherent aspects of Japanese language, communication and culture. Well-developed honorifics and ellipses occur in Japanese language, and since honorifics create distance between participants, and ellipses omit words, naturally the communication style has become indirect and of a "high-context"[30]. Moreover, the concept of *"ie"* which was the basic family unit from 17th to 19th century still remains in modern Japanese society, as a strong sense of belonging to the group. This concept of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group) reflects the language, such as the use of giving and

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[29] How to apply these two exercises to JSL students are based on my ideas.

[30] See page 34.

receiving verbs, honorifics, and other expressions of politeness.

Finally, I have formulated suggestions concerning the above observations and the survey analysis. There are two main suggestions.

Japanese language teachers should:

1.   simplify honorifics and place more emphasis on comprehension of politeness in interactions (the concept of politeness is regarded as consideration of other people's feelings)

2.   make JSL students aware that they are learning, not only a second language but also a second culture as well, by adopting cross-cultural training and providing analytical insight or detailed information on the subjective/covert culture.

To fulfil the above suggestions, JSL teachers who value linguistic competence in the teaching of a second language, have to consciously change. According to a former Japanese language supervisor in New Zealand, Japanese teachers tend to give the students negative connotations of the Japanese culture. This is probably because these teachers have adapted themselves to New Zealand society, and now are more at home with the New Zealand culture. Yet, if a JSL teacher has a bias towards Japanese culture, it is quite apparent how much his/her attitude affects the students. As JSL teachers they have to recognise this fact, and keep completely neutral by not influencing their students in any way.

It is not a matter of whether one culture is superior to another. We do not have to agree with or be bound by the different thoughts, values or customs. We must just accept there are cultural differences and learn from them, so that a respectful attitude will foster our self-development. If teachers could acquire such an inter-cultural competence, it will naturally flow on to their students. Moreover, the emphasis should not be on differences, but similarities, since we can frequently find cultural similarities but only the degree may vary.

In the past the use of honorifics has been taught to JSL students exactly as they are applied by native Japanese. This, even though they are so

complicated that the Japanese also make mistakes. Japanese people are now gradually accepting the differences between Japanese as a first language and as a second language, and are more accommodating with foreigners' genuine misunderstandings. JSL teachers should be aware of this phenomenon and teach simplified honorifics confidently. They should also place more emphasis on comprehension of politeness in interactions, with clear cultural explanations. The above suggestion is just one example of a syllabus change. If JSL teachers consider some teaching contents need to be altered, they should do so after careful analysis.

Further detailed analysis of culture-bound notions in Japanese, and more exercises for inter-cultural communication will be essential. However, I believe the above teaching process will assist JSL students to independently acquire sensitivities, which form cross-cultural communications and to be able to unravel many cultural differences and adjust to them by themselves.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire

The following questions are to examine how the Japanese culture is reflected in the language. This questionnaire is not to check whether you are using Japanese correctly, and please answer as frankly as possible.

SEX   Male / Female
AGE
OCCUPATION   Company employee/ Government official/ Teacher/
             Self-employed/ Housewife/ Student/ Other (   )

QUESTION 1

When you are talking to an unfamiliar person at a formal occasion:

① How do you refer to your parents? Choose the one which you most frequently use.

   otoosan, okaasan/ otoochan, okaachan/ papa, mama/ chichi, haha/
   other (   )

② How do you refer to yourself? Choose the one which you most frequently use.

   watashi/ watakushi/ boku/ ore/ other (   )

③ By which term do you address the person you are talking to? Choose the one which you most frequently use.

   anata, anata-sama/ otaku, otaku-san/ sochira, sochira-san/ anta,
   anta-san/ family name + san, sama/ title, occupation + san, sama/
   other (   )

QUESTION 2

Do you agree that loan words can be used as many times as you like as long as you understand the meaning?   Yes / No

QUESTION 3

The Japanese language has distinctive differences between men and women. How do you think it should be ?

(The differences) should be wider/ should be closer/ remain as is

QUESTION 4

How do you feel about the use of *"shujin"*?

good/ don't want to say or don't want to be said/ does not matter

QUESTION 5

How do you feel about the use of *"kanai"*?

good/ don't want to say or don't want to be said/ does not matter

QUESTION 6

Personally do you think you use honorifics correctly?

I think so./ I don't think so./ I don't know.

QUESTION 7

To whom do you use honorifics?

QUESTION 8

At what level do you think honorifics should be taught?

Elementary school/ Junior high school/ High school/ University/

Company/ At home/ Other (   )

QUESTION 9

During the early post war period it was mooted that perhaps teaching honorifics was not necessary. What is your opinion of honorifics?

(Honorifics) should be left intact/ simplified/ abolished/

Other (   )

QUESTION 10

Read the following sentences and indicate your answer from, acceptable (○), unacceptable (×), not sure (?). If you choose unacceptable, please show corrected sentence.

① O-kozukai wa musume ni wa ikka-getsu go sen en age, shujin ni wa san man en yatte imasu.

'As for pocket money, I give 5,000 yen to my daughter and 30,000 yen to my husband a month.'   O/ ×/ ?

② Natoo wa kusakute taberemasen.
'I cannot eat *natoo* (fermented soybeans), due to its strong odour.'
O/ ×/ ?

③ Gichoo o tsutome sasete itadaita mono to shite fukaku hansei sasete itadaite orimasu.
'As chairperson, I feel deeply responsible for it.'   O/ ×/ ?

④ Asaban ni-kai neko ni esa o agete imasu.
'I feed the cat twice (a day) in the morning and evening.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑤ Chichi wa haha ni kaaneeshon o kuremashita.
'My father gave my mother carnations.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑥ Haha wa chichi ni nekutai o kuremashita.
'My mother gave my father a tie.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑦ Saki ni utawa sasete itadakimasu.
'I am (kindly) allowed to sing first.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑧ Saki ni utawa sasete kudasai.
'Please let me sing first.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑨ Saki ni utawa sasenaide kudsai.
'Please do not let me sing first.'   O/ ×/ ?

⑩ (Seito ga sensei ni hanataba o sashidashite) "Sensei ni kore o sashiagemasu."
(A student is presenting a bunch of flowers to his/her teacher)
'I'll give this to you.'   O/ ×/ ?

QUESTION 11

Although the number of people learning Japanese language overseas has been increasing, English is the language used at international conferences and business situations. What do you think about this?

QUESTION 12

We are often confronted with the criticism that "Japanese people cannot say 'NO'.", "Japanese language is ambiguous.' etc. How should Japanese people respond to this?

> We should state YES or NO clearly and more assertive./ Stay as we are, since we should not be judged by Western values. Therefore we should not change./ Other (   )

QUESTION 13

What do you think about the modest expression "*Nani mo arimasen ga, doozo* (There is nothing [to eat], but please...)"?

QUESTION 14

Please answer the following questions after reading the conversation between Mrs A and Mrs B.

A: Your daughter has started taking piano lessons, hasn't she? She is so talented that you must consider her future to be as a pianist.

B: No, not at all. She is just a beginner, and we don't know about her future yet.

A: Well, we are really impressed with her. She practises for hours and hours until late every night.

B: Oh, we hadn't realised that you could hear her playing. I'm terribly sorry for disturbing you.

Did you realise that Mrs A was complaining?

How would you feel about Mrs A's expressions?   How would you make a complaint, if you faced a problem such as described above?

APPENDIX II

調査表

日本文化が言語にどのように反映しているかを調べるために以下の調査をしています。どうぞ御協力ください。なお、言葉が正しく使われているかを調べるための調査ではありませんので、どうぞ気軽に答えて下さい。

性別　　男／女

年齢　　　　才

職業　　会社員／公務員／教師／自営／主婦／学生／その他（　　　　　　　　）

1. あらたまった場であまり親しくない人と話をしている時、

　①自分の両親のことをどう言い表しますか。最もよく使うものを一つ選んで
　　下さい。
　　おとうさん・おかあさん／おとうちゃん・おかあちゃん／パパ・ママ／
　　父・母／その他（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）

　②自分のことをどう言い表しますか。最もよく使うものを一つ選んで下さい。
　　わたし／わたくし／ぼく／おれ／その他（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）

　③相手のことをどう言いますか。最もよく使うものを一つ選んで下さい。
　　あなた・あなたさま／おたく・おたくさん／そちら・そちらさん／
　　あんた・あんたさん／名字＋さん・さま／役職名・職業名＋さん・さま／
　　その他（　　　　　　　　　　）

2. 意味がわかれば外来語をいくら使ってもかまわないと思いますか。
　　はい／いいえ

3. 男女の言葉には違いがありますが、今後どうあるべきだと思いますか。
　　（違いが）大きくなるべきだ／小さくなるべきだ／今のままでよい

4. 夫を「主人」と言い表すのはどうですか。
　　いいと思う／言いたくない・言われたくない／何とも思わない

5．妻を「家内」と言い表すのはどうですか。
　　いいと思う／言いたくない・言われたくない／何とも思わない

6．あなたは敬語を正しく使っていると思いますか。
　　思う／思わない／わからない

7．誰に敬語を使っていますか。

8．敬語はどこで教えたらいいと思いますか。
　　小学校／中学校／高校／大学／会社／家庭／その他（　　　　　　　　　　　）

9．戦後の一時期、敬語を廃する教育が行われたこともありましたが、あなたは
　　どう思いますか。
　　（敬語は）あるほうがいい／あってもいいが、もっと簡略化すればいい／
　　無いほうがいい／その他（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）

10．次の文を読んで、どう思いますか。おかしくない（○）、おかしい（×）、
　　どちらともいえない（?）の中から一つ選んで下さい。おかしいと答えた人は
　　おかしい所を訂正してください。

　　①お小遣いは、娘には一ヶ月五千円あげ、主人には三万円やっています。
　　　○／×／?

　　②納豆は臭くて、食べれません。○／×／?

　　③議長をつとめさせていただいた者として深く反省させていただいております。
　　　○／×／?

　　④朝晩二回猫にえさをあげています。　○／×／?

　　⑤父は母にカーネションをくれました。○／×／?

　　⑥母は父にネクタイをくれました。○／×／?

　　⑦先に歌わさせていただきます。○／×／?

　　⑧先に歌わさせてください。○／×／?

⑨先に歌わさせないでください。○／×／？

⑩(生徒が先生に花束を差し出して)　「先生に、これをさし上げます。」
　　○／×／？

11. 日本語学習者が増えているにもかかわらず、国際会議やビジネスの場などは、
　　ほとんど英語が使われています。あなたはこれをどう思いますか。

12.「日本人はノーと言えない」「　日本語はあいまいだ」などという批判を受け
　　ますが、今後日本人はどうすべきでしょうか。
　　イエス、ノーをはっきりといい、自己をもっと主張すべきだ。／　欧米の価値
　　観で判断すべきではないので今のままでよい。変える必要はない。／その他
　　(　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　)

13.「何もありませんが、どうぞ。」という言い方をどう思いますか。

14. 次のＡさんとＢさんの会話を読んで質問に答えてください。

Ａ：お宅のお嬢さん、ピアノのレッスンを始められたんですね。才能がおありだ
　　から、将来はピアニストを目指していらっしゃるんでしょう。
Ｂ：いいえ、とんでもない。まだ始めたばかりで、将来のことなんかわかりませ
　　んよ。
Ａ：でも毎日夜遅くまで何時間も練習なさっているから本当に感心しているんで
　　すよ。
Ｂ：あら、ピアノの音がお宅まで聞こえていたなんてちっとも知りませんでした。
　　御迷惑をかけて申し訳ありません。

Ａさんが間接的に苦情を言っていることに気付きましたか。
　はい／いいえ

Ａさんの言い方をどう思いますか。あなただったら、どのように苦情を言います
か。

御協力ありがとうございました。マッセー大学　マッケネス美恵子

APPENDIX III

Self-Assessment Exercise: Language and Culture Issues[1]

The following statements are designed to elicit your judgements on issues that language learners in cross-cultural situations must face all the time. Circle the option that best reflects your opinion. Base your response on your immediate reaction to the statement. Then, if you begin to feel that "It depends..., " try to specify the factors your response depends on.

1. Language and culture are inextricably tied together.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

2. Genuine communication across cultures is impossible.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

3. Becoming a successful cross-cultural communicator involves confronting your own values and beliefs.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

4. Becoming a successful cross-cultural communicator involves confronting the values and beliefs of your conversational partners.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

5. In any language, greetings reveal important social information, such as the relative age and status of the speakers.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

6. Culture vary greatly in the functions of their greetings.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

---

[1] This exercise is from Sawyer and Smith (1994:296ff).

7. Smiling is a universal lubricant for cross-cultural interactions.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

8. It is generally advisable to withhold expressions of anger outside of one's own culture.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

9. Language learners should interrupt their conversational partners to ask for repetition whenever they have not completely understood what has been said.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

10. The best strategy for a language learner to keep a cross-cultural conversation going is to give frequent short responses to encourage the conversational partner to continue speaking.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

11. To interrupt frequently to summarise or rephrase what your partner has said is a good way to confirm your understanding.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

12. Commonly used ways of interrupting are very useful for students of a second language to learn.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

13. Open-end questions are better than yes/no questions for stimulating conversation.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

14. When you don't want to answer a question or discuss a certain topic, it is best to say so directly.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

15. A vague invitation should be interpreted by a language learner as no invitation at all.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

16. To develop a friendship, it is useful to refer to your conversational partner by name more than once during a conversation.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree

17. Language learners should use every possible opportunity to speak the language of their cross-cultural communication partners.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	don't know	agree	strongly agree