：うな問題を考えるキーワードと考えられるのである。

付記：本稿に挙げた顔のマンガは本稿の主旨に合わせて，文野夏樹に描いてもらったものである。ここに感謝の意を表したい。

注

(1) 前田富祺「日本語の未来を占う──語彙と漢字を中心に──」（『国文学』第38巻12号所収）を参照。

(2) 注(1)の拙論でも述べたように，ジュニア・ヤング小説では，いろいろなところにハートマークが使われている。ただ，♡よりも♥の方が多いようである。

(3) "目がハートになる"を用いていた山浦弘靖は昭和13年生れである。この他，昭和30年前後に生れた作家の用いた例は多い。

(4) ここではヤング・ジュニア小説と限定したが，ヤング・ジュニア小説の範囲自体が明確でない。また，ヤング・ジュニア小説の範囲が分ったとしても，私の調査の範囲がどの程度全体を反映しているかも問題であろう。さらに，雑誌類の調査も必要であろうし，その他のジャンルの資料の調査との対照も必要である。これらの課題についてはなお今後考えてゆきたい。

(5) 目が点に描かれているマンガは早くからあった。しかし，"目が点になる"ことが注目されるのは，それまで大きな目であった（シリアスに描かれていた）のが急に目が点になっていることの落差におかしみを感じさせるのである。

(6) 身体語彙史のいろいろな問題については，前田富祺『国語語彙史研究』で触れているので参照してほしい。

(7) これらの文章の特色については注(1)の拙論参照。

Linguistic Politeness in Chinese, Japanese and English from a Socio-Historical Perspective

Sachiko Ide   Guoyue Peng

1. Introduction

In the field of pragmatics, Brown and Levinson's seminal work on universal principles of language use according to politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) has been the focus of much attention, since it offers a tool for the analysis of discourse and conversation that could show what people are actually doing when they use language.

While Brown and Levinson's framework proposes universals of language use according to politeness based on empirical data from three unrelated languages and cultures, i.e., English, Tzeltal, and Tamil, it does not comfortably fit the linguistic politeness phenomena in Japanese and some other Asian languages. What is missing in Brown and Levinson's approach is the aspect of politeness reflecting etiquette and protocol, which appear to be essential concerns of politeness in oriental cultures.

Before we discuss linguistic politeness, it would be useful to define what the term in question, i.e., linguistic politeness, means in this context. Linguistic politeness refers to the proper use of language associated with smooth communication. "We speak language not only to transmit information, but also to establish the appropriate inter-actional relationship between the speaker, the hearer, a bystander, and

the referent. In speaking, we think of the content of what is to be conveyed, and at the same time of linguistic expressions that will make the utterance appropriate to the given situational context. Appropriate speech establishes smooth communication, on the one hand through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his utterances to be received favorably by the addressee and on the other by the speaker's expression of the expected and prescribed norms of speech. The language use associated with smooth communication is what is here referred to as linguistic politeness (Ide 1988: 371).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the differences among three types of linguistic politeness evident in Chinese, Japanese and English from the socio-historical perspectives of each society. It is hoped that this study will broaden the perspectives of universal principles of linguistic politeness.

2. Two aspects of linguistic politeness

2.1. The linguistic aspect

I characterize the linguistic aspect of the Chinese, Japanese and English linguistic politeness as 'honorific particles', 'grammatical system of honorifics' and 'system of strategies' respectively. To make the distinction obvious, let us look at the most typical way of expressing linguistic politeness in each of the three languages. I mean by 'the most typical' the kind of linguistic politeness the speaker of each language employs as the major linguistic strategy in each society to communicate smoothly.

The following illustrates the speech act of asking for the addressee's name in three languages. How would the speaker of each language say it, when the speaker is obviously lower in status and the situation is formal?

A Chinese speaker could say, among various possible speech acts:

(1) *nin*   *gui*   *xing ?*
2nd pers. pron.-HON.   noble-HON. Particle   surname
'(What is) your noble surname?'

In Japanese, one of the possibilities would be:

(2)   *o-   namae   wa nanto ossyai   masu   ka ?*
HON.PREF.   name TOP what say-HON. ADD.HON.   Q
'What do you say your name is?'

In English, we would say, among other possible expressions, something like:

(3) May I ask your name?

In the case of the Chinese example (1), *'nin'*, the equivalent of the *'vous'* form in French, is chosen instead of the ordinary second person pronoun *'ni'*, the equivalent of the *'tu'* form. *'Gui'*, an honorific particle meaning 'noble', is used to index the status of the addressee in the yang category. This use of an honorific particle makes it possible to delete the verb. Thus, the use of the honorific particle renders the statement polite to suit the context.

In the case of the Japanese example (2), politeness is marked by adding the honorific prefix *'o'* to the noun *'namae'*, by choosing the honorific verb form *'ossyaru'* instead of ordinary verb *'iu'*, and by adding the addressee honorific auxiliary verb *'masu'*. In the context where the addressee is of higher status than the speaker, it is pragmatically obligatory for a Japanese speaker to choose honorific forms. To mark politeness in accordance with the situational context such as the status difference of the interactants is an integral part of Japanese pragmatics.

In the English example (3), the potentially face threatening speech act of asking the person's name is made less face threatening by asking for permission to do so by the conventional use of 'May I?'

2.2. The use aspect

Two orientations in the use of linguistic politeness are proposed in Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989). They are the language usage in terms of volition and *wakimae*. Volition refers to the choice of linguistic expressions as a means of pursuing the goal of making the speech non-face-threatening to the addressee. In contrast, *wakimae*, also refereed to as 'discernment', is the speaker's use of expressions in keeping with social conventions of relative positions in the society. *Wakimae*, therefore, is referred to as 'the sense of place.' The 'grammatical system of honorifics' is used by Japanese according to almost automatic, socially agreed-upon rules to observe *wakimae*. On the other hand, the 'system of strategies' employed by English speakers is the reflection of the speaker's intentional choice to make the speech polite. The essential difference between the two lies in whether the speaker actively chooses expressions or not. The relationship of the two types of linguistic politeness is illustrated in Figure 1.
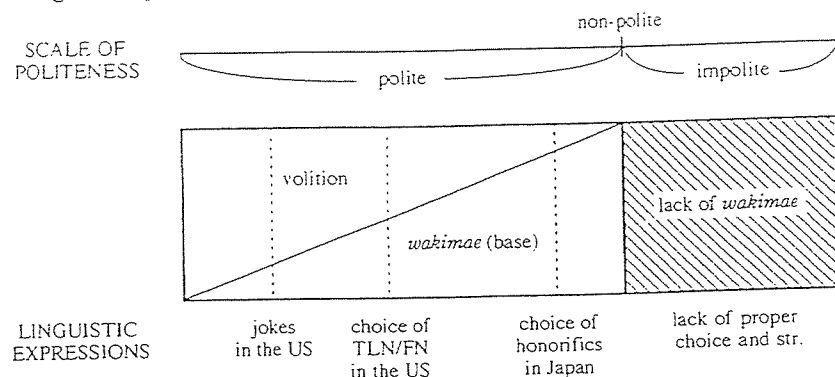

Figure 1. The relationship between *wakimae* and volition in overall linguistic politeness

In Chinese, 'honorific particles' are used according to the traditional value of *yin* and *yang* developed in Chinese philosophy. The Chinese system of particle use may be characterized as both *wakimae* and volition. It reflects *wakimae* because the rules are pre-determined

according to the Chinese conception of the universe, but it also reflects volition because the the speaker must exercise volition in choosing among a number of honorific particles within the *yin* and *yang* categories.

The uses of linguistic politeness are characterized in terms of the speaker's types of action and the modes of action as illustrated in Table 1. In the matrix made by Max Weber's four types of actions combined with Habermas' theory of communicative action (Miyahara 1986), the types of human actions are analyzed in terms of the degree of rationality on the one axis and, on the other, the orientation toward either success or understanding. Among the three, the English volitional type is the most rational action, and the Japanese *wakimae* type is the least rational in Weber's terms. As to the mode of action, the volitional type is oriented toward success, and the *wakimae* type of action is oriented toward understanding. The Chinese type is value-rational and oriented toward understanding. The following table should help put the relationship of the three in perspective as well as aid in the clarification of the nature of each type of linguistic politeness.

MODE OF ACTION / DEGREE OF RATIONALITY	STRATEGIC (oriented to success)	COMMUNICATIVE (oriented to understanding)
RATIONAL	(1) instrumental-rational system of strategies e.g. English	(2) value-rational honorific particles e.g. Chinese
NON-RATIONAL	(3) affective none	(4) traditional grammatical system of honorifics e.g. Japanese

Table 1. Three types of linguistic politeness in terms of the typology of action

3. The socio-cultural origin of Chinese honorific particles

The origin of honorific particles in Chinese culture dates back to the 10th century B.C.. The value system of *yin* and *yang* is assigned to all objects and abstract concepts in the universe, and this value has consistently endured despite changes in religion and ethical philosophies over the 3000 years of the history of Chinese culture. What is recognized by the Chinese as belonging to either the category of *yin* or the category of *yang*? We can see how this dichotomous distinction is applied to the universe and objects in the work entitled *Yi Jing*, supposed to have been composed between the 10th century B. C. and the 3rd century A.D.. According to the *Yi Jing*, the *yin* and *yang* distinction is applied in such domains as nature, human beings, animals, plants, objects used in daily lives, architecture, directions and characteristics. In short, the world view of the Chinese is through the eyeglasses of differentiating everything into the two categories of *yin* and *yang*.
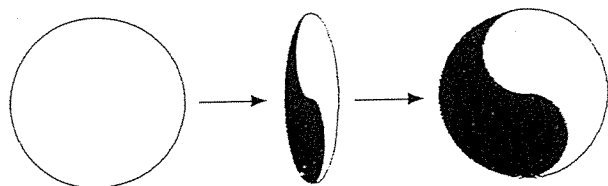

Figure 2. The world view through the *yin* and *yang* categories

The distinction between *yin* and *yang* has been the heart and core of the ethics of courtesy in Chinese culture throughout the centuries. The ethics of courtesy in terms of the *yin* and *yang* distinction is considered to be the criterion for social behavior, especially of interactional behavior. According to the *Yi Jing*, the system of the universe is applied to the members of families, and it is only after the members of each family are placed according to the system of *yin* and *yang* (placing the father in the *yang* and the son in the *yin* category,

for example) that we have a harmonious and peaceful society leading people to healthy lives. Courtesy is observed by people's adhering to the system of *yin* and *yang* as prescribed in the *Yi Jing*.

In interaction, the speaker is supposed to place the addressee and the belongings of the addressee in the *yang* category and place him/herself and his/her belongings in the *yin* category. In verbal interaction, the speaker adds particles denoting the yang category to references to the addressee and objects or concepts related to him or her, and the *yin* category to the speaker him/herself. The particles of the *yang* category have such positive values as 'noble', 'wise', 'large', 'high', 'respectful', 'elegant', etc.. Linguistic politeness is performed by adding one of these particles to words referring to the addressee. On the other hand, in referring to him/herself, the speaker adds particles of the *yin* category that have such negative values as 'humble', 'stupid', 'small', 'low', 'poor', etc.. Linguistic politeness is observed by the acknowledgment of the positions of the speaker's category in contrast to the hearer's category according to the system of *yin* and *yang*. The adding of the particles of the *yin* and *yang* categories does nothing to change the propositional meaning of any utterance, but serves to comply with the ethical doctrine of Chinese culture.

This is illustrated in example (1) above, where the particle *'gui'*, metaphorically symbolizing the surname of the addressee as 'noble', is placed in front of *'xing'*, i.e., surname, thus integrating the philosophical system of *yin* and *yang* into the linguistic form.

4. The socio-cultural origin of the Japanese honorific system

While Chinese linguistic politeness is characterized by the use of the metaphorical honoring of the addressee in keeping with the principles of *yin* and *yang*, the Japanese counterpart may be characterized as the social deixis use of honorifics. By social deixis, I mean the use of honorific morphemes to match and index the interactional rela-

tionship of the speaker and the addressee (and the referent) according to the social norm of behavior of *wakimae*, i.e., discernment. The use or non-use of honorific forms indexes the speaker's relative position *vis a vis* the addressee/the referent in terms of relative positions of status and membership in the in- or out- group.

The linguistic system of honorifics in Japanese developed from various expressions, among which are terms used to praise God, and to avoid taboos. The use of beautiful language toward God must be considered to bring happiness to people by means of the magical power of language, thus functioning as a positive politeness strategy. The taboo is a word play of avoidance, and thus functions as a negative politeness strategy (Tsujimura 1971:12). Some expressions used to refer to something or somebody high in status were also the roots of honorifics. As these expressions were used repeatedly over time, they became conventionalized, fossilized grammatical forms in an honorific system. The difference between these and Chinese honorific particles is that there is almost no meaning recognized by the speaker in the Japanese honorific forms themselves, while the Chinese particles have positive or negative metaphorical meanings. The honorification pattern is completely conventionalized, so that what a Japanese speaker is supposed to be concerned with is the correct reading of the relative positions of the participants in a conversation, and the appropriate indexing of the position by means of the use or non-use of conventional-ized honorific forms.

The basis of the contemporary honorific system seems to have formed between the 17th and the 19th centuries. This was the time when Japan closed itself to contact with foreign countries, with the exceptions of China, Korea and Holland, for a little over two centuries until the middle of the 19th century. The formation of Japanese honorific grammatical patterns parallels the rise of a Japanese philosophy independent of the Chinese philosophy of Confucianism

during the closed period. For a long time in Japanese history, Chinese religion, philosophy, and literature were seen as the models. Like Latin in Europe, in the early days of Japanese history, Chinese was the language of learning. Confucianism, brought from China before the 8th century, has been particularly influential on the spirit of the Japanese people up to the present day, even though the degree of influence has decreased with the passage of time.

Several Japanese philosophers developed a philosophy of moral standards intended to make it possible for the Japanese people to live peacefully. This philosophy has been handed down to the modern period. It sets the moral standards for how people should behave according to designated roles in society. One of the key terms used by Ogyuu Sorai, one of the founders of this indigenous philosophy, is 'wakimae' (Bitou 1974).

In contrast to the orthodox Chinese Confucianism of the time, in which peace was believed to be obtained by the individuals complying with the principles of *yin* and *yang*, Ogyuu Sorai thought that peace for an individual mind is obtained by placing the peace of the society before that of the individual. Thus, for a Japanese, people's interactional relationships in terms of the social norms are the prime behavioral concern. In order for the society to stay at peace, it is imperative for people to stay in their appropriate places, exercising their expected roles. This philosophy, which may be termed here as the philosophy of *wakimae*, has formed one of the major habitual thought patterns of contemporary Japanese culture.

This habitual thought is observed in verbal behavior in Japanese. One's place in relation to the addressee is acknowledged and maintained by the *wakimae* inspired use of honorific forms, which themselves do not change any propositional meaning, but indexes the relative positions of the conversational interactants. In other words, one cannot make even such a propositional statement as 'Today is

Friday' without indexing the speaker's position *vis a vis* the addressee by means of the use or non-use of honorific morphemes '-*desu* /-*masu*'.

The fossilization of the grammatical patterns of the honorific system seems to have taken place around the time of the emergence of an indigenous philosophy. This is illustrated by the development of the addressee honorific '*masu*'. This used to be an ordinary verb '*masu*' denoting 'to exist', but was used only to refer to the state of a high status person. Since it was frequently used, the original meaning of 'to exist' was lost. We might infer that the repeated use of an ordinary linguistic form used in referring to a high status person's existing state resulted in its grammaticalization as an honorific morpheme. Once it was grammaticalized, it acquired the function of an obligatory grammatical morpheme to index the speaker's distant or lower position in relation to other participants.

5. Strategies of English linguistic politeness and individualism

From the perspectives of oriental languages, the strategies of linguistic politeness in English, as defined by Brown and Levinson for example, appear to be typical for a society where individualism and egalitarian idealism are the basis of social behavior. In contrast to Chinese and Japanese linguistic politeness in which the speaker's choice of linguistic forms is the result of socially defined norms, the strategies in English are chosen according to the speaker's calculation of the context to save the face of the addressee and the speaker.

Another contrast of English to Chinese and Japanese is that, while in English mutual respect by saving face is the immediate concern for politeness, politeness in the latter two is concerned with courtesy by complying with the social norm by which the peace of mind of the speaker as well as peace within society appear to be the immediate goal. Given that courtesy is the traditional ethos of oriental culture which comes from the Analects of Confucius, this is in fact just

what could be expected.

In short, each type of linguistic politeness symbolizes the ideology or the world view on how the universe or the society is supposed to be composed in each culture.

6. Concluding remarks

As is true for any cross-linguistic analysis, we find examples of each type of linguistic politeness. In Japanese, for example, both the Chinese and English types of linguistic politeness also exist, and indeed play an important role. As examples of the Chinese type, we have '*ki-den*', borrowed from Chinese, literally meaning 'noble lord' and referring to 'you' in Japanese, and 'her highness' in English, which indicates the same metaphorical honorification as the Chinese particle.

We may hypothesize, therefore, that what is typical in one language may well exist in other languages and that the principles of linguistic politeness in various languages could be reduced to a limited number of coherent principles, and perhaps distilled into a coherent and comprehensive theory. This idea is based on the assumption that all
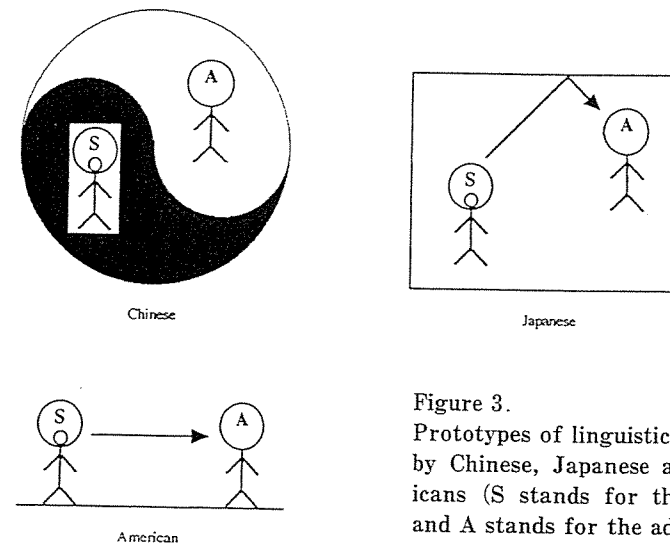

Figure 3.
Prototypes of linguistic politeness by Chinese, Japanese and Americans (S stands for the speaker and A stands for the addressee)

people on this globe have a way to communicate smoothly, i.e., in accord with politeness.

The virtue of a cross-linguistic analysis of linguistic politeness lies not in finding only how different such systems are, but rather in discovering the whole range of possible realizations of linguistic politeness in languages and their cultures. Finding examples of the Chinese type and the English type helps us place the workings of different types of linguistic politeness in Japanese in a larger perspective.

In summary, Figure 3 illustrates the three types of linguistic politeness by Chinese, Japanese and Americans.

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