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14.   Honorifics and address terms

Sachiko Ide and Kishiko Ueno

1.   Introduction

1.1.   The hypotheses on the origins of meaning of language

Honorifics and address terms are concerned with linguistic forms and their pragmatics associated with the speaker's attitude toward the participants of conversation and the nature of the setting. They are, therefore, not elements of language that convey propositional content.

Hurford (2007: 173) presented two hypotheses as to the origins of meaning of language: (1) the Communicative Act Foundation hypothesis, and (2) the Independent Assumption hypothesis. In the former, utterances contain nothing descriptive nor logically compelling, but are primitive other-directed acts such as "Aha!", which simply expresses surprise directed at an addressee. In the latter, utterances have descriptive content independent of any illocutionary expressions with intended effects on the addressees, such as "Today is Saturday". The former hypothesis aptly applies to the Japanese language, while the latter is clear in the English language, the language which provided the basis for explorations carried out in the framework of Chomsky's generative syntax.

In light of Hurford's Communicative Act Foundation hypothesis, it is conceivable that Japanese utterances used to be signals for communication, upon which grew complex utterance types. This hypothesis seems to be fruitful for the understanding of the importance of communicative signals over and above the propositional content in Japanese utterances. Among various communicative signals for communicative acts are honorifics, address terms, sentence final particles, and various other modal expressions.

Even though a good deal of literature both in English and Japanese exists describing and discussing honorific forms based on objective perspectives, what is crucially missing is a description and explanation of what it means for native speakers as well as for their communities to speak with such linguistic devices as honorifics and other modal expressions.

It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to discuss the logic of the pragmatics of honorifics, so that readers who are speakers of non-honorific languages will have a grasp of the native speakers' sense of pragmatics that obligatorily requires the use of modal expressions, among which honorifics play a crucial role.

1.2.   The inside perspective

To illustrate what it means to observe speech act from an inside perspective, the following figures are presented. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate how Japanese speakers must situate themselves in the context while speaking, whereas English speakers take an objective perspective on a speech event. The illustrations below should serve to show how modal agreement to the contextual construal is essential in Japanese pragmatics.

The utterance in the following scene, taken from Kawabata's novel *The Izu Dancer* and Seidenstecker's translation of it into English should make the difference in speakers' perspectives clear.

Figure 1.   A scene from *The Izu Dancer* from the Japanese speaker's perspective
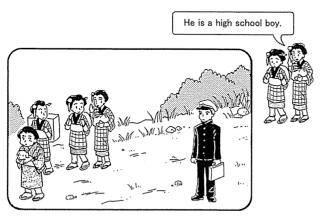

Figure 2.   A scene from *The Izu Dancer* from the English speaker's perspective

The pictures show a man wearing a hat that signifies that the wearer is an *Ichiko* 'high school student' (University of Tokyo in the present system). This is the scene of the first encounter of the protagonist, the Izu dancer, and the novelist Kawabata, in what is a love story about the Izu dancer and the novelist. A party of entertainers passes by in the middle of the Izu Plateau and meets Kawabata. Recognizing the hat, the older sister of the protagonist whispers in her sister's ear, "He is a high school boy (student)". This is what the translator, Seidenstecker, put in the English sentence. This clear propositional sentence makes sense in English, but it would be odd if it were literally translated back into Japanese. Japanese pragmatics requires that the speaker speak by embedding herself in the context.

A close look at the utterance in the balloon of Figure 1 shows how the utterance is indexed to the context. There is no subject, 'he', nor copula 'is', to relate the subject to the predicate. Instead, something else is stated in the original Japanese utterance. The first is *-san*, an honorific title, which is suffixed to *gakusei* ('a student', in Seidenstecker's translation 'a boy'). The other is *yo*, a sentence final particle.

What is the meaning of the fact that there is no subject and no verb in the Japanese utterance? It would be inappropriate to say that they are deleted, since it is not customary to have either. As is obvious in Figure 1, the speaker does not need to indicate the subject, as both the speaker and the hearer are looking at the referent, the high school student. What is relevant in the context need not be verbalized. This simplicity of not verbalizing the obvious referent is the essence of the aesthetics of Japanese verbal behavior. It could be said that this is in accord with the simplicity that is prevalent in Japanese art forms such as *haiku*, flower arrangement, the tea ceremony, and the Noh play.

As to the absence of the copula 'to be', as is shown in the balloon, *desu* (HON COP) could have been inserted, but if it had been inserted, the speaker would have made the scene more formal than would be appropriate. The informal copula *da* could have been used instead, but the effect of using this copula would be to make the statement a strong assertion, which would lead to a less friendly atmosphere than its absence. Not having a copula, a predicate verb, is the most appropriate phrasing in this kind of congenial relationship between the speaker and the hearer, who are sisters.

In the case of English, however, omitting either or both the subject and the copula is not an option. Thus, in Figure 2, the English utterance in the balloon is "He is a high school boy". It should be noted that the speaker's perspective when making an utterance is outside the speech event as the speaker is looking at the scene from an objective stance.

The investigation of the pragmatics of honorifics must begin by questioning why there is this difference in the speakers' perspectives on speech events. What has been indicated so far is that it is essential for Japanese pragmatics to index the context and to show agreement with the context, while it is essential in speaking

English to have a subject, a verb, and subject-verb agreement. In Japanese speech, modal elements such as an honorific morpheme and a final particle constitute pragmatic well-formedness. What is required of Japanese pragmatics, therefore, is to show the speaker's discernment and sentiment about the contextual elements of the speech event. This is realized only if the speaker takes an inside perspective, as illustrated in Figure 1, not the outside perspective as illustrated in Figure 2. It is essential to observe and discuss the pragmatics of an honorific language from the inside perspective of the native speaker's discourse, an approach seldom taken to date.

1.3.   The outline of this chapter

Using this understanding of the inside perspective as a point of departure, this chapter will describe and discuss the pragmatics of honorifics and address terms. Most of the literature on honorifics and address terms to date stems from constructs based on an objective perspective, as illustrated in Fig. 2. What is to follow in this chapter is a discussion on how the speakers of honorific languages speak in their daily lives, and why they speak the way they do. It is based on observation and argument grounded on the logic of *ba*, a semantic space that makes it possible to account for the practice of honorifics from the inside perspective of the context of a situation.

The next section reviews the literature on honorifics and address terms, with special attention to some works from the considerable amount of literature written in Japanese, and therefore virtually unknown to the outside world. The third section presents an overview of honorific forms and address terms. Then honorifics are discussed in terms of linguistic politeness. The goal is to clarify how and why the pragmatics of honorifics is intrinsically distinct from Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) framework of linguistic politeness. Finally, a discussion of the Japanese Language Planning Commission will be introduced to provide evidence for the considerable concern in contemporary Japanese society regarding the use of honorifics.

2.   Review of the literature on honorifics

Phenomena connected to linguistic honorifics have received some attention in the fields of anthropologically oriented studies of languages, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics in the last fifty years or so. In the following, several of the works written in English are discussed, as well as a few noteworthy examples from the extensive literature in Japanese by Japanese indigenous linguists.

2.1.   Literature on honorifics and address terms

Among the influential classics dating back to the early days of pragmatic studies are Geertz's (1960) anthropological description of Javanese linguistic etiquette, Martin's (1964) article on the speech levels of Japanese and Korean, Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal work on pronouns in Indo-European languages, and Brown and Ford's (1964) analysis of address terms in American English.

Based on the anthropological observation of the life of Javanese people, Geertz (1960) remarked that the entire Javanese etiquette system is symbolized in their language use. According to Geertz, the choice of linguistic forms and speech style is determined by the social status or familiarity of the speakers involved in a conversation.

Martin (1964) presented a description of Japanese and Korean speech levels that are expressed by honorifics, and discussed them in terms of the social and interactional structure. Martin regarded the relationship between honorific and non-honorific speech levels reflected in a sentence ending in Japanese and Korean as analogous to the use of pronouns of *tu* and *vous* in modern French. Martin aptly remarked, "we shall probably have speech levels in Japanese and Korean as long as we have plurals in English (1964: 412)". This statement is convincing as it shows his deep insight into the Japanese and Korean languages. He was aware that the choice of speech levels with or without honorifics is pragmatically obligatory, just as marking plurals is obligatory in English.

Brown and Gilman (1960) explained the use of the V form, honorific pronouns (e.g., French *vous*, German *Sie*) and the T form, non-honorific pronouns (e.g., French *tu*, German *du*) in terms of the two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of social life: power and solidarity.

Brown and Ford (1964) demonstrated the system of address forms in American English based on empirical data, and explained that the progress from the nonreciprocal use of TLN (title plus last name) to FN (first name) occurs according to the increase of the sense of equality.

Braun's (1988) volume on address terms presented the fruits of a Kiel research project aimed at gathering information on the systems of address terms in a number of languages. It offered an exhaustive list of publications on address terms as well as the results of a large-scale empirical research project. The investigation of address systems in various languages showed that address is so differentiated and culture-specific that any universal theory of address does not fit the reality. It maintained that even a notion such as reciprocity/non-reciprocity of power and solidarity proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Ford (1964) is not robust, but it discussed the fact that important factors concerning the choice of address terms are regional origin, age, social status/education/occupation, sex, group membership, political/religious views, and personality.

Irvine (1992, 1995, 2009) and Agha (1994, 2002) are to be noted as landmarks among the works on honorific languages. Irvine observed a wide range of descriptions on honorific languages: Javanese, Nahuatl, ChiBemba, Japanese, Shilluk, and Zulu among others. Based on the structural understanding of the descriptions of these honorifics and their usage, Irvine boldly generalizes and defines honorifics: "Linguistic honorifics are forms of speech that signal understanding of some aspect(s) of the form-meaning relationship (2009:156)". Agha, acknowledging various approaches from a number of perspectives, saw honorifics primarily functioning as registers. What is lacking in all these works is an explanation of how and why people live using honorifics in their lives in their individual speech communities.

2.2.   Literature on Japanese linguistics

Honorifics have always been a major concern in *kokugo-gaku* (the scholarship of the national language) that is independent of western scholarship. In fact, there are quite a number of studies of honorifics. For example, the compendium of studies on honorifics (Tahara et al. 1966) lists no less than 800 works. Despite the considerable amount of literature written in Japanese, little is known about it outside Japan. It would not be exaggerated to claim that honorifics are one of the major concerns in the academic community of scholars of Japanese linguistics.

Studies on honorifics in *kokugo-gaku* consist of three areas: (1) theoretical studies of the honorific system, (2) historical studies of honorifics, and (3) sociolinguistic studies of honorifics.

First, the theorization of honorific grammar has been the major subject of the discussions in Japanese linguistics. Among the leading authorities are Yamada Yoshio and Tokieda Motoki; each of them laid the groundwork for the grammar of honorifics from different perspectives.

Yamada's (1924) theory is noteworthy as it is the earliest comprehensive framework for the grammar of Japanese honorifics. Yamada divided honorifics into two groups, humble honorifics and respect honorifics, and argued that the rule of honorifics is governed by the subject of a sentence. Humble honorifics are used when the subject is the first person, and respect honorifics are used when the subject is the second or the third person. Yamada's emphasis on the correspondence between the person and respect/humble honorifics has been developed by many scholars in succeeding generations.

Tokieda (1941) presented the structure of Japanese from a holistic perspective and proposed that the Japanese language consists of *shi* (詞), that is, proposition and *ji* (辞), that is, modality. The choice of subject and object honorifics pertains to proposition and the choice of addressee honorifics pertains to modality. Tokieda's idea that the structure of language can be regarded as a process of the speaker's cognition and perception has laid a foundation for interpreting honorifics as a marker of the speaker's attitudes and feelings. Even though his idea has not been taken up by major schools of linguists, some Japanese linguists followed Tokieda's tradition. Among them is Watanabe (1971), who claimed a sentence consists of a propositional element plus a modal element by which the speakers express their feelings toward the speech event. The classification of honorifics Watanabe proposed consists of three parts: honorifics expressing deference toward the person who is talked about, those expressing deference toward the addressee, and those in which the speaker expresses modesty. Tsujimura (1963), a student of Tokieda, advanced a taxonomy of honorifics which consisted of two groups, "referent honorifics", which concern propositional elements, and "addressee honorifics", which concern modality elements. Tsujimura (1991) focused on the functional aspect of honorific usage. He questioned the functions of honorifics and proposed four functions: (1) honorifics used for higher-status persons, (2) honorifics used for persons with little familiarity, (3) honorifics used for public/formal occasions, and, notably, (4) honorifics used for expressing a person's elegance/grace. Yamaguchi (2004), analyzed historical documents in their contexts and claimed that the speakers' attitudes toward and assessments of an event are expressed by modality, notably by honorifics.

Second, it has been possible to research the historical use of honorifics, thanks to the richness of the available historical documents. Tsujimura (1968, 1992) discussed diachronic observations of honorifics. Kindaichi (1959) explored the origin of honorifics. Ishizaka (1944) discussed honorifics in such earlier documents as *Manyoshu,* the earliest extant anthology of Japanese verse and *Kojiki,* the oldest legendary stories. *Manyoshu* and *Kojiki* were both compiled in the 8th century.

Historical examinations of honorifics show how the forms of honorifics have developed along with social and historical changes. As to the origins of honorifics, the most widely accepted assumption is that honorifics were derived from extolling the various kinds of gods (Kindaichi 1959). This idea is supported by the fact that most honorific terms come from euphemisms or praise (Tsujimura 1968). According to Tsujimura (1992) and Kasuga (1977), honorifics were predominantly used in referring to the gods and the Emperor in the Nara era (710~), the period of the Emperor's predominance. It is notable that self-honorification, i.e., the gods' or the Emperor's use of honorifics in denoting themselves, is observed in the same way as the earliest use of *nos* by the Roman Emperor in speaking of himself as the recipient of the reverential *vos* (Brown and Gilman 1960:254). Thus, honorifics in the Nara era can be characterized as "absolute honorifics", that is, honorifics exclusively used to refer to the absolute beings.

In the Heian era (784~), when a feudal aristocracy was established, honorifics were to be used not only toward the Emperor but also toward the nobility. According to Tsujimura (1992), it was in this period that addressee honorifics came into existence. The expression which came to be used as an addressee honorific was *haberi*, originally a humble honorific verb meaning "serve the gods or the Em-

peror". In addition, honorifics began to shift from absolute honorifics to relative honorifics. The use came to be determined by the relative relationship among the speaker, the addressee, and the referent. The conception of addressee honorifics and the shift from "absolute honorifics" to "relative honorifics" is attributed to the complexity and the mobility of the society. The Kamakura era (1185~) and Muromachi era (1331~) are the time when warriors ruled, and honorifics were governed by the status difference among warrior families (Toyama 1977, Tsujimura 1992). As to addressee honorifics, *sourou*, originally an honorific verb meaning "serve the superior", took the place of *haberi*. In the Edo era (1603~), society was divided into four classes, the top of which was samurai, followed by farmer, artisan, and tradesman, and the use of honorifics was strictly ruled by social positions. Most of the honorific forms used today, such as the addressee honorifics *desu/masu*, or subject honorifics *o (go) ... ni naru*, took on their contemporary forms in this period (Tsujimura 1992). From the Meiji era (1868–1911) to the present, along with the abolition of the four classes, the use of honorifics became less determined by social class differences. In 1945, after World War II, the new constitution was laid down in which democratization was introduced. Thus, the marking of social status became less frequent, and the use of honorifics became sensitive to the relationship between conversational participants and the formality of the setting.

Third, sociolinguistic studies of honorifics in Japan began along with the founding of the National Language Research Institute in 1948. Since this institute aims at the investigation of the language practice of ordinary people all over Japan, it conducted a series of large-scale surveys on the use of honorifics. These surveys investigated how the use of honorifics is the reflection of such sociolinguistic variables as region, gender, age, and rank in the workplace.

The other notable works are Sanada's (1993) investigation into the use of honorifics in a rural district, and Ide et al.'s (1986) study on sex difference in the use of honorifics.

Using data gathered in 1971, Sanada (1993) presented a case where the use of honorifics is strictly determined by the norms of the community. He made a close observation of the use of honorifics by every member of a hamlet where only six families lived in six households. Sanada shows that the choices of honorifics are determined by the addressee's family status and age. What is astonishing is that the same honorific form is used to the same addressee regardless of differences in speakers. This shows how the choice of linguistic forms is made passively. This is the clearest evidence for the claim that the use of honorific forms occurs according to *wakimae* (see section 4). Unlike the Western tradition of speaking, where the speakers volitionally choose linguistic forms according to their intention, Japanese speakers choose from expressions shared in the community according to the status and age of the addressees. The speakers' mind is geared toward fitting the social norm of the context, and toward asking themselves which form is supposed to be

used instead of which they want to use. This illustrates pragmatics according to *wakimae*, the sense of place in context (cf. section 4.3).

Ide et al. (1986) conducted a large-scale survey on the status of honorifics employed by middle-aged subjects, including some 250 men and some 250 women living in and around Tokyo. The research data were analyzed, and the following results were obtained. (1) Women are observed to use higher levels of honorifics. (2) Women evaluate the same honorific form lower than men, thus, from the speaker's point of view, it is not perceived that women are speaking with a higher level of politeness. (3) The reason for the women's use of higher honorifics can be attributed to the fact that it is a role difference, not a gender difference itself that leads to the differences in the use of honorifics in Japanese societies, since both men and women engaging mainly in the work place tend to use linguistic forms with lower level honorifics.

3.   The fundamentals of honorifics and address terms in Japanese

Japanese polite expressions involve two kinds of honorifics, one expressed by means of changing the shape of nominal elements, and the other by predicative elements. The former type consists of the polite expressions in the category of address terms. The latter, on the other hand, is a rather complex system in which the sociological nature of the nominal referent and the interpersonal relation of the nominal referents need to be taken into consideration. In addition, the formality of the setting plays an important role in this latter system.

3.1.   Honorification of nominal elements: Address terms

Nouns undergo morphological indexing when their referents are considered worthy of the speaker's deference or distance.

3.1.1.   Person referents

The complex forms of person referents in Japanese are roughly grouped into three categories: personal pronouns, names with titles, and professional ranks. They are used both as address terms and as the nominal elements of sentences as subjects or objects.

Table 1 presents representative forms of person referents. The forms indexing deferential[1] status are marked with either one or two asterisks, two asterisks indicating a higher degree of honorification than one asterisk. The bold type indicates the level of formality.

(1)   Personal pronouns

Table 1.   Personal pronouns

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Gloss
First Person	*watakushi*** *watashi** *boku* *ore*	*watakushi** *watashi* *atashi*	'I'
Second Person	*anata* *kimi* *omae*	*anata*	'you'
Third Person	*ano kata** *ano hito* *kare* *kanojo*	*ano kata** *ano hito* *kare* *kanojo*	'that person' 'that person' 'he' 'she'

In speaking, first person pronouns are likely to be omitted. The use of second person pronouns is normally avoided, as it is obvious from the context who 'you' is. When the second person pronoun is addressed from the inferior to the superior, it may even convey rudeness.

(2)   Names with titles (LN: last name, such as Yamada; FN: first name, such as Keiko)
(a)   LN/FN/kinship term-*sama***
(e.g. Yamada-*sama***, Keiko-*sama***, otoo-*sama*** 'father')
LN/FN/kinship terms-*san**
(e.g. Yamada-*san**, Keiko-*san**, otoo-*san**'father')
(b)   (LN)-*sensei*** (e.g. Yamada-*sensei***)
(FN)-*sense** (e.g. Keiko-*sense**)

Sensei literally means 'a teacher'. But it is also used as a title, not only for all kinds of teachers, from kindergarten teachers to university professors, but also for other respected professionals such as doctors, dentists, politicians, and writers. The use of *sensei* indexes the speaker's perception of the other as an honorable professional. It can also be used as a personal referent even without last names. Whether -*sensei* can be used instead of -*sama* or -*san* as an honorable title depends on the conventions of the group.

(3)   *Professional ranks*
(LN) *kaichoo*   'president (of an organization)'
(LN) *shachoo*   'president (of a company)'
(LN) *daijin*   'minister'
(LN) *gakuchoo*   'president (of a university)'
(LN) *buchoo*   'manager'

These professional ranks are either used independently or with last names. They co-occur with *sama* and *san* (e.g., *shachoo-san*) with added deference. The use of these professional ranks instead of personal names indexes the speaker's perception of the status of the addressee or the referent. Note that the lowest professional ranks are never used for address or for reference.

Moreover, *sama* and *san* can be attached to some professional names and social roles. For example, *isha* 'doctor' and *kyaku* 'customer' can be addressed or referred to as *o-isha-sama* and *o-kyaku-sama*, respectively, being prefixed by the honorific prefix *o-* and suffixed by -*sama*. The professional name or social role plus -*san* is pervasively used, as seen in *yaoya-san* 'greengrocery-*san*', *daiku-san* 'carpenter-*san*', *ekiin-san* 'station employee-*san*', *kanja-san* 'patient-*san*'. These are not necessarily honorifics which express deference toward a person of higher status, but rather beautifying language or expressions conveying affectionate feelings.

3.1.2.   Nouns with honorific prefixes

Nouns referring to objects may take the honorific prefix *go-* or *o-*. These prefixes are attached to nouns that refer to objects that are associated with persons towards whom deference should be shown.

(4a)   Sino-Japanese nouns
Yamada-*sensei no   go-   ryokoo*
Yamada-Prof.   GEN HON- travel
'Prof. Yamada's travel'
(4b)   Other nouns
Yamada-*sensei no   o-   tayori*
Yamada- Prof. GEN HON- letter
'Prof. Yamada's letter'

3.2.   Honorification of predicative elements

Honorification of predicative elements can be divided into two types: referent honorifics and addressee honorifics.

3.2.1.   Referent honorifics

3.2.1.1.   Subject honorifics

Subject honorifics involve the prefix *o-* or *go-* and the ending *ni naru* which is attached to the infinitive form of a verb, as in (5b). Only the prefix is attached when the predicate is an adjective or a nominal adjective, as in (6b).

(5a)   Keiko *wa   eki   made aruku.*
      Keiko TOP station to   walk
      'Keiko walks to the station.'

(5b)   Yamada-*sensei wa   eki   made o-aruki ni naru.*
      Yamada-Prof. TOP station   to   HON-walk
      'Prof. Yamada walks to the station.'

(6a)   Keiko *wa   utsukushii.*
      Keiko TOP beautiful
      'Keiko is beautiful.'

(6b)   Yamada-*sensei wa   o-   utsukushii.*
      Yamada-Prof.   TOP HON- beautiful
      'Prof. Yamada is beautiful.'

(7a)   Keiko *wa   byooki da.*
      Keiko TOP sick   COP
      'Keiko is sick.'

(7b)   Yamada- *sensei wa   go-   byooki da.*
      Yamada- Prof.   TOP HON- sick   COP
      'Prof. Yamada is sick.'

Besides these *o … ni naru* forms, there is a productive subject honorific verb ending. The suffix *(r)are* (homophonous with the passive suffix) may be attached to a verb.

(8a)   Keiko *ga   hon wo   kai- ta.*
      Keiko NOM book ACC   write- PAST
      'Keiko wrote a book.'

(8b)   Yamada-*sensei ga   hon wo   kak- are- ta.*
      Yamada- Prof.   NOM book ACC   write- HON- PAST
      'Prof. Yamada wrote a book.'

There are also idiosyncratic suppletive forms of subject honorifics.

(9)   *iku*   'go'
    iru   'exist' } *irassharu*
    kuru   'come'
    kureru   'give'   *kudasaru*
    iu   'say'   *ossharu*

3.2.1.2.   Object honorifics

Object honorifics involve the prefix *o-* or *go-* and the ending *suru* attached to the infinitive form of a verb.

(10a)   *Watashi wa   Keiko ni   chikoku   no   wake wo   tazune -ta.*
      I   TOP Keiko DAT late arrival GEN reason ACC ask   -PAST
      'I asked Keiko the reason for her late arrival.'

(10b)   *Watashi wa   Yamada- sensei ni   chikoku   no   wake wo*
      I   TOP Yamada- Prof. DAT late arrival GEN reason ACC
      o-   tazune shi- ta.
      HON- ask-   PAST
      'I asked Prof. Yamada the reason for his late arrival.'

There are some idiosyncratic suppletive forms.

(11)   *iku*   'go'   } *ukagau*
    kiku   'hear'
    au   'meet'   ***omeni-kakaru***
    morau   'receive' { ***itadaku*** / ***choodai-suru***
    shiru   'know'   ***zonji-ageru***

3.2.2.   Addressee honorifics

The addressee honorific is what is called *teineigo* 'polite language'. It indexes the deference or distance toward the addressee or the formality of the setting. As illustrated below, it can be applied independently of the referent honorific.

(12a)   Keiko *ga   ki- ta.*
      Keiko NOM come- PAST
      'Keiko came.'

(12b)   Keiko *ga   ki   mashi-   ta.*
      Keiko NOM come   ADD HON- PAST
      'Keiko came.'

(12c)   Yamada-*sensei ga   ki- ta.*
      Yamada-Prof.   NOM come- PAST
      'Prof. Yamada came.'

(12d)   Yamada-*sensei ga   irasshat-   ta.*
      Yamada-Prof.   NOM come-REF HON- PAST
      'Prof. Yamada came.'

(12e)   Yamada-*sensei ga   ki   mashi-   ta.*
      Yamada-Prof.   NOM come   ADD HON- PAST
      'Prof. Yamada came.'

(12f) Yamada-*sensei ga*   *o-ide ni nari-*   *mashi-*   *ta.*
Yamada-Prof.   NOM come-REF HON- ADD HON- PAST
'Prof. Yamada came.'

(12g) Yamada-sensei ga   *irasshai-*   *mashi-*   *ta.*
Yamada-Prof.   NOM come-REF HON- ADD HON- PAST
'Prof. Yamada came.'

As shown in the examples in (12), addressee honorifics are realized with the *masu* ending. The addressee honorific form of the copula *da* is *desu*, or *de-gozaimasu*, a super-honorific form.

(13a) Keiko *wa*   *gakusei*   *da.*
Keiko TOP   student   COP
'Keiko is a student.'

(13b) Keiko *wa*   *gakusei*   *desu.*
Keiko TOP   student   ADD HON COP
'Keiko is a student.'

(13c) Keiko *wa*   *gakusei*   ***de-gozaimasu.***
Keiko TOP student   SUP ADD HON COP
'Keiko is a student.'

3.3.   Humble forms

There are forms which neither raise the referent nor express politeness toward the addressee, but humble the speaker.

(14a) *Watashi ga*   *iku.*
I   NOM go
'I go.'

(14b) *Watashi ga*   *mairu.*
I   NOM   go-HUM HON
'I go.'

Humble forms are idiosyncratic suppletive forms.

(15)   *iku*   'go'   ⎫
    kuru   'come' ⎬ *mairu*
    omou   'think' ⎫
    shiru   'know' ⎬ *zonzuru*
    iru   'exist'   *oru*
    iu   'say'   *moosu*
    suru   'do'   *itasu*

These expressions occur generally with the addressee honorific ending *masu*, e.g. *watashi ga mairi masu*, as an expression of a higher degree of politeness toward the addressee.

The humble forms are distinguished from what is called *kenjoogo* 'humble language'[2], expressing the speaker's humble attitude not toward a specific referent but toward no one in particular, except in some cases when the addressee is the target. When these humble forms are used in referring to the speaker's behavior or belongings, the status of the other participants is relatively raised. By lowering one's own status, the speaker shows his or her modesty. Thus, humble forms have the same function as the honorifics used for politeness.

4.   Honorifics and linguistic politeness

4.1.   Honorifics and neglected aspects of the theories of linguistic politeness

Honorifics are the central element in the linguistic politeness of Japanese language practice. What is the relation between the practice of using honorifics and the practice of linguistic politeness? It seems honorifics have not been given a proper explanation in the frameworks of current linguistic politeness theories.

Over the last few decades, the topic of linguistic politeness has been the subject of repeated discussion in the field of pragmatics (Culpeper this volume). The principles of linguistic politeness created from Western perspectives have been challenged by empirical evidence from a non-Western language, Japanese, where honorifics constitute an integral part of the language practice (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989). This section deals with the neglected aspects of linguistic politeness from the perspective of Japanese.

Before discussing honorifics and linguistic politeness, it would be useful to define what the term linguistic politeness means. Linguistic politeness refers to the language usage associated with smooth communication, realized (1) through speakers' use of intentional strategies to allow their messages to be received by the addressees without threatening their faces, and (2) through speakers' choices of expressions and linguistic forms to index their sense of place, that is where speakers place themselves in relation to the addressees in daily practice. The first type is realized by the speakers' volitional strategies, while the second type is realized by the speakers' indexing of their sense of place in the context. It is the second type of linguistic politeness that this chapter on honorifics and address terms describes.

During the 1970s and the early 1980s, major universal principles of linguistic politeness were proposed, notably by Lakoff (1973, 1975), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and Leech (1983).

In discussing the problems of judging the grammaticality of a sentence, which had been the major concern of transformational grammar, Lakoff (1970) argued for

the need to consider the context of a sentence in order to judge its grammaticality. This was the beginning of the field of pragmatics in the United States. The context has to be analyzed, she claimed, in terms of rules people follow in speaking, i.e., rules of pragmatic competence, which consist of (1) the rule of clarity, and (2) the rule of politeness. The rule of politeness, in turn, is further refined into three rules. They are (1) "keep aloof", (2) "give options", and (3) "show sympathy" (Lakoff 1973). This seminal work triggered interest in what is now established as "linguistic politeness". Assuming "face" and "rationality" of individuals as common properties of human beings, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) posited the universals for one aspect of language use, i.e., linguistic politeness on the basis of the target languages of their field works: Tzeltal spoken in South Mexico and Tamil spoken in South India, as well as English, their native language. They assumed that making any speech act is a face threatening act to the addressee (and the speaker). They presented a framework of strategies for politeness. This consisted of five major clusters of strategies by means of which most polite, deferential, or tactful verbal expressions in different cultures and languages can be explained. These clusters are (1) "without redressive action, baldly", (2) "positive politeness", (3) "negative politeness", (4) "off record", and (5) "don't do the Face Threatening Act".

Leech (1983), in attempting to present the overall principles of pragmatics based on Gricean Maxims, treated the politeness principle as one of the three principles in interpersonal rhetoric. This politeness principle consisted of six maxims: "tact", "generosity", "approbation", "modesty", "agreement", and "sympathy".

What is common for these pioneering works on linguistic politeness is that they claim, whether explicitly or not, the universal applicability of their principles of linguistic politeness, assuming the practice of linguistic politeness is performed by using strategies. However, Ide (1989) argued that the universality of the principles is questionable from the perspective of languages with honorifics, in particular Japanese. According to Ide, Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) framework, in which honorifics are subsumed under their negative politeness strategy No. 5, "Give deference", is counter-intuitive to speakers of the Japanese language.

Their framework is counter-intuitive because they neglect two aspects relevant to the use of honorifics: one relates to the linguistic level and the other to the use level. The neglected linguistic aspect is the choice of "formal linguistic forms" among varieties with different degrees of formality. The other is the *wakimae* use, that is, the use of polite forms, not by volitional choice, but by indexing one's sense of place in context. The closest equivalent English term for *wakimae* is 'discernment' (Hill et al. 1986: 347–348).

4.2.   Linguistic aspect: Formal forms

The point here concerning the linguistic forms arises from the fact that Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) framework fails to give a proper account of formal lin-

guistic forms such as honorifics, which are among the major means of expressing linguistic politeness in honorific languages and address terms. In Japanese, a request can be expressed politely, even using imperative forms, if honorific verb forms are used.

(16)   *Hon   wo   yome.*
        book ACC   read
        'Read books.' (non-polite)
(17)   *Hon   wo   o-yomi-nasai.*
        book ACC   read-REF HON
        'Read books.' (polite)
(18)   *Hon   wo   yoma nai   ka.*
        book ACC read   NEG Q
        'Won't you read books?' (polite)
(19)   *Hon   wo   o-yomi-ni-nari   mase   n   ka.*
        book ACC read-REF HON   ADD HON NEG Q
        'Won't you read books?' (very polite)

(16) is a simple imperative without honorifics, and thus is not polite, just as it would not be in Western languages. (17) employs the imperative, but a referent honorific is used. Therefore, it is polite. (18) is made polite by the use of specific strategies; it has been made less imposing by the strategy of its transformation into a negative and interrogative form. Thus, this is polite according to Lakoff's (1973) Rule 2 of politeness, "give options", and Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) negative politeness strategies. Example (19) is the combination of (17) and (18), and therefore the most polite of the examples.

These examples illustrate the fact that there are two types of devices to make an utterance polite: One is the choice of formal forms as in (17), and the other is the use of strategies, as in (18). It is the former device, the choice of formal forms that is neglected in the framework proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). Lakoff (1973) proposes a rule of politeness that employs the use of formal forms. In her three rules for politeness, Rule 1 requires the use of formal linguistic forms. It is Lakoff who incorporated this aspect of formal linguistic forms into the rules of linguistic politeness.

The use of formal forms is not unique to languages with grammatically developed honorific systems. Well known examples would be the choice of the pronoun V (*Vous*) in contrast to T (*Tu*) and the choice of the address terms TLN in contrast to FN to mark politeness. The contrast of formal vs. non-formal forms is observed in the choice between forms such as *hello* vs. *hi*, and *purchase* vs. *buy* or *dine* vs. *eat*.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) treated formal forms as expressions of negative politeness strategies. However, they should not be categorized as strategies, since there are some fundamental differences between the choice of formal

forms and the use of strategies. Formal forms are (1) limited in choice, (2) socio-pragmatically obligatory, (3) grammatically obligatory, and (4) made in accordance not only with a person who is the addressee, but also with a person who is the referent or the speaker.

First, while the use of strategies allows a potentially unlimited number of linguistic expressions, the use of formal forms is a matter of choosing among a limited set of forms, a typical example being the choice between address terms of TLN and FN in English. Choosing a formal form or expression out of a limited number of choices makes an utterance polite for the following reasons. According to Levinson (1983: 129), formal forms should be explained as conventional implicature. When *vous* is used to a singular addressee, conventionally but non-truth-conditionally indicates that the addressee is socially distant from, or socially superior to, the speaker. Furthermore Ide (1982: 382) stated, "When formal forms are used, they create a formal atmosphere where participants are kept away from each other, avoiding imposition. Non-imposition is the essence of polite behavior. Thus, to create a formal atmosphere by the use of formal forms is to be polite."

Second, the choice of formal linguistic forms is obligatory in the context of social conventions. (The # marks that the utterance is socio-pragmatically inappropriate.)

(20)   #*"Sensei   wa   hon   wo   yon-   da.*
        professor TOP   books ACC   read- PAST
        'The professor read books.'

(21)   *Sensei   wa   hon   wo   o-yomi-ni-nat-   ta.*
        professor TOP books ACC   read-REF HON- PAST
        'The professor read books.'

In (21), an honorific form is used in referring to the action of a person of higher status than the speaker, in this case a professor being spoken of by a student. This is because the social rules of Japanese society require one to be polite to a higher status person like a professor. This use of an honorific verb form is the socio-pragmatic equivalent of grammatical agreement and may thus be termed socio-pragmatic agreement. Subject-predicate pragmatic agreement is determined by the social rule of the society in which the language is used. In Japanese society (21) is appropriate, but (20) is not, as it does not express due respect to the referent, the professor. Thus, the subject-predicate agreement of honorifics is socio-pragmatically obligatory.

Levinson, in discussing honorifics as the linguistic form in which socially deictic information is encoded, distinguished between two honorifics, i.e., relational and absolute (1983: 90–91). He further stated that the relational variety is the most important. However, it must be remembered that this can only be said with reference to egalitarian societies. In societies where an elaborate honorific system has been developed, it is the absolute variety that is basic. One finds evidence for the absolute variety in a diachronic study (Brown and Gilman 1960) and in the descrip-

tion of honorific systems in stratified societies (Geertz 1960, Koshal 1987). In Japan, too, the absolute variety of honorifics can be found in such findings as Shibata (1988: 6). Shibata showed that in the Syuri area of Okinawa Prefecture the address terms for parents and grandparents and the response forms are determined according to the speakers' and recipients' social classes.

Third, there are no neutral predicate forms. Levinson states, "In general, in such languages (South East Asian), it is almost impossible to say anything at all which is not sociolinguistically marked as appropriate for certain kinds of addressees only (1983: 90)". Therefore, the choice of honorific or plain form is linguistically obligatory. The choices of pronouns (V or T) and address terms (TLN or FN) in some Western languages can be explained in the same way as the choice of honorifics. The speaker is bound to make a choice between a formal form V or TLN and a non-formal form T or FN. This is the primary use of pronouns and address terms. It is only in manipulative use of this primary usage that a speaker has the liberty of choosing FN instead of TLN.

Matsumoto (1987) discussed the obligatory choice of honorifics or plain forms of copulas in Japanese, illustrating three variants of "Today is Saturday", a non-imposing propositional statement in which there is no danger that a speech act threatens the face of the addressee. One can be expressed in a plain form (*da*), the second can be in the addressee honorific (*desu*), and the third can be in the super polite addressee honorific (*de-gozaimasu*). Thus, one is supposed to choose at least among the following three:

(21a)   *Kyoo   wa   doyoobi   da.*
          Today TOP   Saturday COP
          'Today is Saturday.'
(21b)   *Kyoo   wa   doyoobi   desu.*
          Today TOP   Saturday ADD HON COP
(21c)   *Kyoo   wa   doyoobi   de-gozaimasu.*
          Today TOP   Saturday SUP ADD HON COP

Matsumoto (1987) stated that even in such cases of non-FTA utterances, the speaker is required to make an obligatory choice among the variants, with or without honorifics, according to the formality of the setting and the relationship among the participants the speakers perceive.

Fourth, the choice of formal forms is made in accordance with the referent or the speaker, which makes the use of formal forms distinct from verbal strategies oriented only toward the addressee.

It is because of these fundamental differences between verbal strategies that are performed volitionally and formal linguistic forms that linguistic politeness is here categorized into two basic types. The use of formal linguistic forms is controlled by a different behavioral principle than that underlying the verbal strategies treated by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), as described below.

4.3.   Pragmatic aspect: *wakimae*

The use of formal forms is inherently dependent upon the speakers' observation of the social conventions of the society of which they are members. In a society, one behaves according to social conventions, one set of which may be called the social rules of politeness. Ide (1982: 366–377) stated the social rules of politeness for Japanese as: (1) be polite to a person of a higher social position, (2) be polite to a person with power, (3) be polite to an older person, and (4) be polite in a formal setting determined by the factors of participants, occasions, and topics. Except for (2), which could be relative, since a person can have power depending on the role in which one is involved, for example, a mother in the home has more power than the children, but as a secretary at work she has less than the boss, and (4) which is inherently relative, these social rules are essentially absolute in quality. Honorifics, in which the relative rank of the speaker, the referent, and the addressee are morphologically or lexically encoded, are used so as to comply with such rules of politeness.

The practice of polite behavior according to social conventions is known as *wakimae*. To behave according to *wakimae* is to show verbally and non-verbally one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to the common sense idea of the people in their lives. In society, an individual is expected to behave according to the sense of *wakimae*, which is often perceived on the basis of the status and the role of various levels ascribed to or acquired. To perceive and acknowledge the delicate status and/or role differences of the speaker, the addressee, and the referent are considered to be basic to keeping communication smooth. Thus, to observe *wakimae* by means of choices of expressions is an integral part of linguistic politeness in Japanese.

In contrast to the *wakimae* aspect, the aspect of politeness that realizes the speaker's intention by means of a wide range of possible expressions is called the 'volitional' aspect of use of linguistic politeness. This aspect of linguistic politeness is what Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) assumed in their framework. Both aspects aim to achieve smooth communication, but they are different in that the speakers' focus is placed primarily on their position in the context of speaking in the former and on their own intention in the latter.

5.   Honorifics in practice and the logic of *ba* ('field')

5.1.   Honorific practice viewed from an inside perspective

As was indicated in the title of this section, when the speaker speaks in Japanese, the speaker's perspective lies inside the context. Thus, when speaking, the speakers embed themselves in the context. What is it like to speak when one is embedded in the context? When one constitutes a part in the context, one's worldview cannot

be objective, but instead is likely to be intuitive. By intuitive is meant that the speaker observes the reality in the close vicinity and therefore perceives this reality directly. Intuition is the ability to know something by using perception rather than recognition. The context should be more aptly termed as *ba*, a semantic space, as this term provides a basis for explaining the complex mechanism working in the context.

Hanks (2005: 207) explicated the elements of context in communication as follows:

> At any moment in interaction, multiple dimensions of access (among participants, objects, and settings) are simultaneously available for interactants. The selection and understanding of deictics [linguistically encoded signs to mark the context-SI and KU] on the simultaneous articulation of space, perception, discourse, commonsense and mutual knowledge, anticipation, and the framework of participation in which Sprs [speakers-SI and KU] and Adrs [addressees-SI and KU] orient to one another.

This is a superb analytic explanation of the complex reality of the deictic context and its function as viewed from an objective stance. With this knowledge in mind, how can the speaker possibly make the appropriate deictic selection in an actual setting of conversation? It looks extremely difficult to discern which element in the context is relevant at each moment of speaking. While it looks very complicated, the reality is that people in the real context intuitively make selections among linguistic codes and index them as though this task is executed automatically. How in the world is the speaker able to make such instant selections? It seems to be a question of complexity that must be faced if there is to be an understanding of language use according to the context.

To approach this intricate question, it may be useful to review the literature about intuitive language use in context. Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989) postulated the *wakimae* aspect of linguistic politeness as the aspect of linguistic politeness that Brown and Levinson (1978) neglected. While the *wakimae* use has been postulated as a pragmatic framework, it has been expected that further explanations on how the mechanism of *wakimae* works would be forthcoming. This problem has awaited clarification for the last twenty years.

5.2.   The *wakimae* practice of honorifics in conversation

According to the *wakimae* rule of linguistic politeness, the speaker is supposed to use honorifics to those who are categorized as out-group members, and not use them with in-group members. Whether others are categorized as in-group members or not depends on the difference of status, age, familiarity, intimacy, and also the formality of the setting. However, data from natural discourse show that this rule does not always apply. The following illustrates a case where the speaker and the addressee do not follow this rule. How can this pragmatic violation of the rule be explained?

The following excerpt is from the Mr. O corpus.[3] T (a teacher) and S (a student) are involved in the joint task of making a story out of 15 picture cards.

(22)

1   T: *e-tto, arui te   it   te,   ehtto, desu   ne*
         well   walk CON go CON well   HON COP FP
         'Well, (he) is walking, and well isn't he?'

2   S: *a, nanka*
         ah something
         'Ah, something. '

3   T: *un*
         yes
         'Yeah.'

4   S: *chotto omoitsui ta   n   desu   kedo*
         a-little hit-on   PAST NOM HON COP well
         '(I) just hit on an idea, well.'

==

5   T: *un*
         yes
         'Yeah.'

6   S: *saisho boo   wo   mitsuke te*
         at-first a-stick ACC   find-out CON
         'At first, (he) found a stick.'

7   T: *un*
         yes
         'Yeah.'

8   S: *nan da   kore tsukae nai na tte omo t   tara*
         what COP this use-can not FP QT think PAST when
         'When he was thinking, "What is this? I can't use it".'

9   T: *un un*
         yes yes
         'Yeah, yeah.'

10 S: *koo   gake   ni sashikakat te*
         like this a-cliff to come-near CON
         'He came near to a cliff like this.'

11 T: *un*
         yes
         'Yeah.'

12 S: *a, ano boo tsuka-erut te   hiramei ta   toka*
         ah that stick use-can   QT hit-upon PAST or-something
         'Ah, he thought that I can use that stick, or something.'

==

13 T: *a, soo desu   ne*
         ah so HON COP FP
         'Ah, I think so too.'

14 S: *soo iu   no   wa   doo desu   ka*
         so say NOM TOP how HON COP Q
         'What do you think about this (story)?'

Since this pair, a teacher and a student, displays a status difference and they have no previous acquaintance, the *wakimae* principle of linguistic politeness would call for the indexing of the out-group relationship by the use of the addressee honorific form of the copula *desu*. Therefore, T uses it in lines 1 and 13, and S uses it in lines 4 and 14. However, no honorifics were used from lines 5 to 12. What is happening here?

It has been the understanding that the selection of expressions is determined by relevant sociolinguistic variables, such as status differences and the degree of familiarity. In this case, both the relationship of the speaker and the addressee and the setting stay the same. There is no element whatsoever that would allow the pair to make a shift from honorific use to non-honorific use in the middle of the conversation. How can these phenomena in the use of honorifics be explained?

5.3.   Shift of honorific use and dual mode thinking as the mechanism of *ba*

It was not until the logic of the *ba*, developed by Hiroshi Shimizu, was encountered that a way out of this dead end in the use of honorifics was found. *Ba* is the semantic space where the speech event takes place. The closest equivalent term for *ba* in English is 'field'. *Ba* is introduced here, since it supplies the working mechanism of what is happening in the context.

Hiroshi Shimizu, a biophysicist whose aim was to discover the complex (not complicated) system of life in its living state, uses the model of an improvised drama to explain the logic of the *ba*. In an improvised drama, there are actors, the audience, the stage, the theater, and a rough scenario. The actors offer an impromptu presentation on the stage, interacting with other actors and the audience, making adjustments to the situation as it develops. The drama's scenario could change every time an actor acts. The story line of the drama resembles what is happening in real life, where what happens next is not predetermined. At every moment, actors recognize others' positions in the changing *ba*. Then, the actors reorient themselves so as to make the new position suitable in the new phase of the *ba*. This is how an improvised drama is performed. Likewise, everyone lives in their ordinary lives, making adjustments to the changing *ba* that is complex and not analyzable into elements. The metaphor of the improvised drama is Shimizu's model to discover the complex system of the state of living in terms of the logic of the *ba* (Shimizu 1987, 1990, 1996, 2000).

The logic of the *ba* is introduced to compensate for the limits of the scientific way of thinking by reductionism. The logic of *ba* is characterized by a dual mode thinking to compensate for the elements lacking in the traditional approach of linear thinking in science. Among the advantages of this idea of the logic of *ba*, the features that might be relevant to an explanation of the use of honorifics and other modal expressions are the following. The state of living is realized in the *ba*, where dual functions are at work: (1) the function as a local being in the domain of the self-centered ego where one behaves as an individual, and (2) the function as a whole in the domain of place where one interacts with others in order to make a coherent whole.

This nature of the dual function of the individual and the whole in the *ba* can be illustrated by the example of the skin cells in the body that know how to cure a cut in the skin. This is possible because the cells have not only the function of local being, but also the function of knowing their place in the whole. Just as the cells with the same genes grow to organize the various parts of the body, knowing the role of the local and the whole, the cells around the cut skin heal the cut area. This is not done by some supreme being giving orders to do so, but is self-organized by the nature of living cells that have the dual mode of functioning as individuals and as part of a coherent whole (Shimizu 2000:90). This illustration may appear oversimplified, but it can be inferred that every human being has this dual functioning capacity, just as the individual cells that constitute our body can function in a dual capacity.

With this idea of a dual mode function in mind, the question of the shift between the use and non-use of honorifics in the example above can be approached. At the outset, both T and S, knowing the status difference, use addressee honorifics. The question is why they allowed themselves not to use honorifics in the middle of the dialogue (from lines 5 to 12). There was no indication of a change in the contextual element. Both speakers simultaneously dropped the use of honorifics in the middle of the dialogue and resumed their use later in lines 13 and 14.

An interpretation is possible if the logic of *ba* with the dual mode function is applied. In the beginning, the speakers recognize each other in the domain of the self-centered ego. As they are out-group members, they index their sense of place with the use of the addressee honorific form *desu*. However, the conversational partners simultaneously recognize the other domain, the domain of place. It was in line 4 when S (the student) said '(I) hit on an idea ...' that the consciousness of the domain of place took precedence over the domain of self-centered ego and they began speaking without honorifics. Speaking without honorifics between the teacher and the student is against *wakimae*. It is at this point that creative indexing by not using honorifics was performed. This performance of a shift of style to non-use of honorifics performed in the domain of place results in creating the shared *ba* between the speakers. This makes the scene dramatically friendly, and thus the joint task of making a coherent story was successfully performed. When the dra-

matic phase was over, however, the conversation partners revert to the perception of the domain of the self-centered ego, and return to the presuppositional indexing of the teacher-student relationship. They resume speaking with honorifics.

It is in this way that dual mode functioning makes it possible to account for the shift in the use of honorifics within the same sociolinguistic setting. The point here is that human beings are equipped with the function of dual mode thinking, and the shift from one function to the other is performed not by conscious analytical recognition but rather by the subconscious or by intuition, and thus it appears to happen automatically.

The concept of dual mode thinking is able to shed light on various pragmatic phenomena that have been considered contradictory. First, the use of honorifics indexes the relative place between the speaker and the hearer, while it indexes the speaker's own place situated in the society. Why is it that the speaker can make two indexings in one utterance? Second, the use of honorifics can co-occur with the use of sentence final particles. The former indexes the distance between the speaker and the addressee, while the latter shortens the distance. Why can the speaker utter an utterance that simultaneously establishes the distance and shortens it? How can one explain the seemingly contradictory pragmatic phenomena in these cases? It is when dual mode thinking is introduced that these phenomena can be understood as not constituting contradictions at all.

The foregoing is an illustration of the fact that the traditional analytical approach based on reductionism is not sufficient to explain the use of honorifics in natural discourse. The next question is: Where does this verbal practice come from? Why is it that dual mode thinking must be understood and applied to make sense of the use of honorifics? The root of this way of thinking, which may appear to be foreign to the Western scientific tradition, must be sought in the tradition of Eastern philosophy, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

6.   The Japanese Language Commission and the use of honorifics

It is no exaggeration to say that the use of honorifics in Japanese is a matter of considerable discussion by the government. In December 2000, the Japanese Language Planning Commission, set up by the Agency of Culture, issued a report entitled "Polite Expressions in Contemporary Society". Even though the phrase "polite expressions" was used, the intention was to provide guidelines for the use of honorifics suitable for the new society in the 21st century. It was the second time in history that the Japanese government had called for a commission on the use of honorifics. The first guideline was introduced in 1952 to reflect the newly established society after World War II. That was when Japanese society became democratic, with a new constitution for a democratic country that was introduced by the United States during the period of occupation.

At the turn of the current century, with globalization going on, a reexamination of the use of honorifics was in order. The use of honorifics, which is at the core of Japanese pragmatics, has the potential to work as an obstruction in a modernized 21st century society. This could be because the use of honorifics appears to presuppose non-equality in the status of the conversational participants, or because it leads to an inefficient transmission of information, or because it is unfair to the growing number of immigrants from foreign countries, who have trouble learning the contextual information relevant to the use of honorifics.

In view of the fact that the report would influence the future of the country, since it was supposed to lay the foundation for making textbooks authorized by the education ministry for all the schools under college level, serious discussions were carried out, taking in the opinions of forty-five representatives from various sectors of society concerned with language and speech.

The Language Planning Commission did not aim to produce prescriptive guidelines for the use of honorifics, but was deliberately geared toward describing the principles governing the use of honorifics as they are used in present-day Japan. Acknowledging the differences in geography, age, and gender, the commission carefully dealt with the common core of the use of honorifics in Japanese. When the question was raised, for example, as to what should be done about the humbling use, which is used conventionally as a ritual practice, the commission had a long discussion about whether to abolish it or not. They finally decided that the humbling use, either using humbling honorifics or other humbling phrases, is an essence of Japanese pragmatics. When one speaks with humbling expressions, the meta-pragmatic function of humbling the speaker is to raise the addressee. When the raised addressee in return chooses a humble expression in response, it lowers the current speaker and raises the current addressee. Thus, the Japanese principle of pragmatics is to swing like a seesaw. Speaking by humbling themselves with reference to their conversational partners results in establishing the status of the two as equal. This can be interpreted as a ritualized verbal art, geared toward maintaining and strengthening the bonds of relation in accordance with the value of modesty Japanese people share. This verbal art can be explained in terms of the linguistic ideology that can be traced back to the philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism, where one of the principal teachings is *muga* (無我), meaning 'no self'.

A series of discussions over 20 months at the Language Planning Commission led to the proposition of a new concept called *keii hyoogen* ('polite expression'), which is defined as expressions that are concerned with the participants and the setting. It is to be noted that the status of honorifics was discussed as follows: Honorifics play the central role, but are not the only expressions included in this concept. In other words, the concept includes other expressions that are defined as polite when examined in context. For example, when borrowing a book, one can make the utterance polite by either using honorifics as in (23), or by phrasing the request as a question as in (24).

(23)   *Go   hon   wo   o   kashi   kudasai.*
        HON   book   ACC   HON   lend   give-HON
        'Lend (me) (your) book.'
(24)   *Hon   wo   kashite   kureru   ka.*
        book   ACC   lend   give   Q
        'Will you lend (me) (your) book?'

The Language Planning Commission thus determined that polite expressions consist of at least two types, i.e., the one with honorifics and the one without using honorifics, even though in reality both types are mixed together as in (25).

(25)   Go-*hon   wo   o   kashi   kudasai   masu   ka.*
        HON-book   ACC   HON   lend   give-HON   ADD HON   Q
        'Would you do me the favor of lending (me) (your) book?'

The report described the functions of honorifics and other polite expressions as follows. Their function is twofold: first, to index the differences of status or role, the familiarity of the interlocutors, and the formality of the setting, and second to index how speakers want to present themselves in the context of speaking. The practice of appropriate indexing of the relationship of the speaker, the addressee, the referent, and the formality of the setting, as well as the speaker's position in context is the essence of the non-volitional aspect of linguistic politeness, which was introduced in Section 4 as *wakimae*.

It is to be noted that the appreciation of verbal performance is not determined by the speaker's own judgment. There is little room for speakers to use their own will, unless it is used for the purpose of producing creative meanings by transgression. Examples of such transgressions include irony, sarcasm, or contemptuous expressions created by being overly polite.

As long as speakers properly subsume themselves in the *ba*, a semantic space, their perception of elements of *ba* occurs automatically, just as actors act in an improvised drama, not by conscious analysis of the contextual elements and a calculation to match the context. This instant agreement of the language selection in alignment with elements of *ba* conforming with generally accepted belief should be explained in terms of ritualized practice in everyday life. It is in this way that a congenial and harmonious atmosphere is created by appropriate indexing of the participants and the formality of the setting in the shared space and time of the *ba* common to the participants involved. Since the criteria of appropriateness are shared in terms of shared values in the minds of the participants, appropriate verbal performance results in synergizing the perception and cognition of every participant in each *ba*, and thus results in making participants relaxed and comfortable in a harmonious atmosphere because of the alignment of the form in *ba*. In a society where harmony in *ba* is traditionally sought, as described in the first article of the first constitution founded by Prince Shoutoku in the 8th century, verbal perform-

ance creating harmony above and beyond the referential content has been maintained, even in contemporary society. Whether it is appropriate in the global community is the question to be posed.

7.   Conclusion

The academic tradition in linguistics has taken the objective perspective when looking at the linguistic and pragmatic phenomena in question, and examined them from an objective standpoint. This approach has resulted in detailed analyses and structural descriptions of intricate linguistic and pragmatic phenomena, leading to the discussion of theories of universals as well as highlighting the diversities of these phenomena. However, it puts the speaker of the language outside the conversational context. Most scholars working on honorific languages and address terms have dealt with these phenomena as though they were language devices to manipulate speech styles and registers.

However, what has been lacking in this approach is the inside perspective of the native speakers. Comprehensive explanations of how and why the honorifics and address terms are used in the everyday lives of the native speakers and what it means for the speakers to speak with honorifics would be possible if these phenomena were examined from the speakers' perspectives in the speech event.

It is from this stance that this chapter has focused on the discussion of the pragmatics of only one language, Japanese, the language of the authors. Furthermore, the logic of *ba* has been introduced to account for the mechanism of the inseparable relation of the linguistic signs the speakers use and the context of speaking, which is one of the problems that up to now has proved difficult to explain. Investigations of further languages that employ honorifics and other politeness systems will show the extent to which the concept of *ba* has more general applicability and explanatory power.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations used in glosses

ACC	accusative
ADD HON	addressee honorific
CON	connective particle
COP	copula
DAT	dative
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
HON COP	honorific copula
HUM HON	humble honorific
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PAST	past
Q	question
QT	quotative
REF HON	referent honorific
SUB	subject
SUP HON	super honorific
TOP	topic

Notes

1. The term "deference" instead of "respect" is used throughout in view of the nature of the honorific use in Japanese society. However, when the literal meaning of the Japanese word *sonkeigo* is mentioned, "respect/deference" is used.
2. Most of the literature in Japanese linguistics categorizes this kind of humbling form as *kenjoogo*. In 2007, the language section of the Cultural Commission issued a report concerning the new categorization of *kenjoogo*: *kenjoogo* I 'object honorifics' and *kenjoogo* II 'humble forms'.
3. The "Mr. O Corpus" is a cross-linguistic video corpus, collected under a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science for the project on "Empirical and theoretical studies on culture, interaction, and language in Asia" (No. 15320054).

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