

**Overt First and Second Person-Designating Terms
in Japanese Discourse
- A Pragmatic Perspective -**

Riikka Länsisalmi

The Graduate University for Advanced Studies

School of Cultural Studies

Department of Comparative Studies

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Transcription method

I utilise a modified Hepburn system for romanisation of the Japanese examples, unless conventionalised otherwise (e.g., names of Japanese cities in the Bibliography). Long vowels are written as two vowels, syllabic *n* is written *n* (unless it immediately precedes a vowel, in which case it is written *n'*). In presenting double consonants, before *cha*, *chi*, *cho* and *chu*, rather than adding an extra *c*, *t* is added.

List of Abbreviations

constr.	construction	S	subject marker
COP	copula	sg.	singular
DESI	desiderative	TENT	tentative
DO	direct object	TOP	topic marker
ex.	example(s)	voc.	vocative
FN	first name		
FP	sentence/clause-final particle		
fem.	feminine		
fn.	footnote		
gen.	genitive		
imp.	imperative		
interj.	interjection		
interr.	interrogative		
IO	indirect object		
Lat.	Latin		
LN	last name		
NEG	negative		
NN	nickname		
NOM	nominaliser		
NP	noun phrase		
PASS	passive		
PAST	past		
pers.	person		
pl.	plural		
POL	polite		
POSS	possessive		
Q	question marker		
QT	quotative marker		

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Prologue

When I first started attending Japanese classes out of curiosity, "just for fun", at the University of Helsinki more than a decade ago, little did I know that that whim would once bring me to Japan and--what would have been an unimaginable thought at the time--lead to my writing a dissertation in the field of Japanese linguistics. This dissertation is the fruit of my long and, certainly, eventful and inspirational stay in Japan. Its theme was born out of the frustration of a foreign learner before what can undoubtedly be called one of the most difficult aspects (one of the many!) of the Japanese language, the Japanese systems of address and reference. After years of attending classes, seminars and conferences, asking questions and trying to find answers to them, listening to native speakers of Japanese and devouring linguistic literature, collecting material for this work and analysing it, I still do not want to pretend that I am fully aware of all the aspects of these systems. But, what consoles my foreign learner's soul is that Japanese people are in a similar situation. Ask practically any native speaker, and you will certainly hear comments like "I try to avoid using this or that word because I really don't know how it should be used," "It's very difficult to address a person of this or that kind," and so forth.¹

The problems even native speakers have with the address and reference systems are no doubt related to the fact that, in Japanese, the manner in which one refers to oneself, a third person and, even more so, to one's addressee is not a laughing matter. Every time an overt term is used, social meaning is communicated simultaneously. This probably explains why so many Japanese people appear to be quite sensitive about how they are addressed. In the worst case, using a wrong term--or a right term in the wrong place--can have devastating consequences. Or what would you think about the following, authentic examples reported in the Japanese media?

¹ For more concrete examples, see Appendix.

1) *The Daily Yomiuri*, April 28, 1997:

(During the hostage crisis at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru, the Japanese ambassador to Peru Morihisa Aoki and seventy-one other highranking officials and corporate managers were held hostage by fourteen Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) rebels at the ambassador's residence for a period of 127 days.)

Aoki was furious when young MRTA members called him "Morihisa", [a former hostage] said. "I called your leader Cerpa commander," Aoki told them. After that, they began to call Aoki "Aoki Taishi Kakka" (Your excellency Ambassador Aoki) in Japanese.

2) *The Daily Yomiuri*, October 1995:

Troubleshooter

Passion flames over wife's dancing partner

I am 63 years old and recently separated from my wife because she is committing adultery. My wife enjoys dancing and attends classes twice a week.

I became suspicious of her relations with the men in her class after finding a letter from one of them addressed to her without an honorific title after her name. From the letter, he seems to be her confidant. I also came across a photograph showing my wife and another man looking quite happy together. . . .

Mr. A, Kanagawa Prefecture

3) NHK educational television, May 27, 1982, reported in Coulmas (1992: 299):

On May 30, 1975, Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Yamada, two young employees, went to a bar as they often did after a long work-day. They were colleagues. A couple of hours later, Mr. Yamada was dead.

What had happened? On the way home, under the influence of the alcohol consumed in the bar, Mr. Yamada had called his colleague *Tanaka-kun*. This made Mr. Tanaka so angry that he hit Mr. Yamada's head against the wall of the railway station where they were waiting for the train, causing him fatal injuries. This at least was Mr. Tanaka's explanation of the accident.

1. Introduction

1.1. General aim and scope of the study

It is common knowledge that in Japanese subjects can frequently be ellipted. This is the reason there is often no need for an overt term referring, for example, to the first or second person. Whereas in English, for example, elliptical styles in general seem to be linked to sociolinguistic values such as brusqueness, shared knowledge (solidarity), and emphasis (power) and intimacy (Fowler 1985: 71), in Japanese, ellipsis usually occurs in what is referred to as unmarked situations. Studies of ellipsis in Japanese abound, but the natural extension of such inquiries, namely, those aimed at answering the question "What do terms that are generally ellipted accomplish when they *are* present?" are fewer in number. The present study is intended to fill in some of the lacunae left by earlier research dealing with Japanese person-designating terms. Its focus is on general problems related to the occurrence of *overt* first and second person-designating terms in Japanese conversational discourse. The term "first and second person-designating terms" is used to refer to the words speakers employ to refer to themselves (first person) and to their addressees (second person) in discourse.¹

The purpose of my study is two-fold. First, I investigate the kind of pragmatic functions overt occurrences of first and second person-designating terms have in Japanese discourse. Second, strategic functions of these terms as markers of frame and footing shifts are examined. In the latter case, the main focus is on expressive shifts from unmarked or habitual usage to a marked form. Person-designating terms in Japanese comprise not only (so-called) personal pronouns, but also various other categories, such as (professional) titles, kinship terms, proper names, status terms, and so forth. In the case of personal pronouns, the point of view in this

¹ The terminology is derived from Ide (1979/1991), with the exception that I use the term "second person-designating term" to cover also vocative use (i.e., free forms of address). In addition, the following terms are used interchangeably with "first and second person-designating terms": "first and second person reference terms/referents/words", "terms referring to the first and second person/self and addressee/speaker and hearer/speaker and listener/speaker and interlocutor", etc. "Term of address" is also used occasionally in the second person, and, if not specified otherwise, it is intended to include also vocative terms. The multitude of terms is due to the fact that there seems to be little agreement in linguistic literature in general as to the definition and use of these terms. This has led some researchers to invent still new, different terms. I decided to hold on to already existing terms, and I believe problems with terminology in the present investigation can be avoided by keeping in mind the precisions discussed here.

study is that of deictics or exophora referring to an extra-linguistic situation. Thus, instead of examining the syntagmatic relations within speech sequences, I concentrate on the paradigmatic choices of pronouns and other person-designating terms.

My examination is carried out by analysing first and second person-designating term use in conversational interaction depicted in a number of Japanese films. Based on the data gathered from these films, my goal is to create a rough model of the pragmatic (conversational) and strategic functions of first and second person terms in Japanese conversation. I believe such a model could later be applied to the analysis of natural discourse as well. The approach I apply in my research is micro, or interactional, in its orientation and focuses on the function of given linguistic items in conversational discourse. The methodology is derived mainly from pragmatics, interactional analysis, frame analysis and the study of linguistic politeness, and it emphasises the fact that linguistic forms should always be analysed in a specific context. It concerns the discovery and description of the various methods, aims and strategies that speakers have in their disposition to engage in conversation. By looking at the functions that overt first and second person-designating terms and their shifts play in specific contexts in actual conversation, I wish to distance myself from the more "traditional" sociolinguistic view, focusing mainly on social factors. To put it differently, rather than examining what kinds of social factors (e.g., age, social status) regulate the choice and use of person-designating terms, I intend to take a look at the use of these terms in relation to their pragmatic functions in discourse and the moment-by-moment goals of the speakers employing them.

1.2. Description and analysis of data

Data for this study were gathered mainly from Japanese movies (five in total) and analysed with the help of a Japanese native speaker. Because of the visual character of films, I was also able to make use of nonverbal communication in my analysis. The analytic part (Chapter 6) of my dissertation is divided roughly in four main sections. It comprises sections treating bound forms of person-designating terms (first and second person), "intermediate" terms without the topic marker *wa* (first and second person), free forms of second person-

designating terms (vocatives) and their pragmatic functions, and first and second person-designating term changes as markers of shifts in frame and footing. Analysed terms include (so-called) personal pronouns, proper names with/without address suffixes or (professional) titles, professional titles with/without address suffixes, status terms, kinship terms, other pronouns and other common nouns.

First, I concentrate on person-designating terms which are generally required for sentence construction. In other words, I examine what can be referred to as bound forms of (first and second) person-designating terms (e.g., *Sensee no hon desu ka?* 'Is this your [teacher's] book?'). Following the definition presented by Braun (1988: 11) in the field of address form research, syntactically bound forms are considered to be integrated parts of sentences, whereas syntactically free forms generally occur "outside" the sentence construction (preceding/succeeding the sentence/inserted into the sentence).

Second, I address what can be referred to as "intermediate" forms, oscillating between bound and free forms, that is, first and second person terms which occur without the topic marker *wa* (e.g., *Michiko(,) iku no?* '[Michiko] are you going?'). Terms of this type are discussed in connection with politeness, male and female speech, and pragmatic functions related to their position in utterances.

Third, I discuss some problems concerning the occurrence of overt terms of address in Japanese. The main focus is on pragmatic functions of so-called free forms in conversational interaction. Free forms occur in the second person "outside" the sentence construction, and in the linguistic literature they are generally referred to as vocatives (e.g., *Tanaka-kun, ima nanji?* 'Tanaka, what time is it now?'). In the analysis, I apply a modified version of a typology of vocative functions set up for Spanish by Haverkate (1984) and analysing methods employed in politeness theory. I divide the functions Japanese vocatives have in conversational interaction into four groups: (1) attention-getting devices (with various subcategories), (2) substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices (with various subcategories), (3) allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects, and (4) (obligatory) honorific forms of address.

Fourth, I show that the Japanese do not always conform to their nearly automatic *wakimae*, or discernment (Ide et al. 1992), but that strategic uses of person-designation also exist. In this analysis, I employ the method of frame analysis and divide frame shifts in three subcategories: (1) frame-internal shifts, (2) frame-external shifts, and (3) overall (social) frame shifts. Mismatch of frames is also discussed with an illustrating example. The notion of 'frame' refers to a definition of what is occurring in interaction; without it interpretation of utterances would be impossible. When analysing shifts of person terms, in addition to the existing social relationship between the interactants, one must also take into account the frame(s) of the situation. At first it is necessary to examine what kinds of first and second person-designating terms the characters depicted in the films usually employ when speaking with other characters. If there is a shift to an unusual (marked) term--and it cannot be explained by sociolinguistic factors such as formality of the situation, for example--the shift may then be analysed as a marker of frame and/or footing shift. In order to comprehend a given utterance, the interlocutor (and the speaker) must know within which frame it is intended. An unusual person-designating term may therefore have the function of a signal: perhaps the speaker wishes to warn his/her interlocutor that the message following the unusual term should be interpreted outside the situational frame, for example as a joke. Since the concepts of frame (and footing) seem to be partially overlapping with the vocative category of allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects suggested by Haverkate, I propose that it might actually be easier to comprehend the functioning of terms belonging to this category within the framework of interactive frames.

1.3. Significance of the study

Traditionally, Japanese person-designating terms have been discussed in the fields of sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology, for example, but their pragmatic functions and, especially, their strategic roles in conversational interaction have been left largely unexamined. Sociolinguistic studies have generally relied on questionnaire surveys, and no one, to my knowledge, has yet attempted to analyse the use of overt first and second person-designating

terms systematically in Japanese discourse. For foreign learners, the use of personal referents in Japanese is one of the most difficult features of the language. Proper names and other terms of self and other reference in Japanese are, as Kondo (1990: 30-31) puts it, "clearly not the seemingly fixed essences they seem to be in English A striking feature of Japanese is that the indexical meanings, the way something is said, and what that in turn says about the relationship between speakers, are often far more important than the actual content of an utterance."

Moreover, linguists have tended to examine terms of address in Japanese without paying enough attention to the distinction between free and bound forms. The difference lies in the fact that bound forms are indispensable owing to their function as a part of the sentence construction, whereas free forms (of address) appear as independent constituents and can often be avoided or substituted by nonverbal communication. In reality, however, the distinction between bound forms and free forms is not quite that simple in Japanese. This is due to the fact that Japanese spoken language, as contrasted to written language, has a feature which makes clearcut distinctions between free forms and bound forms somewhat problematic: ellipsis of the topic particle *wa*. In the present study, analysis of data is preceded by a theoretical discussion concerning this topic.

Furthermore, although free forms of address (i.e., vocatives) obviously have functions other than just simple attention-getting, their study has never played an important role in linguistic research. The present investigation is in part an attempt to fill this void and to suggest a number of pragmatic functions for Japanese vocative terms. In addition to this, still another amendment to the study of Japanese person-designating terms is the meticulous micro-level analysis of shifts in both first and second person terms. It will be demonstrated that overt terms referring either to the speaker and, more often, to the hearer, can be employed strategically as powerful "tools" or "weapons" of communication, having a direct effect on the frame of the speech situation--in the most extreme case, on the overall social frame encompassing the interactants.

I wish that the present research will also have repercussions in the pedagogy of teaching Japanese as a foreign language. From my own experience I can say that, when teaching first

and second person-designating terms to foreign learners, Japanese language instructors tend to concentrate on only a few prescriptive forms such as *watashi*, *anata*, *xx-san* and *sensee*. The (so-called) personal pronouns, for example, are often presented without any further explanations as regards their actual use in conversation, resulting in unfortunate misunderstandings: the foreign learner (Westerner) ends up imagining that the Japanese pronouns correspond more or less to the pronouns of his/her mother tongue. S/he may learn that some forms should not be used when speaking to certain addressees, but the actual roles of these terms in natural interaction are left unexamined. By showing how Japanese first and second person terms function at the level of discourse--and how they can also be used strategically--I hope to be able to shed some more light on this difficult matter.

1.4. Organisation

In Chapter 2, following the Introduction, I introduce a number of studies carried out in related fields of linguistic research. This part is divided into two sections, the first (2.1) concentrating on previous studies dealing mainly with Western languages or studies carried out by Western researchers, and the second (2.2) on studies examining Japanese.

The first part of Chapter 3 (3.1) presents the sources and the data used in the analysis, and the latter part (3.2) discusses the methodology applied to the actual analysis of the data. Theoretical aspects, such as the concept of 'markedness' and person-deixis (indexicality), are included in the methodological discussion.

Chapter 4 addresses a number of general problems related to person-designating terms in Japanese. It is first pointed out that linguists tend to be extremely vague when dealing with these terms (4.1). It seems to be commonly agreed upon that overt person-designating terms are "somehow marked", they "mark special focus", or they are used for "informational reasons". What is left unspecified is how they are marked, what kind of special focus they mark and what are the informational reasons that require overt person-designating terms. In addition, the following concepts are discussed with a number of illustrating examples: 'person' in Japanese, *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group', 'group indexicality' and 'individual indexicality',

'intergroup communication' and 'intragroup communication' (4.2). Overt person-designating terms are also examined in relation to linguistic politeness (4.3). The final section addresses the issue of ellipsis (4.4).

In Chapter 5, I show that it is important to make a distinction between various kinds of person-designation terms (5.1). Address term research generally differentiates so-called bound forms of address from free forms of address (i.e., vocatives). However, as will be demonstrated, this dichotomy cannot be applied to Japanese terms occurring in conversational discourse without difficulties. An "intermediate" category of terms without the topic marker (*wa*) needs to be discussed separately. Previous studies dealing with omission of the topic marker with first and second person NPs are summarised in the second section of the chapter (5.2). The third section proposes an "intermediate" category for the categorisation of "*wa*-less" terms. In the case of Japanese, this category also includes first person terms. Moreover, theoretical aspects of "*wa*-less" terms are discussed from the viewpoint of a pragmatic analysis (5.3).

The second main part of my study, its analytic section, introduces my data and the methods used in the analysis of these data. Following an introductory section elaborating some aspects related to indexicality (6.1), it contains four main sections treating bound forms of person-designating terms (first and second person) (6.2), "intermediate" terms without the topic marker *wa* (first and second person) (6.3), free forms of second person-designating terms (vocatives) and their pragmatic functions (6.4), and first and second person-designating term changes as markers of shifts in frame and footing (6.5).

Finally, in Chapter 7, I assemble the main points of my analysis and suggest some topics for future research.

2. Previous studies on address and personal reference

2.1. The "Western" tradition

A number of linguistic directions in the West have taken a special interest in various aspects of personal pronouns. A classic study in the field is Benveniste (1966) on the nature of pronouns. Furthermore, the nature of pronouns and the concept of 'person' and everything it entails has been the focus of a multitude of studies and discussions throughout years and years of linguistic, philosophical, cultural/socio-anthropological, psychological and sociological inquiry. Personal pronouns have been examined, for example, from the perspective of typology and universals of personal pronouns, as exemplified by Head (1978), and another completely different approach has concentrated on the phenomenon of pronominalisation. Reviewing all the work done with respect to personal pronouns and 'person' in general would be an enormous task and is thus naturally out of the scope of the present study. Therefore, in this chapter I focus only on a limited number of linguistic fields relevant to the discussion of Japanese first and second person-designating terms that follows, namely, sociolinguistics (and cultural anthropology), conversation analysis (ethnometodology), pragmatics, and frame analysis.

To this time, address and reference have been studied mainly from a sociolinguistic and cultural anthropological point of view. In Western tradition, it is especially the system of second person address, or, more specifically, the analysis of two (or more) alternate forms of second person pronouns that has received a great deal of attention. Traditionally, these forms, generally abbreviated as T/V-forms after the French *tu* and *vous* (or Latin *tu* and *vos*), have been viewed at a macro- or societal level, characteristically aiming to account for an entire country or language.¹ A pioneering study in the field, conducted by Brown and Gilman (1960/1972), however, investigates second person pronouns in several Indo-European languages. Using methods such as interviews, questionnaire surveys and analysis of literary

¹ See, for example, Brown and Ford (1961/1964) for American English, Friedrich (1972) for Russian, Bates and Beghini (1975) for Italian, Paulston (1976/1984) for pronouns of address in Swedish, Lambert and Tucker (1976) for Spanish, etc.

works, they examined second person pronoun use in languages such as French, German, Italian and Spanish, discussing also the use of *you* and *thou* in Old English. The most essential of their findings is the theory of two semantics, power and solidarity, which were seen as governing factors in the use of address forms. The presence of nonreciprocal power relationship used to result in asymmetrical exchange of T/V-words, but more recently the solidarity factor has become dominant, resulting in symmetrical T-use in a solidary relationship and symmetrical V-use in a nonsolidary one.

Dimensions like *power*, *solidarity*, and the like, provide the basis also for another type of analysis: the computer flow-chart model employed by Ervin-Tripp (1972/1986). She uses a diagram to describe the decision-making process involved in address form choice. She points out, however, that the diagram is not intended to be taken as a model of the *actual* decision sequence involved in the process. Rather it represents a *logical model* to be interpreted in the manner of a formal grammar. Ervin-Tripp's model has since been adopted by several other linguists working with different languages. As will be shown later, it has also been used to examine Japanese ways of referring to the first and second person.

Brown and Gilman's work has stimulated a number of other studies employing questionnaires and sociological survey techniques, but the weakness of these studies lies in the fact that they tend to reflect the normative uses of address (and reference) terms. Respondents answer what they think *ought to* be answered instead of reporting how they *actually* use these terms. Studies have tended to focus on normative grammatical phenomena, particularly on pronoun choice from a given set of words. Thus variation, or, in other words, the moment-by-moment significance of pronoun (or other person-designating term) use is often left unexamined, in spite of the fact that, in reality, variation in address behaviour is naturally not an exception, but rather the rule.

In a consistent manner, the aspect of variation has been taken up only relatively recently by researchers such as Werner Winter with Friederike Braun and other members of their research group (see Braun et al. 1986 and Braun 1988). They consider the pronominal choice as part of a larger class of terms of address, constituting address behaviour. From a sociolinguistic point of view, speakers must choose between several grammatically correct

variants in a given conversational context and the variant chosen is considered to express social features of the relationship. Unfortunately, that mentioned above concerning previous studies on address behaviour holds true for Braun et al. as well: the biggest weakness of their work is the questionnaire + interview method. Since the investigator is not dealing with natural discourse, normative thinking often interferes, and the possible discrepancy between reported and actual behaviour remains an unfortunate but unavoidable fact (Braun 1988: 69-76). Of course one must admit that this method has also its advantages in that it can provide plenty of information without requiring an extensive command of the language in question from the investigator's part. It is also suited for a sociolinguistic investigation, for it guarantees enough information on the background of the informants. Nevertheless, given the simple fact that a questionnaire + interview method unavoidably forces the informant to detach him/herself from the *actual* context where s/he might be using any given term, in many cases, the results obtained by this method offer a relatively restricted view of the more "creative" and "imaginative" side of address behaviour.

For those interested in the more general aspects of addressing as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, discussions by Fasold (1990) and Adler (1978) are recommended. What comes to more specific topics in the area, Kramer (1975), for example, has examined sex-related differences in address systems, Ford (1974) has looked into the semantics of direct address pronouns in French, and Scotton and Wanjin (1983, 1984) have investigated certain Chinese terms of address in relation to language change. A favourite area of linguistic anthropology, kinship terminology, has also attracted a considerable number of researchers. See, for example, Kambe (1978; 1988) for kinship terms in Hungarian, Suzuki (1970) for kinship terms in English, Schneider and Homans (1955) for kinship terminology and the American kinship system, and so forth. A more detailed listing can be found in a bibliography of sociolinguistic studies of personal address collected by Philipsen and Huspek (1985).

Yet another totally different approach to the analysis of terms of address has been offered by conversation analysis (ethnomethodology). Pioneered by Sacks, conversation analysis looks for representations of somewhat fixed techniques participants in a conversation

have at their disposal for working out conversations (as social objects).² Apart from Sacks, in particular such analysts as Schegloff and Jefferson could be named in this context. Schegloff (1968/1986) has worked on the role of address terms in sequencing in conversational openings and summonses, and Jefferson (1973) has examined overlapped tag-position address terms in closing sequences. Moreover, Sacks et al. (1974) have investigated the systematics of turn-taking in conversation and the role of address terms therein, and, together with Schegloff, Sacks (1979) has addressed the question of minimisation and recipient design in conversation. One of the basic differences between the sociolinguistic orientation and conversation analysis is the importance put on the context by the latter. Typically, conversation analysts work on genuine conversations and they stress the fact that linguistic items should be analysed in the specific contexts where they occur. Everything that is said has a structurally determined location in a conversational sequence, it is to be related to what was said previously and it will have an effect on what will be said afterwards.

The importance of analysing language use in a specific context is emphasised also by Seppänen (1989a, b), for example, who has investigated speaker and hearer reference in Finnish conversational interaction. She further attempts to link her interpretations of first and second person term choice to theories of politeness as presented by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). Politeness theories have been considered also by Hakulinen (1987) who has addressed the issue of personal reference avoidance in Finnish.

Still, one field of linguistics that needs to be addressed in this connection is pragmatics. Haverkate (1984), who has focused on peninsular Spanish, has approached speaker and hearer reference from a pragmatic perspective. He links manifestations of varying types of speaker (first person) and hearer (second person) reference terms to linguistic strategies and suggests a three-partite typology for their classification. According to Haverkate, what he calls "standard expressions" should be distinguished from those expressions that are used either to focalise or defocalise the speaker or the hearer. He further takes a look at vocative second person terms in Spanish and proposes a set of functions that these terms can be interpreted as performing in

² For more details, see *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* by Pergamon Press, vol. 2, pp. 942-944.

conversational interaction in general. How these functions can be applied to Japanese spoken discourse in order to comprehend the role of Japanese vocative terms as well will be demonstrated later in the present investigation.³

Finally, one more area of linguistics that needs to be pointed out in this context--before proceeding to examination of research done on Japanese--is the adaptation of frame analysis to the study of discourse. The recent important work in this field is Tannen (1993), but the concept of frames itself has its origin in the work of Bateson (1972) and Goffman (1974). Bateson demonstrated that any message would be impossible to interpret correctly without "reference to a superordinate message about how the communication is intended" (Tannen 1984: 23). This superordinate message can be evidenced for example by paralinguistic and prosodic features. In other words, not only is it necessary to know *what* is communicated, but one also has to pay attention to *how* that "what" is communicated. What is of interest from the standpoint of the present study is that, as demonstrated by Hoyle (1993), also shifts in such ordinary elements as terms of address and reference can be seen as cues to "what is actually going on" when examining framing and participation structure in discourse. The present research will show that this method can be adapted also to Japanese spoken discourse in order to understand the motivations behind shifts in first and second person terms.⁴

2.2. The Japanese tradition

Much more could still be said about studies on address and reference forms in the West, but let us now briefly examine what has been done in regard to Japanese. It must be said that although address and reference terms in African languages or indigenous languages of the Western hemisphere have received much less attention than their European counterparts, more has been written about Asian languages. As examples, Fasold (1990: 30-36) mentions Chinese and Javanese, and, as will be shown in this section, also the Japanese language has been the subject of a considerable amount of research.

³ See Section 6.4.

⁴ See Section 6.5.

The question of whether or not Japanese has a separate category of personal pronouns has been a favourite topic throughout years of linguistic inquiry. I do not intend to go into details here, but discussions and previous studies on the same issue can be found for example in Hinds (1971). Also Sugamoto (1989) has addressed the issue of pronominality in Japanese and suggests a scalar view (noun-pronoun continuum) for the analysis of nouns and so-called pronouns. Other studies include, for example, Sakuma's (1983) classic work which highlights the relationship between personal pronouns and deictic demonstratives (proximal *ko-*, mesial *so-*, distal *a-* and indeterminate *do-*).

Another favourite field of study in Japanese has been pronominalisation, as seen from the viewpoint of anaphora. Hinds (e.g., 1977, 1978) has been a prominent figure in the study of Japanese pronouns and their anaphoric functions, and he has authored papers on pronominalisation in relation to paragraph structure in Japanese discourse. Furthermore, Hamada (1983) has investigated referential choices in Japanese folktales from the perspective of theme, subject and ellipsis, while Clancy (1980) has taken a contrastive approach and compared referential choice in Japanese and English discourse.

In this connection it should be pointed out that for me one of the motivations for the choice of the present research theme was the fact that, as I see it, anaphora cannot sufficiently explain why overt terms referring to the speaker and hearer occur in Japanese conversation and how they are chosen. It is rather the deictic functions of these terms that should be addressed when working with spoken language and face-to-face interaction. As Kondo (1990: 29) remarks in relation to terms referring to the first person,

... the plethora of available "I's" throws into relief the multiple ways people present themselves and their identities in particular situations. You are not an "I" untouched by context, rather you are defined by the context. One could argue that identity and context are inseparable, calling into question the very distinction between the two. In more technical, linguistic terms, a case could be made that identity in Japan is not linked to the use of pronouns as anaphora, where the "I" stands for a proper noun that has been registered in discourse.

Distanced from the specific discussion concentrating on personal pronouns, 'person' as a more general concept in Japanese has attracted cultural anthropologists, psychiatrists, sociologists and linguists, both in Japan and abroad. To name a few having a special focus on the Japanese language, Włodarczyk (1996) examines the concept of 'person' in Japanese with respect to politeness, Kondoo (1987) in relation to honorific verb forms and such deictic verbs as 'come' and 'go', Koizumi (1990) with reference to demonstratives in a number of languages, and Nitta (1991) from the viewpoint of modality.

'Person' seen in the framework of social deixis (and indexicals) represents still another approach. Theories associated with this line of study have been offered, for example, by Bachnik (1982, 1986, 1994), Wetzel (1984, 1985, 1994) and Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990). Bachnik (1982) has approached the matter from the point of view of the definition of 'self', 'person' and 'deixis' in Japanese discourse. She points out that while in Indo-European languages the focus of the contrast between 'I' and 'you' could be defined as 'I' and 'you', in Japanese the main focus is on the mutuality between the two: 'I' and 'you'. Thus, if the relationship between speaker and hearer is considered to be a cline or a continuum between 'self' and 'other', in Japanese the focus is on the *continuum*, resulting in an "open-ended" or "variable" self (ibid., 10, 26). In discourse, reference to person is defined by the mutual "locating" of the participants, which, in turn, depends on how they have defined their respective relationships in each specific situation. The factors involved in the choice of reference terms--and, more generally, "honorifics", "polite forms", and "speech levels"--are usually assumed to be social, such as sex, age, status, and so on. These factors, then, can also be used to communicate social distance by their use as features to locate the participants on a deictic axis (ibid., 27-29).

The point Wetzel (1994) wishes to make appears to be similar to the views presented by Bachnik. That is, the Indo-European paradigm of first, second and third person, with the individual as a deictic anchor point, is rather ill-suited to Japanese. Instead, what seems to be more crucial is the *uchi/soto* 'in-group/out-group' distinction with *uchi*, and not the ego, as the deictic anchor point. *Uchi/soto* distinctions can be signaled by nominal reference to *uchi*, but

more frequently they appear in verbs of giving and receiving or in polite forms. Thus, Wetzel argues, most deictic reference in Japanese is carried out by verb forms, and "it may be said . . . that Japanese verb forms obligatorily 'conjugate' for *uchi/soto* in much the same way that Indo-European languages conjugate for person" (ibid., 83). As the work of Bachnik, Wetzel and Mühlhäusler and Harré will be referred to later in the present study, further details are not discussed here.

Japanese terms of address and reference have also been studied intensively within the fields of (cultural/linguistic) anthropology and sociolinguistics, starting with the anthropological boom in the 1950's and 1960's, which concentrated mainly on kinship terminology. To name a few of the earlier studies, for example Befu and Norbeck (1958) examined Japanese kinship terms used in address, and, in another paper having a more restricted theme, the same writers (Norbeck and Befu 1958) discussed what they referred to as fictive kinship in Japan. Other papers of this tradition include, among others, those of Norbeck (1963) and Passin (1966), as well as Fischer's (1964) examination of terms used in the family, and Watanabe's (1978) paper on kinship terms throughout Japan. Also Tani has contributed to the anthropological discussion by a number of papers, including one on the methodology of address terms research in general (1979), and Voegelin and Yamamoto (Voegelin et al. 1977) have examined first and second person pronoun choice and interpretation in what they call "presuppositional culture spaces". Rural uses of address and reference in a community in northwestern Japan have been investigated by Imamura (1987).

A more sociolinguistic interest in the topic appeared in the 1970's with the numerous publications by Suzuki (1971, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1982). Although his earlier works were aimed rather at the general public than the academic circles, his observations have been cited repeatedly in linguistic studies dealing with address and reference in Japanese. One of the points made by Suzuki (1978: 115) has been what he considers as the overemphasis of the role of so-called personal pronouns in Japanese.⁵ He has been criticising the "Western approach" adopted by a number of Japanese scholars, which has led them to overemphasise the significance of terms seen as personal pronouns in Japanese. Most European languages are

⁵ Cf. Bachnik and Wetzel above.

identical in the respect that they, in a way, "label" the participants of discourse using the formulae "first person = speaker" and "second person = addressee". When examined in this light, Japanese seems to have a multitude of personal pronouns, first person including such forms as *watakushi*, *watashi*, *boku*, *ore*, etc., and second person comprising *anata*, *kimi*, *omae*, and the like. This, according to Suzuki, has led many Japanese scholars astray.

Although Suzuki has, without doubt, been the most influential contributor to the discussion of address and personal reference in Japanese, his studies lack one important point: situational variation is left unexamined. His theoretical model seems to be based on the usage of a hypothetical 40-year-old male elementary school teacher (Suzuki 1973, 1976) and in one of his studies, he (Suzuki 1976: 256) states that "in those cases where multiple responses were offered for the same situation (i.e., the same category of speech partner) I have selected only the first, instant response". This "first, instant response" usually turns out to be equal to the prescriptive form.

Also in other studies related to Japanese first and second person-designating terms the sociolinguistic point of view prevails. Jinnai (1986) adopted Ervin-Tripp's method and used a computer flow chart to analyse vocative terms in Japanese, and Ishikawa et al. (1986) used the same model to describe the system of Japanese address terms from a wider perspective. In the latter paper, several categories of address terms and factors leading to the selection of a given term were presented, but the unfortunate fact is that the flow chart turned out to be extremely complicated and somewhat hard to interpret. Another shortcoming is that only literary material was used as a source for the investigation.

Other researchers have focused on slightly more detailed topics. Kurokawa (1972) and Russell (1981) examined the distribution of second person pronoun use according to the sex of the speaker, whereas Mochizuki (1980) concentrated on the "variants for 'I'", that is, terms referring to the first person. Peng (with Kagiya 1973) has investigated pronoun use by school children and has compared American and Japanese address behaviour (Peng 1982). Ide (1979/1991) has studied children's speech from a contrastive standpoint. Using Ervin-Tripp's flow chart description, she analysed person references of Japanese and American children. Contrastive studies have been carried out also with other languages except English. Asian

languages, for example Chinese and Thai (e.g., Chirasombutti 1995 on first person terms), have been contrasted with Japanese, but also "minor" European languages have gained some attention: Kambe (1988) carried out a contrastive study of "personal pronouns, personal names and kinship terms" (ibid., 174) of Hungarian and Japanese, and Länsisalmi (1997) examined pragmatic (communicative) functions of vocatives in Japanese and Finnish. Takenoya (1995), on the other hand, has compared address term use by Japanese native speakers to that of American learners of Japanese.

Other, more general accounts of Japanese person terms have been provided by such scholars as Martin (1975), Kanemaru (1993) and Garnier (1993), to name only a few. Surveys with general frameworks have been undertaken for example by Bunkachoo (*Kokugo ni Kansuru Seron Choosa* 1995). The National Language Research Institute has also addressed the issue in a number of studies, for example in an examination dealing with honorific language use in companies (*Kigyoo no Naka no Keego* 1982). Furthermore, Ozaki (1996) has examined the use of first and second person-designating terms in a survey carried out by the National Language Research Institute on honorifics at school. Discussions on first and second person terms have been incorporated in larger frameworks of honorifics and politeness (and pragmatics) as well. Bunkachoo (*Taiguu Hyoogen* 1971), Harada (1976), Ide (1982) and Neustupny (1990) could be named in this context. Hijirida and Sohn (1983) have raised the issue of commonality and relativity in address and reference term use, and Loveday (1986) has offered an interesting example of address and reference term analysis done from an ethnographic perspective. A historical point of view has been offered by Ikegami (1972) who concentrated on the change of so-called Japanese personal pronouns throughout history. The complexity of Japanese systems of address and reference has certainly been one of the reasons for their popularity as a topic of sociolinguistic and anthropological research, and the list presented here could no doubt be extended even further.

Nevertheless, more work on overt first and second person-designating terms *occurring in conversational interaction* is needed. This becomes even more evident if one considers the kind of contribution that has actually been made to the understanding of conversational Japanese by the approach referred to as discourse grammar (*danwa no bunpoo*) and discourse

structure (*damva no koozoo*). Kuno (e.g., 1982a) has been a prominent figure in this area, but despite the adoption of the term 'discourse', this orientation does not manage to account for the issues addressed in the present research in a sufficient way. Given the fact that Kuno often relies on short and detached sentences he fabricates himself, his discourse grammar could probably be characterised as a mechanic formalist approach which attempts to "read off quite general discursive norms from imagined or invented texts, as though discourse were less of a social phenomenon and more a formal system in its own right" (McHoul 1994: 942). Although the present investigation is based on an analysis of spoken Japanese as depicted in Japanese films and, in that sense, may also be distinguished from genuine naturally occurring spoken language, I believe that the picture that emerges from this kind of examination of longer excerpts can be better used as a general model for representing Japanese spoken interaction.

3. Data and methods

3.1. Description of data

3.1.1. Sources for data

Data for the present study was collected from dialogues appearing in the following five Japanese films (and film scripts) :

- 1) Itami, Juuzoo 1985. *Osooshiki*. (Juuzoo Itami 1985. *Shinario "Osooshiki" & "Osooshiki Nikki"*: 5-155, Tokyo: Kabushiki Kaisha Bungee Shunjuu.) (O)¹
- 2) Kinoshita, Keesuke 1952. *Karumen Junjoosu*. (Ed. Tadao Satoo 1975. *Kyakuhon Nihon Eega no Meesaku*: 67-118, Tokyo: Fuutoosha.) (K)
- 3) Kurosawa, Akira 1960. *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*. (Akira Kurosawa 1988. *Zenshuu Kurosawa Akira*, 5: 1-68, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.) (W)
- 4) Ozu, Yasujiroo 1951. *Bakushuu*. (Ed. Kazuo Inoue 1993. *Ozu Yasujiroo Sakuhinshuu*, 4: 4-64, Tokyo: Rippuu Shoboo.) (B)
- 5) Ozu, Yasujiroo. 1962. *Sanma no Aji*. (Ed. Kazuo Inoue. 1993. *Ozu Yasujiroo Sakuhinshuu* 4: 323-369, Tokyo: Rippuu Shoboo, 323-369.) (S)

In the case that discrepancies exist between the actual film dialogues and those appearing in the film scripts, examples were taken from the film dialogues. The English translations for the analysed examples are the author's, except for Kurosawa's *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* for which the translation *The Bad Sleep Well* (Ba) by Don Kenny (1971) was used.

It should be noted that conversational interaction as depicted in films differs to some extent from actual, naturally occurring conversation. Film dialogues are created by script writers, often linguistically gifted persons who can spend a considerable length of time in the writing process. Moreover, dialogues occurring in films are for a large part responsible for the progression of the film's plot. Therefore, compared to "idle chat", they usually have to be more

¹ With the examples that follow, abbreviations in paranthesis will be used to refer to the films from which examples were taken.

"meaningful" in the sense that they add to the advancement of the plot. In Burton's (1980: 4) terms: "The truth is that nobody speaks at all like the characters in any novel, play, or film. Life would be intolerable if they did; and novels, plays and films would be intolerable if the characters spoke as people do in life."

However, despite these obvious disadvantages, there are several reasons which support the choice of film dialogues as research material. The most evident reason is simply their availability. Recording and transcribing naturally occurring conversation is very difficult. This is especially true for a non-Japanese researcher, because the mere presence of a non-Japanese person would most probably alter the quality of conversation.² Given the fact that the aim of this study is to consider the manner in which such ordinary discourse elements as overt terms referring to the speaker and the hearer function in conversational interaction and *not* a deeper analysis of discourse structure or anything of that nature, it is probably justifiable to assume that film dialogues can offer a relatively trustworthy source. Furthermore, because one of the main focuses of the present analysis is the unmarked/marked (habitual/non-habitual) distinction of person-designating terms (occurring in particular relationships), film material was deemed more suitable than naturally occurring talk. This is due to the fact that these kinds of shifts do not necessarily take place frequently in natural discourse, and therefore it would certainly be a formidable task to capture real-life examples of this type on tape. With regard to this point, allow me to quote Burton (*ibid.*), who has summarised some of the benefits of using playscripts as research material (but whose arguments could also be suited for film scenarios):

... playscripts ... are an extremely rich source for the conversational analyst, who is ultimately interested in accounting for and describing the structures and sociolinguistic constraints that are the rules for naturally occurring conversations (*ibid.*, 101). ... Drama scripts are markedly tidied-up versions of talk, adhering closely to the two rules that Sacks declares are the most basic conversational rules available ... : 'one party speaks at a time' and 'speaker change recurs'. Many of the problems inherent in recordings and transcripts of naturally occurring talk are therefore not present. ... Discovering what is happening in [the dramatists'] edited naturalistic-sounding or

² Cf. 'foreigner talk'.

absurd talk may well offer guidelines towards the ultimate task of working out rules that operate in real casual conversations (ibid., 115).

Finally, in contrast to literary and auditory material, visual material naturally has the advantage of allowing the observation of nonverbal communication. Taking nonverbal communication into account is often of utmost importance when analysing first and second person-designating term use.

The reasons for choosing the aforementioned five films are both linguistic and practical. First, limiting a linguistic analysis to the work of one script writer (and director) only would be precarious, as some linguistic aspects of the scripts would certainly be influenced by the writer's (and director's) personal style and preferences. Therefore, it is important to include dialogues created by several writers in such analyses. The chosen films are also cherished and highly acclaimed by the Japanese audience, a further indication that they reflect the Japanese way of life and thinking in a realistic manner. Furthermore, the dialogues depicted in the above-mentioned five films represent a fairly wide variety of situations and characters of different ages, backgrounds and relationships, and thus reflect various types of first and second person-designating term use. Situations depicted in the films range from extremely formal and ritualistic talk, for example at wedding receptions and funerals, to conversations between family members and close friends. They include discussions taking place in the hierarchical context of companies, conversations between people who meet for the first time or (sometimes accidentally) after a long period of time, arguments, jokes, serious talk, formal speeches, interviews, interrogations, and so forth. Moreover, for the most part, the language employed in these films is considered to represent the standard variant, and there is also a progression in time from the early 1950's to the mid-1980's. From the purely practical point of view, for analytic purposes it was necessary for the films to be available in video form, and it was also of great importance to have access to the film scenarios.

3.1.2. Analysed terms

The terms investigated in the film dialogues belong to several categories which are briefly described here. As there exist numerous detailed accounts concerning how these terms are (or should be) used by speakers of Japanese, the present discussion will be kept relatively short. Those who wish to have more information on the actual uses of these terms can find relevant references in the Bibliography.

1) Personal pronouns

As mentioned above, the question of whether or not Japanese has an independent category of personal pronouns has been a controversial topic in Japanese linguistics, and researchers appear to be divided on this issue.³ Some make no distinction between nouns and so-called personal pronouns (and other pronouns) (e.g., Garnier 1994: 29; Kiyose 1995: 16; Suzuki 1978: 115; Teramura 1982: 60), while others prefer to employ nonstandard terms, such as "person terms" (Bachnik 1982: 1) or "*ninshoo meeshi*" 'personal nouns' (Takubo 1997: 14), instead of "personal pronouns", and still others simply speak of a class of Japanese personal pronouns with no reference to any possible unsettled questions concerning this topic (e.g., Takenoya 1995: 33).⁴ The latter generally consider Japanese to have an extremely high number of personal pronouns, from which a speaker of Japanese must select the most appropriate in any given situation, "taking into consideration the relations existing between [the first person] and [the second person], those of kinship, familiarity, superiority-inferiority etc." (Kambe 1988: 179). Although I have adopted the standard term "personal pronoun" in the present study, the reader should keep in mind that linguistic entities covered by this term in Japanese do not correspond wholly to personal pronouns in English, for example. More details will follow below.

³ See also Section 6.2.

⁴ See also Sugamoto's (1989) view of a noun-pronoun continuum.

Figure 1: Gender distinction in pronominal forms (1)

first person:

	Formal	↔		Informal
Male speaker	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>boku</i>	<i>ore</i>
Female speaker	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>atakushi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>atashi</i>

adapted from Shibatani (1990: 371) and Ide (1982: 358)

The above figure is based on Shibatani (1990: 371) and Ide (1982: 358), and it displays the most common pronominal forms in the first person. It could be further specified and complemented as follows: *watakushi* (very formal for men; less so for women); *watashi* (formal for men, but average for women; the standard word from a prescriptive point of view); *atakushi* (rare for men; sounds snobbish for women); *atashi* (chiefly for women; colloquial); *ware* (archaic); *washi* (non-standard; chiefly for men; regarded as characteristic of an old generation); *boku* (exclusively for men; prescriptively, not recommended when talking to a social superior)⁵; *ore* (exclusively for men; colloquial); *ora* (non-standard) (Harada 1976: 511).

Figure 2: Gender distinction in pronominal forms (2)

second person:

	Formal	↔		Informal
Male speaker	<i>anata</i>		<i>kimi anta</i>	<i>omae</i>
Female speaker	<i>anata</i>			<i>anta</i>

adapted from Shibatani (1990: 371)

This figure is again adapted from Shibatani (1990: 371), and it displays the most common pronominal forms used in the second person. The following specifications could be

⁵ Interestingly, *boku* can also be used as a second person-designating term when addressing a young boy. Fischer (1970: 111) explains that this is done for instructional purposes. (I have also witnessed a case in which *boku* was used as a second person-designating term from a middle-aged female professor when addressing her student, a young man in his late twenties.) The same is possible with *watashi*, which can be employed as a second person-designating term when addressing young girls. For details, see, for example, Suzuki (1978: 146), Hinds (1978: 168) and Takubo (1997: 32).

added: *anata* (standard and polite, but not used to refer to social superiors), *anta* (informal), *sochira* (polite and very formal), *sotchi* (colloquial), *kimi* (chiefly used by men to refer to men of equal or lower social status), *omae* (informal and colloquial, somewhat pejorative), *kisama* and *temee* (both are derogatory and very impolite) (Harada 1976: 511).⁶

The terms noted above are all singular forms, and plural forms can be obtained by adding one of the following suffixes: *-tachi*, *-gata*, *-ra*, *-domo*. Harada (ibid., fn. 11) explains the differences between these suffixes as follows: "*-gata* is an honorific plural marker suffixable only to an item ending in *-ta*; *-domo* is a pejorative plural marker and is, hence suffixable to most first person items and some second or third person items; *-tachi* and *-ra* are the commonest suffixes, but their suffixability is governed by principles that are as yet unclear. It is important to see, incidentally, that these suffixes are, strictly speaking, not markers of plurality, but, rather, equivalent to the English phrase '... and the ilk'." The same idea is shared by Hinds (1978: 140), who attests that these suffixes generally "indicate a grouping rather than a pluralization". However, Hinds (ibid., 179) mentions also (in a footnote) that the suffix *-tachi* often corresponds to the English plural marker *-s*, in particular in conversational contexts.⁷ The view supported by Harada and Hinds is contested by Takubo (1997: 17-18), who claims that whereas the suffix *-tachi* should, indeed, be interpreted as something like 'Tanaka and the like' (Tanaka, in a way, having the role of the representative of "his" group) when occurring with proper names, as in *Tanaka-san-tachi*, with (what is here referred to as) personal pronouns⁸ the same *-tachi* does, in fact, mark plurality. Thus *kimi-tachi* does not stand for 'a specified "you" and the like', portraying one's particular addressee as a representative of a group of addressees. Rather, it could be likened to the plural *you* in English.

Actually, lists of (so-called) personal pronouns compiled by other researchers may differ from those presented above. To some extent, the terms which should and should not be

⁶ Lately *kare* 'he' and *kanojo* 'she', generally considered as third person pronouns, seem to occasionally be used in the second person as well. I have also been addressed *kanojo* by a young employee at a hair dresser's. According to Suzuki (1987: 84), it is often young people who have had experiences of being referred to as *kare* or *kanojo* by unknown people. See also Hinds (1978: 168) and Takubo (1997: 37).

⁷ According to Hinds (1978: 140), Japanese has only two personal pronouns which indicate "strict plurality": *wareware* 'we' ("a rather militant sounding pronoun", generally used in order to express "a feeling of national unity") and *karera* 'they'.

⁸ Takubo (1997) prefers the notion *ninshoomeeshi* 'personal noun'.

included appears to be an unsettled issue in Japanese linguistics. In reality, the number of terms that could be included in the category of personal pronouns is larger than that represented by the above lists. Furthermore, non-standard variants of Japanese may display other terms or different uses of the aforementioned terms. For example, a female first person pronoun *atai*, which was used repeatedly in one of the films used as a source for data in this study, does not appear in the lists provided by Shibatani, Ide and Harada. Other terms not found in the lists but which appear in the film dialogues include *uchi* (lit. 'my/our house/home') and *kotchi* (lit. 'here, this way')⁹ in singular and *wareware* in plural for first person reference, and *otaku(-sama)* (lit. 'your house/home') and *omee* (generally a vulgar variant of *omae*) in singular for second person reference.¹⁰

It should also be pointed out, of course, that what is usually referred to as "personal pronouns" in Japanese is characteristically quite different from the personal pronouns in European languages, for example. If one examines such personal pronouns of address as the English *you*, the German *du*, *ihr*, *Sie*, the French *tu*, *vous*, or the Finnish *sinä*, *te*, one finds that they usually cannot be traced back to words with more lexical meanings by the average language user.¹¹ Their most prominent feature is their deictic component (Braun 1988: 257). As for the so-called Japanese personal pronouns, etymologically most of them are derived from regular nouns and they are, as Quinn (1994: 45) puts it, "symbols-turned-indexes". The indexical use of terms like *watakushi* 'I' (originally 'private, personal'), *boku* 'I' ('humble servant') or *kimi* 'you' ('prince, emperor') was originally motivated by the terms' symbolic

⁹ A more formal variant, *kochira*, can also be heard frequently in spoken Japanese, in particular on the phone. It is curious that Harada includes *sochira* and *sotchi* in his lists of second person pronouns, but makes no mention of *kochira* and *kotchi* in the first person. It should also be noted that some researchers prefer to treat terms of this type as a separate category of demonstratives or demonstrative phrases. As Kambe (1988: 182) remarks: "The Japanese language has many kinds of 'pronoun-like' units such as several kinds of demonstratives and demonstrative phrases. They fulfil the same function as personal pronouns in denoting and individual . . ." See also Coulmas (1982: 213-214).

¹⁰ It should be noted in this connection that both *uchi* and *taku* can actually be used in reference to the first and second person. When used in addressing, they take the honorific prefix *o-*, as in *o-uchi* and *o-taku*, while self-reference yields *uchi* and *taku* without the honorific prefix. Suzuki (1987: 82) reports that the use of *o-taku* in second person reference originated among young people involved in business after the Second World War. Now the term is used extensively, and for example policemen are instructed to employ it in polite speech to their addressees.

¹¹ However, some of these pronouns can, of course, be analysed into semantic features such as 'masculine'/'feminine', etc.

value (ibid., fn. 11).¹² Other terms include extensions from spatial deictics, such as *anata* 'you' ('direction away from speaker') or *omae* 'you' ('honored-infront').

It should also be kept in mind that these forms are not free variants. In fact, their use is actually extremely limited in that they constitute a part of the honorific system and thus depends on the level of speech. As a rule, so-called second person pronouns cannot be used to address a person of higher status, and proper nouns or titles must be substituted instead. It is interesting that Japanese speakers frequently admit that using some of these terms can prove to be extremely problematic. In fact, I have heard several people confess that they try to avoid using words like *anata* altogether.¹³ Although *anata* may be heard in conversations between equals or it can be employed by a higher status speaker when addressing a lower status addressee (and in reference to the reader in questionnaires and the like), it cannot be used when addressing a social superior. This is due to the fact that employing a personal pronoun in Japanese is considered to be an extremely direct way of referring to the interlocutor--much too direct, if one is addressing a social superior with whom one should maintain an appropriate polite distance (Ide 1982: 123). Furthermore, Russell (1981: 126-127) documents that, when asked whether they feel a 'vertical relationship' (*joogekankee*) when pronouns *anata*, *anta*, *kimi* and *omae* are being used, her informants (seventy university students) reported the following: A vertical relationship was felt with the use of *anata* by 46,2% of female (f) informants and by 48,3% of males (m). The percentages for *anta*, *kimi* and *omae* were higher: *anta*: 66,7% (f) and 69% (m); *kimi*: 89,7% (f) and 75,9% (m); *omae*: 100% (f) and 75,9% (m).¹⁴ Thus, when addressing social superiors, rather than personal pronouns, names with suffixes, (professional) titles, kinship terms and the like are appropriate.¹⁵ Another point that should be made here is that zero forms (or zero representations) are also possible--or rather, generally seen as the norm in what is referred to as unmarked situations. This topic will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.

¹² The notion of *indexicality* is used when examining expressions whose significance cannot be understood by the listener unless s/he is present at the actual occasion of their use. See Sections 3.2.4 and 6.1. for more details.

¹³ As Reynolds (1986/1991: 144, fn. 9) points out, *anata* was used as an offensive term to university professors by politically radical students in the early 1970's.

¹⁴ To give a concrete example of the idea of a 'vertical relationship' contained in these terms, Reynolds (1986/1991: 142) reports on a woman "who stipulated prior to her marriage the condition that the prospective husband would never call her *omae* . . . a condition which has been observed by her husband for more than 20 years".

¹⁵ Exceptions to this "rule" will be discussed later.

Moreover, nonreciprocal use is common, and, when compared for example with English, the Japanese system of referring to self and others seems extremely rigid and rather static.¹⁶

According to Ishikawa et al. (1986: 140) and Suzuki (1976: 257; 1978: 131), the prototype of nonreciprocal usage can be found in the family, from where it has extended to social situations outside the family unit.

If the number of terms generally considered as personal pronouns in Modern Japanese seems large, a brief diachronic survey reveals that what is left of so-called personal pronouns today is actually a very restricted number when compared to Old, Middle or Early Modern Japanese. As Miller (1967: 341) puts it: "The total inventory [of "personal pronouns"] reaches formidable proportions at any stage in the history of the language, and when taken all together in a diachronic survey it is truly overwhelming." Thus Miller (*ibid.*, 342) offers a list¹⁷ including 6 terms referring to the speaker ("forms for speaker") in Old Japanese, 3 in Late Old Japanese, 6 in Early Middle Japanese, 12 in Late Middle Japanese, and 14 in Early Modern Japanese (and 11 in Modern Japanese). Terms referring to the addressee ("forms for person spoken to") are as numerous: 6 in Old Japanese, 9 in Late Old Japanese, 7 in Early Middle Japanese, 16 in Late Middle Japanese, and a total of 23 in Early Modern Japanese (and 7 in Modern Japanese¹⁸). The number of second person pronouns suggested by Russell (1981: 117) is even more impressive; according to her, a total of approximately 110 personal pronouns were in use in the Edo Period (1603-1867). However, an individual speaker did not employ the entire range of existing second person pronouns. Rather, s/he was limited to a certain set of pronouns depending on his/her social class. Thus, in spite of the large number of terms, the usage of personal pronouns was actually more simple in the Edo period than in present times, in which speakers are obliged to select an appropriate term from a paradigmatic set (Kurokawa 1972: 236).

¹⁶ In American English, progression from an initial reciprocal title + last name address to a reciprocal address by first name alone can be carried out in less than five minutes (Brown and Ford 1961/1964). Peng (1982: 77) presents similar models for Japanese, but admits that, when compared to American English, progression from an initial title + last name to first name only can take years, or, more likely, it may never take place.

¹⁷ "A partial listing of some of the historically attested forms" (Miller 1967: 342). See Ikegami (1972) for a more detailed account.

¹⁸ Curiously, his enumeration of Modern Japanese terms includes 6 terms which are generally considered to be personal pronouns (i.e., *anata*, *anta*, *omae*, *kimi*, *kisama*, *temae*) and the term *sensee* (lit. 'teacher').

With regard to the reasons that Japanese has had (and still has) such an overwhelming repertoire of (so-called) personal pronouns, the following hypotheses have been advanced. Miller (1967: 341) stresses the fact that the enormous repertoire of what is today usually referred to as personal pronouns developed for the paradoxical but simple reason that Japanese "never really had any 'personal pronouns' at all", only euphemistic ways of referring to participants in conversation by special uses of terms meaning 'noble person', 'this one here', and so forth. Secondly, it is the complex and rigid structure of traditional Japanese society which has often been seen to bear a direct link to the origin of terms used in self and other reference in the course of history: "The multiplicity of these words reflects in an almost one-to-one ratio the many levels into which Japanese society itself is structured (Miller *ibid.*)." Another way to link these terms to different layers of the Japanese society is provided by Ide (1997: 76), who, among others, promotes the view that, instead of being a static notion, the Japanese 'self' is flexible and continuously changing according to different social contexts, resulting in an interdependent view of 'self' (as contrasted to the independent 'self' of Westerners). Therefore, the appearance of the multiplicity of Japanese first and second person-designating terms can be traced back to the necessity to differentiate between the continuous shifting among the numerous selves "in dealings with various counterparts or addressees".¹⁹

Most of the terms employed in earlier stages of Japanese no longer exist, and what is noteworthy of the terms that are still in use today is the progression they have gone through since they first appeared. As Kambe (1988: 196) puts it, "there is a strong tendency in Japanese personal pronouns . . . to increase or decrease the degree of dignity they imply." By this he means that terms, such as the now vulgar second person pronoun *kisama*, which was used to one's superiors and had the original meaning of 'noble appearance/person' in the 16th century, have gone through a gradual erosion of their once honorific meanings. In the first person, on the contrary, the progression has generally been of the opposite kind, "that is, whenever a new

¹⁹ See Ide (1979/1991: 44), Kondo (1990: 31-32), and Markus and Kitayama (1991). See also Suzuki (1976: 260): "The Japanese self is in an undefined open-ended state until the appearance and determination of a specific addressee." Compare this to the so-called generic "zero subject" constructions in Finnish, which have often been interpreted as being a typically Finnish way of avoiding personal involvement or subjectivity, thus nicely reflecting what is traditionally characterised as the "withdrawn, evasive, reticent and introvert character of the Finns". This view has been strongly criticised by Laitinen (1995), among others, who warns about the dangers of stereotypes and folk linguistic interpretations in linguistic research. Cf. Braun (1988: 64-65).

pronoun for speaker self-reference comes into use, it first connotes the sense of humility the speaker feels toward the addressee, but as its usage continues, it gradually begins to express the speaker's sense of superiority to the addressee, and finally becomes a word which can be used only when the speaker looks down on the addressee, thus falling out of general use" (Suzuki 1978: 121). The most cited example of this kind of evolution is the first person pronoun *boku*, which used to have the meaning 'your/humble servant' and was employed by the speaker to signal his inferiority to the interlocutor. However, as mentioned earlier, today *boku* (generally restricted to male speech) is prescriptively not appropriate in formal occasions or when talking to social superiors.²⁰ Concerning the reasons underlying these kinds of relatively rapid transformations, Kambe (1988: 196) links the decrease of "the degree of dignity" as evidenced by *kisama*, for example, to the frequency of its use: the more frequently the term is employed, the more familiar and, therefore, the more impolite it becomes.²¹ Similarly, Suzuki (1978: 123) discusses "taboo-based indirect expressions, whose primary characteristic is euphemistic suggestiveness", but which, when used for a long time, "gradually lose this quality".

2) Proper names with/without address suffixes and/or (professional) titles

Let us now move on to our second category of first and second person terms, namely, proper names with or without address suffixes and/or titles. Terms belonging to this category are of the following type:

e.g., *Chizuko-san* (first name + suffix *-san**)²²; *Kooichi* (first name); *Akemi-chan* (first name + empathic suffix *-chan*); *Kazu-chan* (nickname + *-chan*); *Amemiya Chizuko-sama* (last name + first name + suffix *-sama***); *Horie-san* (last name + *-san**); *Aoki-kun* (last name + suffix *-kun*, generally used only to men); *Kawai* (last name); *Hatano-kachoo* (last name + professional title *kachoo* 'section chief'), etc.

Although this category is relevant in particular when dealing with second person terms, names can be used also in reference to the first person. An often cited example is the use of the

²⁰ See Suzuki (1978: 121-122) for more details.

²¹ This "wearing out" of polite meaning is a familiar phenomenon in other languages as well. See Braun (1988: 59-61) for more details.

²² ** = extremely high degree of formality/honorification; * = high degree of formality/honorification.

speaker's own first name in self-reference, as displayed by young girls (and women).²³ Of course, in the case of first person, names (and titles) may also occur grammatically as predicate nouns with the copula, as in *Tanaka Taroo desu* 'I am Taroo Tanaka'. However, address suffixes, such as *-sama* and *-san*, cannot normally be used in reference to the first person (or the speaker's in-group). Harada (1976: 509) offers the following list of suffixes of this type: *-sama* (very polite), *-san* (average), *-chan* (diminutive), and *-kun* (used for men only).²⁴ Except for the diminutive *-chan*, which is generally not suffixed to a last name (but, rather, to a first name or a nickname), they can accompany either a first name, a last name, or the combination of the two.²⁵ The suffix *-san*, a contracted form of the more deferential *-sama*, is generally equated with the English Mr/Miss/Mrs, while *-kun* is a suffix used for males (Loveday 1986: 45, 51).²⁶ Other suffixable elements are (professional) titles, such as *shachoo* 'company president', *kyooju* 'professor', and so forth, the topic of the following section. The term *sensee* 'teacher' is also often included in the category of (professional) titles, but because of its special nature it is discussed in the category of status terms in the present study.²⁷

²³ Garnier (1993: 77) notes that the speech of any girl, who, still at the age of twelve, uses her first name as a first person-designating term is considered childish. Similarly, Hinds (1976: 125) states that "this is a feature of female speech which normally ends when the female reaches middle school", but he adds that "among family members and extremely close friends, the practice may continue well into the female's adult years". In fact, there is some evidence that recently this kind of usage has been spreading among senior high school girls, perhaps due to the increasing use of first name alone in addresses (personal communication from Hiroshi Shooji). See also Fischer (1970: 111).

²⁴ Harada (1976: 509) refers to what is called address suffixes here as "general Japanese titles". Loveday (1986: 45) adds to the list of suffixes the form *-chama*, which he defines as "diminutive honorific for children".

²⁵ The suffix *-san*, for example, can also accompany a toponym, which is used as indirect address. I have come across an elderly person who is simply addressed (and referred to in the 3rd pers.) as *Tarumi-san*, because she is living in a place called Tarumi. (That is, of course, not her real name.) See Suzuki (1987: 82-83) for more details on toponymy. Similarly, in business talk a representative of a company may be addressed by using the name of his/her company together with the suffix *-san*.

²⁶ Loveday (1986: 51) notes that *-kun* is usually restricted to "young males such as students or boys in the same group, class, or club who may use it reciprocally as comrades or may be thus addressed by older and superior males cf. the use of the second person singular pronoun in European languages".

²⁷ Harada (1976: 509) includes *sensee* in the same list with *-sama*, *-san*, and the like, and points out that, although etymologically meaning someone who was 'born earlier', as a common noun *sensee* now usually means 'teacher'. When used as a title, it refers to "a person who is respectable for his capabilities, mainly in intellectual work" (e.g., professors, medical doctors, artists, lawyers). See category (4).

3) Professional titles with/without address suffixes

Our third category consists of professional titles with or without suffixes. Examples are as follows:

e.g., *shachoo-san* (professional title *shachoo* 'company president' + suffix *-san**); *buchoo* (professional title 'division chief'), etc.

What differentiates this category from proper names, kinship terms and the status term *sensee*, is the fact that titles cannot normally be used in self-reference (except when occurring as predicate nouns with the copula) (Takubo 1997: 30-31). As an example of what is considered to be desirable (*nozomashii*) usages of vocative (*yobikake*) professional titles and other second person terms in a company, let us take a brief look at a recent national survey carried out by Bunkachoo (*Kokugo ni Kansuru Seron Choosa* 1997: 43). The question asked was: "What do you think is the most desirable vocative a subordinate in a company should use to the section chief (*kachoo*)?" The responses given by the informants reveal that the most desirable term, given by nearly 60% of the respondents, was considered to be the professional title alone, i.e., *kachoo*. This was followed by title + *-san*, i.e., *kachoo-san* (approximately 27%), and last name + *-san* (approximately 9%).²⁸

4) Status terms

The fourth category of person-designating terms could actually be included in the previous category, but, as it possesses some important differences, I separate these terms into a distinct group. I refer to these as status terms:

e.g., *sensee* (lit. 'teacher'), *oku-san* ('madam'), etc.

What is characteristic of these terms is that, while *sensee*, for example, literally means 'teacher' as a common noun, it can be employed as an address term also to a number of high-status professionals other than "real" teachers. Ide (1982: 359) cites doctors, politicians and writers.

²⁸ See *Kokugo ni Kansuru Seron Choosa* (1997: 43) for age, sex and regional differences.

Another group of professionals which should be included is lawyers. While the terms included in the previous category could be characterised as more "literal", status terms can be figurative. For example, *oku-san* is a respectful term that can be used also to unknown addressees. However, there is a marked difference between *sensee* and *oku-san* in that *sensee* can also be used as a title, as in *Mamiya-sensee*, while *oku-san* cannot. Another important point is that *sensee* can be employed in both first and second person-designation. This usage is similar to that of kinship terms, such as *okaa-san* 'mother' and *onii-san* 'elder brother', which can also be used both when referring to the addressee and when referring to oneself. However, as in the case of kinship terms, the use of *sensee* in first person-designation is generally limited to contexts where the speaker is addressing a child (see Takubo 1997: 30-31 for details).²⁹

5) Kinship terms

One additional important category used both in first and second person reference is that of kinship terms. Elder relatives cannot generally be addressed with pronouns or personal names, but instead kinship terms are used. This differs from the case of English, for example, in that in Japanese it is the people older even of the *same* generation who cannot be addressed with names, while in English it is the people of the *older* generation (Suzuki 1970: 152). Moreover, if the speaker is older than his/her addressee, s/he may also use a kinship term in self-reference (of course personal pronouns are possible as well). This group includes the following kinds of terms:

e.g., *okaa-san* ('mother'), *baa-chan* ('granny'), *nii-san* ('elder brother'), etc.

It is important to note that kinship terms do not necessarily reflect a genuine kin relation between the speaker and his/her interlocutor. This is true for two separate cases. First of all, within one's family, kinship terms are often employed from the perspective of a child. This

²⁹ When the speaker has the role of the hearer's teacher or mother, for example, *sensee* and *okaa-san* as first person-designation terms can be interpreted as having derived from *anata no sensee* 'your (i.e., hearer's) teacher' and *anata no okaa-san* 'your (i.e., hearer's) mother'. However, a professional title, e.g., *kachoo* 'section chief', in the first person is generally awkward (see, however, Takubo 1997:39), because a section chief is generally defined by the name of his/her section, as in *shomuka no kachoo* 'chief of the general affairs section', not as *anata no kachoo* 'your (i.e., hearer's) section chief' (ibid., 31).

may happen even when the child is not him/herself present.³⁰ Therefore, a female speaker can, for example, address her own husband by using *otoo-san* or *papa* 'father', as seen from her children's standpoint. A speaker can also call his/her own mother *obaa-san* 'grandmother' in place of a term signifying 'mother', as if the speaker were taking the position of his/her own children, that is, his/her mother's grandchildren.³¹ Whereas this occurs within the (extended) family and the interlocutors are actually somehow related, kinship terms such as *okaa-san* (lit. 'mother'), *onee-san* (lit. 'elder sister'), *otoo-san* (lit. 'father'), and the like, can also be used in speech directed at unknown addressees. This kind of usage can often be heard for example at a market place, when a salesperson is addressing his/her (potential) client to attract his/her attention or to open a conversation. A salesperson may refer to an elderly male customer as *ojii-chan* (lit. 'grandpa') or to a young female customer as *onee-san* (lit. 'elder sister'). In the present study, I will refer to both of these types as fictional kinship terms.³² For details on the use of kinship terms, see for example Befu and Norbeck (1958), Bunkachoo (1971: 50-55), Norbeck and Befu (1958), Peng (1982: 65-73), Suzuki (1978: 127-131), and Watanabe (1978).

Finally, consider the following (relatively marginal) categories:

6) Other pronouns

e.g., *jibun* (reflexive pronoun)³³, etc.

7) Other common nouns

e.g., *akanboo* ('baby'), *minna* ('everybody'), etc.

³⁰ In 1994, I saw a television documentary about a middle-aged man, who lived together with his mother, taking care of all her daily needs. Despite the fact that they were the only persons living in the house, and there were no children, the man's second person-designating term to his mother was *obaa-chan*, 'granma'. See also Fischer (1964: 124) and examples (9a) and (9b) in Section 6.5.3.

³¹ Contrary to Suzuki's (1978: 142) claims, this is not a specifically Japanese feature. It is possible also in languages such as English and Finnish.

³² Takubo (1997: 34) includes kinship terms of this type in his category of *rinjiteki koshoo* 'temporary naming' together with terms such as *okyaku-san* 'client' and *untenshu-san* 'driver'. In the present study the latter are categorised as status terms.

³³ There are no occurrences of *jibun* used as a second person-designating term, a usage characteristic of the Kansai region. (Cf. also the military use of *jibun* in the first person.)

These terms as they occur in the dialogues of the Japanese films used as data will be analysed in Chapter 6.

3.2. Theoretical and methodological considerations

As pointed out in Chapter 2, carrying out yet another "traditional" sociolinguistic study of Japanese person-designating terms would offer little new to the field. Thus other directions of study should be considered. From a strictly pragmatic point of view, attempting to describe a set of "rules" governing some *complete* system of first and second person reference in Japanese in *all* imaginable situations seems far too complicated for the scope of this study--or any study.³⁴ However, what appears to be a less monumental enterprise, and something that has not yet been done in the field, is an investigation of the general *functions* of Japanese first and second person-designating terms from a pragmatic and dynamic, interactive perspective in conversational interaction. This is the approach that I apply in the present study. It could perhaps best be characterised as a combination of an interactional (dialogical) point of view, which has emerged relatively recently, and a more "traditional" pragmatic approach.

3.2.1. Pragmatic analysis

'Pragmatics' in this study is to be understood according to the broad definition of "the study of language use". It is linked to the second level of what is generally referred to as the *acceptability* of utterances. While the first level, the object of traditional linguistic interest, is that of well-formedness, the second one could be characterised as the level of "well-usedness", that is, appropriateness (van Dijk 1972: 314). Native speakers have the capacity of knowing what kinds of utterances can be used, or, in other words, what kinds of utterances are appropriate in what kinds of situations; they know how to speak so as not to insult or intimidate

³⁴ As pointed out by Bachnik (1982: 1), "the elusive status of person terms raises the question as to whether such terms, along with titles, kin terms, proper names, age-status terms, and zero forms, may all be part of a single system for differentiating 'self' and 'other' in Japanese". She adds that "such system has not yet been delineated and attempts to do so thus make it seem monumentally complex".

their addressees. On the other hand, they also possess all the techniques required to make their utterances understandable. This is also part of "language use" and is therefore incorporated in the study of pragmatics (Ide 1997: 69). The position of pragmatics in linguistic theory vis-à-vis semantics-syntax can be illustrated with the help of Peirce's well-known categorisation of three types of signs: icons, indices and symbols. While symbolic and iconic signs are describable within semantic and syntactic frameworks, indices, can be interpreted only in relation to an actual context of use (Bates 1976: 3). Thus, the notion of context should naturally be an integral part of any investigation attempting to describe such linguistic phenomena as the use of personal pronouns, for example. To quote Bates (ibid.):

Pragmatics is not simply another kind of sign relation, equivalent to syntactics and semantics. One could not write a dictionary interpreting indices in the abstract, e.g., all the possible real-world referents for the pronoun "I". Pragmatics is the study of linguistic indices, and indices can be interpreted only when they are used. One cannot describe the meanings of indices--one can only describe rules for relating them to a context, in which the meaning can be found.

Another concept central to the pragmatic perspective is that of *function*, a concept which plays a fundamental role in the analysis of overt first and second person-designating terms as well. We are all familiar with the example that a speaker producing utterances such as *It's cold in here*, or *Don't you think it's a bit cold in here?* in a room with an open window is generally not genuinely interested in informing the listener about the temperature in the room nor eliciting some kind of an answer from the listener. What s/he is aiming at is a concrete action performed by the listener, in this case, to close the window. Thus the speaker's real intention behind his/her utterance, that is, the function of his/her utterance, is actually to make the listener take some action from which the speaker him/herself can profit. Why s/he decided to use a "disguised" utterance instead of a direct command, for example, can often be explained by reasons of politeness. What is considered polite or impolite is of course culture-dependent, but in many languages there is a tendency to "disguise" commands, for example, and present them in more indirect forms as statements or questions. This is the case also in the aforementioned

example where the speaker's intention (i.e., to have the addressee close the window) becomes apparent, although s/he is not using an overt imperative form such as *Close the window*. Why the listener generally has no problems understanding the speaker's real intention has to do with conventions; in a number of languages, *indirect speech acts* of this type have often become more or less conventionalised substitutes for more direct commands.

These kinds of "tools" or "weapons" speakers use in everyday communication are generally referred to as linguistic strategies (Haverkate 1984: 42-43). Having decided what to communicate is not yet enough, for the speaker must also decide how to say what s/he wishes to communicate (or what to leave unsaid). In order to ensure a desired effect (i.e., the successfulness of his/her speech act or creation of a positive--or other kind of--image of him/herself), the speaker therefore selects a linguistic strategy s/he considers optimal for the situation:³⁵

With respect to linguistic actions, this means that strategies are applied in all those cases where in the performance of the speech act the speaker is in a position to make a choice from a set of options concerning the concrete realization of that speech act (ibid., 40).

Furthermore, in our window example, it is also important that the speaker know s/he is in a position to impose his/her will on the listener. This knowledge is even more vital in situations where the speaker is, in fact, issuing a direct command. Conditions which are necessary for an utterance to be appropriate in the context of its use are generally referred to as *pragmatic presuppositions* (Bates 1976: 22). Notwithstanding that Japanese speakers are often thought to be reluctant to violate pragmatic presuppositions (see below), analysis of Japanese films showed that intentional violations do sometimes take place. For example, if we take the Japanese second person pronoun *anata* 'you' and define it as 'standard and polite, but not used to refer to social superiors' (Harada: 1976: 511), an utterance like *Anata wa ikimasu ka?* 'Are you going?' generally indicates that the addressee is not a social superior, such as the speaker's parent or teacher. However, as discussed in section 6.5.3 (see ex. 9 and 14), expectations can

³⁵ See for example Searle (1976) and Haverkate (1984) for a detailed discussion on speech acts.

at times be violated intentionally. This kind of verbal behaviour is generally referred to as 'nonaccomodative' (as contrasted to 'accomodative'). Similarly, addressing someone with *oku-san* 'Madam' usually implies that the person addressed is an adult female, either a social superior or an unknown person to the speaker. Despite these pragmatic presuppositions, investigation of Japanese films produced one example where the same *oku-san* was employed by a young male speaker to his own little sister (see ex. 6 in section 6.5.3). In this case, the pragmatic presuppositions were violated for the purpose of a humoristic effect.

Naturally, people are not at all times attempting to make other people perform concrete and observable actions when they speak; most of the time they are expressing their feelings, thoughts, opinions, attitudes, and so forth. However, in the strictest interpretation of pragmatic analysis, such expressions of feelings or attitudes, for example, can also be seen as representing "some intent in the speaker to change the mental or behavioural state of the hearer" (van Dijk 1972: 332; cf. Lyons 1981: 184). The speaker is not merely describing or stating something, but s/he has the intention to "inform, ask, request, command, convince, remember, thank or greet" the listener(s) by his/her discourse (ibid.). Of course all this is not necessarily *manifest* in discourse for the simple reason that a good part of the information people convey to each other in daily conversation is implied. (Recall, for example, the case of the open window above.) Instead of making strong assertions, people imply something other than what they actually say. Here again context plays an important role in the interpretation of utterances and their meanings. Being a listener is, in fact, a difficult job, for sometimes it is not clear what the speaker has in mind: does s/he intend the listener to draw a specific inference or not? In some cases this can, of course, lead to misinterpretation, but it can also provide a means for subtle manipulation of the listener's opinion, attitude, etc. (Lyons 1981: 207).

Recently, Ide (1997: 69) has been one of the main critics of the traditional "persuasion view" of pragmatics. She claims that, while such characteristics as eloquence and persuasion can indeed be considered as virtues in Western communication, a closer look at Japanese communication offers quite a different view. Whereas a Westerner "automatically strives for persuasion in verbal action", a Japanese speaker, on the other hand, "adheres to a social requirement stressing non-persuasion". In spite of this fundamental difference, Ide

acknowledges that Japanese speakers, too, do, in fact, "aim to employ language so as to have a directly useful effect, and to achieve certain aims" (ibid., 87). What differs, however, is the ideal of so-called effective communication:

... the goal of the speaker of Japanese is to observe and interpret the context correctly, which makes it possible to choose the appropriate linguistic forms from several sets of possibilities, and thus to observe the social norms. Innovative or creative linguistic expression does not "conform to the expected norms", but rather "stirs the air", and thus runs counter to effective communication.

The ideal of sensitivity and concordant politeness can also lead to the other extreme of what is considered "effective communication" in Japanese society, namely, non-communication or silence. Thus, as Ide (ibid., 88) explains, a Japanese student who does not utter a word in class is actually only conforming to *wakimae* (appropriate social norms, discernment): s/he does not want to bother a socially superior professor or his/her classmates by speaking up.³⁶

It is this kind of pragmatic knowledge of *wakimae* and one's place in the *uchi/soto* 'in-group/out-group' categories³⁷ and, especially, concordant polite linguistic forms that, according to Ide (ibid., 84), give an enormous feeling of enjoyment and satisfaction to the Japanese in language use.³⁸ In the present study, I have no intention of challenging Ide's general view, but I do wish to make the point that, despite the apparent willingness of Japanese speakers to observe social rules and conform to expected norms (pragmatic presuppositions), linguistic expression that "stirs the air" also occurs. Not even the Japanese are committed to social harmony to the extent that examples of nonconformist or nonaccommodative behaviour

³⁶ What I personally find irritating in comparisons between the Japanese and "Western" culture or communication is that, in most cases, "Western" appears to be synonymous to American, or when dealing with linguistic issues, to (American) English. Being a Northern-European native speaker of a non-Indo-European language, I sometimes find it hard to identify myself with the "Japanese standard of a Westerner". A case in point is the idea of the silence of the Japanese, expressed as some kind of an antithesis to the Western (i.e., American?) intolerance of silence. As Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1985) discuss, compared to American and Central-European data, for example, Finnish data demonstrates that Finns tolerate and have recourse to silence in communication much more than their American or Central-European counterparts. Cf. also Maynard (1997: 152-155).

³⁷ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the in-group/out-group distinction.

³⁸ In the tradition of *nihonjinron* ('discussion of the Japanese people'), this kind of an enjoyment and knowledge of *wakimae* is often linked to a unique Japanese 'sentiment' or 'heart' (*shinjo*), denied to non-native speakers of Japanese, regardless of their language proficiency: "No matter how fluent in Japanese, it is difficult for foreigners (*gaijin*) to grasp this kind of a [true Japanese] sentiment. This is the reason their *keigo* always sounds somehow strange, even if they are using correct forms (my translation) (Okuyama 1976: 48)."

would be nonexistent.³⁹ And among the strategic tools that can be used to "stir the air" are overt first and--especially--second person-designating terms. Nonconformist or nonaccommodative behaviour naturally becomes evident in conflict situations, but unexpected--or marked--person-designating terms can also be used to manipulate the situation in more subtle ways.

Furthermore, as will be shown later (and as became apparent with the example of second person term use presented in the preface), "inappropriate" overt terms referring either to the speaker or, more likely, to the hearer, can be employed as powerful tools or "weapons" of communication, having a direct effect on the social relationship observed between the interactants.

3.2.2. Interactional analysis

Let me now move on to the second framework applied in the present study. Born as an antithesis to the traditional formalistic approach to language, and similar in many respects to pragmatics, the interactional (dialogical) approach puts the focus of linguistic analysis on the *interaction* between participants in discourse. And this interaction, again, is always to be linked to a specific context. While formalists are mainly interested in the structural properties of language and the independent nature of meaning, interactionalists, by contrast, look at meanings from a totally different perspective: "Meanings are not found in the text and its structures but created in the interaction between speakers and listeners or writers and readers (Luukka 1994b: 239)." Thus, meanings are not seen as something stable and objective. Rather, they are created and interpreted by interactants in specific contexts.⁴⁰

For example, if we take the Japanese second person pronoun *anata* 'you' and define it as 'standard and polite, but not used to refer to social superiors' (Harada: 1976: 511), it would make the interpretation of a Japanese speaker's use of *anata* in addressing his/her parent(s), for example, quite problematic. The only possible solution would be to define the speaker's behaviour as "breaking the rule". However, this does not tell us much about the real intention

³⁹ Cf. Maynard (1997: 156) who states: "Japanese communication strategies place importance on cooperation and collaboration, but this does not mean that Japanese people do not engage in conflict."

⁴⁰ Cf. Lyons (1977: 643) on the distinction between "sentence-meaning" and "utterance-meaning".

and the "meaning" of such use. It does not reveal to us *why* the speaker decided to use *anata*. Furthermore, we do not know whether this use was limited to a specific occasion or whether it is, in fact, the term usually employed by the speaker in addressing his/her parent(s), and thus part of the speaker's idiolect.⁴¹ Naturally, if we wish to provide answers to these questions on grounds more meaningful than mere guessing, we cannot do without a specific context. Meanings of person-designating terms--and meanings of the uses of person-designating terms--cannot be interpreted and understood without making reference to context for the simple reason that the same terms can have different meanings on different occasions, or when spoken by different speakers (or writers) and interpreted by different hearers (or readers). These meanings are created, interpreted and negotiated by participants in a discourse; they are born from the interaction between speech participants. Seen from this angle, person-designating terms and the way they are employed become tools which can be used to influence the interaction and, hence, the meaning conveyed (Luukka 1994b: 229; cf. also Voegelin et al. 1977).

It is important to keep in mind, however, that not *everything* found in each specific context is relevant for the correct interpretation of speech and creation of (pragmatic) meaning. Thus, whether or not one's interlocutor is wearing a blue jacket is most generally not a relevant factor in the task of working out what s/he is saying and "what is going on" in the situation. On the contrary, "a speech understander will focus attention on specific properties of the situation which might be relevant for correct interpretation of both meaning/reference and pragmatic intentions/purposes" (van Dijk 1977: 217). Therefore, van Dijk remarks, what is meant by 'context' should not be taken as the actual physiological and biological situation of the interaction, for example, but as an *abstraction*, a theoretical and cognitive abstraction of the "genuine" situation.

3.2.3. Frame analysis

The methodology applied in the present study is derived largely from pragmatics, with reference to the study of linguistic politeness and some aspects of conversation analysis.

⁴¹ See examples (9) and (14) in Section 6.5.3.

Furthermore, in the vein of the interactional (dialogical) approach, the focus of linguistic analysis is put on the *interaction* between participants in a discourse. In addition, in the analysis of shifts from habitual (unmarked) person-designating terms to non-habitual (marked) forms, still another related framework, that of interactional frames, is applied. In order to be able to interpret "what is actually going on" in any given situation, interactants must have some prior knowledge, understanding or, at least, some kind of a "hunch" of what generally happens in situations of the type they find themselves in. To put it differently, we do not generally see the world around us as some sort of an unorganised, random interplay of objects and events which we are continuously forced to encounter as totally unexperienced novices, not knowing what might happen next. On the contrary, we are in possession of certain "devices" which help us to process information in a fast and systematic manner. These "devices" have usually been referred to as *strategies*, *scripts*, and *schemas* (or *schemata*), and they provide us with what we need in order to be able to produce hypothetical interpretations of any given situation:

Given a certain textual and contextual structure [strategies and schemata] allow fast assumptions about probable meaning and intention--even if the rules at a later moment may lead to a rejection of the hypotheses. . . . If a complete stranger is heading for us on the street, we may be pretty sure that (globally) he will ask a question or make a request--and not make some assertion about his love life, or a threat (van Dijk 1977: 217).

Hence, we always have *expectations* about what is most likely to happen or "what is going on", and these expectations should be likened to the schemata, or, as Tannen and Wallat (1993: 60) prefer to put it, the *knowledge schemas* we apply in our analysis of the context. The concept of *frame* has been used in the same context, but in the present study I will adopt Tannen and Wallat's terminology and make a distinction between frames and knowledge schemas. Thus, the concept of frame is used with the definition introduced by Bateson (1972) and adopted by sociologists and anthropologists. That is, frames are seen as interactive "frames of interpretation", indispensable for the interpretation of any utterance (or nonverbal

communication). "The interactive notion of frame, then, refers to a sense of what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say (Tannen and Wallat 1993: 60)."

In Section 6.5, I will examine the roles played by shifts in overt first and second person-designating terms in conversational interaction when analysed within the framework of interactive frames. However, in order to do this, one more notion needs to be added, namely that of *footing*. Goffman (1981: 128), who introduced the term, considers footing as "a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance". Hence, "a change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events", or, to put it differently, frames do not change or shift automatically; they can be created by the speech participants in the course of interaction and interpreted as resulting from changes of footing (Okazaki 1994: 192). The objective of Section 6.5 is to demonstrate, with a number of illustrative examples, how shifts in first and second person-designating terms can be seen to function as "the cues and markers through which such footings become manifest" (Goffman 1981: 157).

One additional note concerning such notions as "situational set rule" and "conversational contract" is, perhaps, still in order here. As Neustupny (1986: 67) points out, in normal conditions (unmarked situations) the participants in a conversation do not, for example, select honorific forms separately for each occasion. Instead, they apply a "situational set rule" (usually at the opening point of the situation) selecting a particular set of features for the entire situation. Fraser (1990: 232), on the other hand, suggests the notion of "conversational contract": "... upon entering into a given situation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine, at least for the preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the other(s)". However, there is always the possibility of a renegotiation of the conversational contract during the ongoing interaction. To some extent, the concepts of "situational set rules" and "conversational contracts" are thus similar to what is generally referred to as (interactive) frames, schemata or scripts by other researchers. However, in the present investigation, I will adopt the terminology of framing in discourse, as defined in Tannen (1993). For more details, see Section 6.5.

3.2.3.1. Frame analysis and the notion of markedness

The approach of frame analysis links Japanese first and second person reference words to the concept of strategic functions. They can be interpreted to function as markers of frame and footing shifts. Following Brown and Levinson (1978/1987: 85), the term 'strategy' may be used to imply something which can be both conscious and unconscious: for the most part strategies seem to be unconscious, but they may also emerge into awareness. This happens when participants in a discourse try to manipulate each other, or when interactional mistakes occur.

In the approach of interactive frames, I employ the linguistic concept of marking: when there is agreement regarding the normal, unmarked reference word to self, or address form to others of specified statuses, then any shift can convey intent (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 248). In linguistic systems like Japanese, for example, the use of the more deferential form to an equal or subordinate can mean either that they are being treated with respect or that they are being put off at a distance. What is generally called *keigo* or honorifics (including words referring to the speaker and the addressee) in Japanese can thus be employed to sound cold and unfriendly in situations where more informal communication has been the norm. *Keigo* can also be used deliberately in order to maintain a distant relationship, or, in other words, to keep the others away. "The actual use of *keigo* in everyday life reflects not only . . . formal differences of status, but informal personal differentiation and manipulation . . . (Hendry 1993: 157; see also Ide 1982: 376)." *Keigo* can be considered to be a creative or performative device: adherence to the norm has the function of reinforcing the perceived social relations of the participants. Violations, on the other hand, constitute a powerful rebuff or insult, or have the function of creating humor or irony (Silverstein 1976: 34-35). Therefore, a distinction should be made "between the system's (or societal) goals (e.g., why does the system want me to use titles when I refer to or address certain people) and the actor's purposes (e.g., why do I address certain people using a title in some particular context?)" (Duranti 1985: 204). Enduring cultural and social conventions play an important role in the regulation of terms referring to the first and second person, but situational variables may also be important.

3.2.3.2. Markedness and theories of politeness: "Politic behaviour" vs. "polite behaviour" and "non-politic behaviour"

As regards the concept of 'politeness', theories abound. I have no intention to list them all here, but I would like to present briefly some points of view that might be useful from the perspective of the theoretical framework of my study. Watts (1987, 1992) makes a distinction between what he calls "politic behaviour" and "polite" or "non-politic behaviour". Politic behaviour corresponds largely to unmarked forms of interaction and is defined as "socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or close, during the ongoing process of interaction" (Watts 1987: 135).⁴² With this interpretation the use of terms of address, honorifics, ritualised expressions, and so on, will be interpretable as polite only if they go beyond the normal usage.

How does all this fit the purpose of my study? Ide et al. (1992) point out that the Japanese concept of 'politeness', *teineisa*, is oriented to *wakimae* or 'discernment', "the almost automatic observation of socially-agreed-upon rules" (Hill et al. quoted in Watts 1992: 52).⁴³ Unlike so-called strategic politeness, *wakimae* operates independently of the speaker's goals and thus represents the interlocutors' ascribed/achieved social properties, as these are linguistically encoded in address terms, honorifics, etc: "This is not the kind of politeness a speaker chooses to employ intentionally, but an automatic or passive acknowledgement of the speaker's sense of place according to the social norm (Ide 1997: 86)." Therefore, the study of *wakimae* or discernment politeness typically lends itself to sociolinguistic analysis (Kasper 1994: 3207). In Watts's terms, this kind of Japanese politeness should be interpreted as politic behaviour. It is only when *volition* supersedes discernment in, for example, the choice of terms of address, when one is dealing with polite behaviour (Watts 1992: 52). And if the same terms

⁴² According to Watts (1992: 51), politic behaviour must be assessed in accordance with the following factors: 1) the type of social activity, 2) the speech events engaged within that activity, 3) the degree to which the participants share a common set of cultural expectations with respect to the social activity, 4) the degree to which the participants share a common set of assumptions with respect to the information state, 5) the social distance and dominance relationships.

⁴³ See Ide (1982: 366-378) on the "social rules of politeness" in Japanese.

are used inappropriately, or with the deliberate intent to disrupt the structure of interpersonal relationships, they should be interpreted as non-politic behaviour (ibid., 56).

As mentioned above, I believe that, although in general terms Japanese can certainly be called a discernment language, this acknowledgement should not completely rule out the possibility of strategic exploitation. Despite the fact that observing social norms and selecting one's linguistic forms accordingly is the predominant pattern of behaviour displayed by speakers of Japanese, as will be demonstrated below (see in particular Section 6.5), strategic exploitation of overt first and second person-designating terms does take place in spoken discourse. These instances are not frequent, but examples collected from dialogues depicted in a total of five Japanese films indicate that they are not nonexistent. In fact, it would seem that they can be linked to shifts in the frame(s) of the ongoing interaction and the footing of the participants. Speakers can, for example, opt for inappropriate (first and) second person terms with the deliberate purpose of disrupting the general socially observed relationships, but they can also make use of innovative and creative terms in order to mark changes in their footing and shifts to a different frame. Thus, when analysing Japanese terms referring to the first and second person in the present study, my interest will be directed at the "unexpected", or, in Watts's terms, "polite" and "non-politic" usages.

3.2.3.3. Overt vs. covert terms

Another pair of terms that could be used in this context is *overt/covert*, the former corresponding roughly to Watts's polite (and non-politic), and the latter to politic. As Neustupny (1986: 61) puts it, in Japanese, the once honorific meaning of the prefix *o-* in *o-cha* 'tea' is presently usually completely absent and thus covert. Also, most honorifics used within a family, among friends, colleagues, and so forth, are normally covert, but they can be overtised under certain conditions.

3.2.4. Anaphora vs. exophora: Person-deixis (indexicality)

In studies dealing with the Japanese language (and other languages as well) anaphora is a term which has generally been associated with overt person-designating terms, in particular with the occurrence of (so-called) personal pronouns. Personal pronouns have often been considered to function as anaphors (or cataphors), that is, functioning mainly as substitutes for antecedent (or following) nouns or noun phrases. Taken together, anaphora and cataphora are referred to as endophora, which, in turn, is contrasted with deictic units (indexicals) or exophora, referring to an extra-linguistic situation. In spite of the fact that personal pronouns are overwhelmingly exophoric, namely, the referent of exophoric pronouns, *I*, *you* (sg. and pl.) and *we*, cannot be abstracted and identified outside the actual context of their use, linguistic research has often tended to emphasise the role of anaphoric pronouns. However, the fundamental difference between categories of person lies in this distinction: differentiating the concept of anaphora from deixis and indexicality results in a clear distinction between the first and second person, on the one hand, and the third person, on the other, for third person pronouns serve to organise a conversation through common referents, while co-indexicality is a much more complex phenomenon.⁴⁴ That is, the *I* and the *you* in face-to-face conversation keep on alternating in order to maintain co-indexicality, whereas the referent of third person pronouns (*s/he*, *they*), generally interpreted as endophoric pronouns, can be found in the preceding (or following) discourse (or text) (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 9-10, 35; Luukka 1994b: 232).⁴⁵ Or, as Silverstein (1976: 37) formulates it:

"Third person" pronouns can be true substitutes, *anaphoric devices* that obviate the need for repetition of a full, lexically complex rererring noun phrase (thus, *The man sat down. He...*). In the referential mode, they act as *negative indexes* in never indexing speaker or hearer participants in speech events. But "first and second person" forms are

⁴⁴ The same distinction is defined--in an extreme way--by Benveniste (1966: 251-257), who attributes third person pronouns to the syntax of language, not relevant for the actual production of discourse, and refers to the third person as the "non-person" (*non-personne*).

⁴⁵ This, however, is not the case when third person pronouns are used to address one's interlocutor. (See for example the use of *kare/kanojo* 'he/she' in addresses, as described in Section 3.1.2.)

referential indexes, the contribution to discourse reference of which comes about by functionally distinct rules of use; such forms have no anaphoric properties.⁴⁶

In linguistics, the terms 'indexicality' and 'deixis' appear to be used interchangeably, covering a wide range of phenomena ranging from personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns to adverbs (e.g., *here, there*), tense, and 'point of view' (or 'directionality', i.e., lexical properties that are manifest, for example, in Japanese verbs of giving and receiving: *ageru, kireru, morau*) (see Lyons 1981: 228). And, once again, it is the notion of context which plays a central role in the interpretation of deictic elements (or indexicals). Every utterance is produced in a specific spatio-temporal context and, in the centre of that context, stands the producer of the utterance him/herself, the speaker: "The canonical situation-of-utterance is egocentric in the sense that the speaker, by virtue of being the speaker, casts himself in the role of ego and relates everything to his viewpoint (Lyons 1977: 638)." In English, the first and second person pronouns 'I' and 'you' can be characterised as purely deictic: "They refer to the locutionary agent and the addressee without conveying any additional information about them (Lyons 1981: 232)." As we have seen, in Japanese, on the other hand, the situation is somewhat different. The first person pronoun *boku* 'I', for example, usually indicates that the speaker is a (young) male and/or not talking to a social superior. And in the second person, Japanese personal pronouns act in a totally different way in the sense that, under normal circumstances, they cannot be used in addressing social superiors at all. Accordingly, a token of *omae* 'you', for example, generally always indicates that the person so addressed is either a social inferior or an equal. In a strict sense, then, Japanese personal pronouns are not "pure" deictics, because the distinctions encoded in them are founded on properties of the referent which have no direct connection to his/her spatio-temporal location in the context of speech (cf. Lyons *ibid.*, 233). However, viewed from another angle, the same constation can be taken to prove that the overwhelming motivation for the choice of first and

⁴⁶ "Referential, relatively performative indexes contribute to propositional description in discourse, and in addition function as the signal for the existence of speech-event features, as in the choice of pronominals, which assign the event roles of speaker, hearer, audience, and referent to certain individuals in the maximal case (Silverstein 1976: 36)."

second person-designating terms in Japanese spoken discourse is, indeed, exophoric, and putting the focus on anaphora when dealing with Japanese personal pronouns is, therefore, clearly misleading. "And the exophors, since they are both situated and occasioned, are for all practical purposes always indexicals (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 156)."⁴⁷

The closest one can get to the deictic English pronouns *I* and *you* in Japanese conversation could perhaps be illustrated by the following example.⁴⁸ The excerpt is taken from *Sanna no Aji* (p. 366) and features three men, Horie (Ho), Hirayama (Hi) and Kawai (Ka), all age 57, who were high school classmates and who are now good friends. First person pronouns (*ore*) are underlined and second person pronouns (*omae*) appear bold-faced. (LN *Horie* used in second person-designation appears in italics.)

Example (1)

- 1 Ho: (to Hirayama) Kondo wa **omae** no ban da na.
 2 Hi: Nani ga?
 3 Ho: Wakai no. Doo dai, wakai no.
 4 Ka: (to Horie) O-kusuri nonde ka.
 5 Ho: Aa, moratchae, moratchae.
 6 Hi: (to Horie) Ore wa ne *Horie*, kono goro **omae** ga doomo fuketsu ni mieru n da ga ne.
 7 Ho: Fuketsu? Dooshite?
 8 Hi: Nanto naku na.
 9 Ho: Iyaa, ore a kiree zuki da yo.
 10 Ka: Kiree zuki yoru wa sukoburu ni kitana zuki ka.
 11 Ho: A, soo ka. Aha...
 (everybody starts laughing)
- 1 Ho: 'It's your turn now.'
 2 Hi: 'To do what?'
 3 Ho: 'To get a young one. How about it, a young one?'
 4 Ka: 'Are you taking your pills?'
 5 Ho: 'Yes, go on, get yourself a young one.'
 6 Hi: 'You know, Horie, you're starting to look somehow dirty to me.'
 7 Ho: 'Dirty? How come?'
 8 Hi: 'Well, just somehow.'
 9 Ho: 'Oh no, I'm pure, I tell you, that's what I like.'
 10 Ka: 'Oh yeah, you like being pure... and at night you like being dirty, right?'

⁴⁷ See Lyons (1981: 228-229) for the notions of 'indexicality' and 'deixis'.

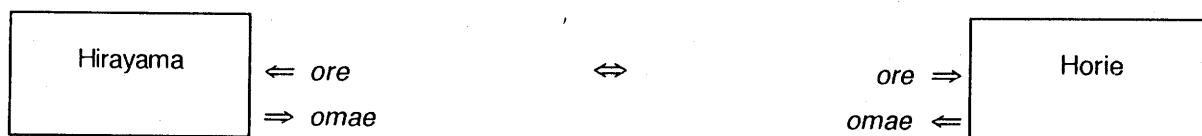
⁴⁸ See also ex. (1) in Section 4.2. Cf. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 113) on the first person pronoun *ore*.

11 Ho: 'Oh, well if that's what you mean...'

In this excerpt, Horie is teasing Hirayama who is just back from his daughter's wedding. Horie, who has recently married a young woman himself, is suggesting to Hirayama that now it is he who should remarry and get a young wife. Previously, he had been boasting about the pleasures of being married to a young woman. He has also been taking some kind of medicine or vitamins, bought for him by his young wife, and the other men, Hirayama and Kawai, often joke about this. As can be seen, in this scene Hirayama does not seem to appreciate Horie's comments and reproaches him.

What is noteworthy in this example is that first person pronouns and second person pronouns are used reciprocally between the interactants. Hirayama employs *ore* when speaking to Horie (line 6) and Horie utilises the same pronoun reciprocally (line 9). Similarly, Horie uses *omae* when addressing Hirayama (line 1) and Hirayama employs the same term in response (line 6). Thus the actual referents of the pronouns *ore* and *omae* keep alternating all through the conversation just like those of the English *I* and *you* (line 6: *ore* = Hirayama; line 9: *ore* = Horie; line 1: *omae* = Hirayama; line 6: *omae* = Horie). This situation can be illustrated as

Figure 3: First and second person pronominal forms between social equals



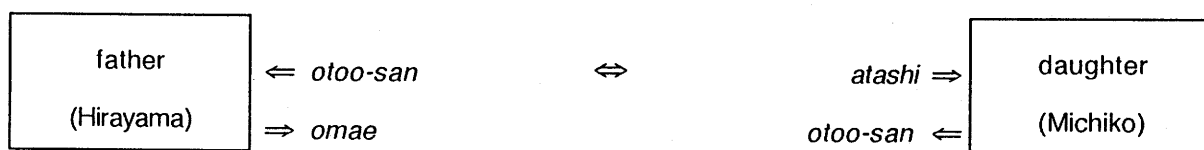
However, such reciprocal use, resembling the alternation of *I* and *you* in English conversation, is, in fact, not a common feature in Japanese communication. In our example, we are dealing with close friends and social equals, members of the same in-group (note also the use of the verb *morau* 'receive' in line 5), which renders possible the reciprocation of colloquial person referents such as *ore* and *omae*. In many other contexts this is not the case. A brief look at example (2), which will be presented in Section 4.2, might help to illustrate this point. In example (2) we have two interactants, a father and a daughter. The father, as a social superior,

may use a second person pronoun such as *omae* to his own daughter, both in referential and vocative function.⁴⁹ However, as a first person-designating term he is not using a personal pronoun but the kinship term *otoo-san* 'father'. The same *otoo-san* is employed by his daughter to him in second person-designation, both in referential and vocative function. In normal circumstances, a second person pronoun is naturally not an option available to her.

Furthermore, although her father, as a social superior, has the option to employ a kinship term when referring to himself (he could also use a first person pronoun), she cannot do the same.⁵⁰

Instead she uses the first person pronoun *atashi*. This can be schematised as

Figure 4: First and second person-designating terms in a father-daughter relationship (1)



What differs from the aforementioned example is the fact that, in this case, the term *otoo-san* stands only for Hirayama and, quite naturally, cannot be used to refer to Michiko. In other words, the referent of *otoo-san* does not alternate when speaker-change takes place (cf. Takubo 1997: 16). Another special characteristic of Japanese is naturally evident in the first and second person pronominal forms: even if the father decided to use a pronoun in self-reference instead of the kinship term *otoo-san*, it would not be the one employed by his daughter in self-reference, *atashi*, as this form is normally used by female speakers. It would most likely be *ore*, a colloquial male pronoun. And if--under extremely unusual circumstances--the daughter decided to employ a second person pronoun to her father, it would most probably be a polite form, such as *anata*, not the colloquial form *omae* used by her father when speaking to her.⁵¹

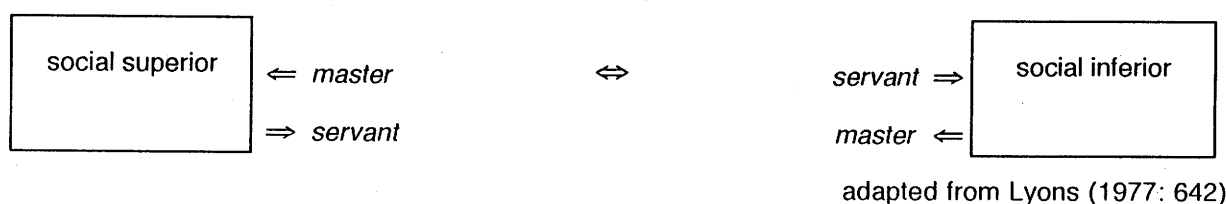
⁴⁹ As will be explained in Chapter 5, instead of "referential function" and "vocative function", the terms *bound form* and *free form* (or *vocative*) are preferred in the present study. When addressing his daughter Hirayama uses the pronoun *omae* either as a "genuine" bound form (e.g., 354: ... *omae mo ni juushi da kara ne* '... you're also already twenty-four') or as an "intermediate" form, with a zero particle (e.g., 353: *Omae, oyome ni ikanai ka* 'Won't you get married?'). As a free form he employs his daughter's first name, *Michiko* (e.g., 345: *Michiko, shabon... Shabon nai yo* 'Michiko, soap... There's no soap'). See below. See also Section 6.4 for an analysis of Japanese vocatives and their communicative functions.

⁵⁰ Cf. Suzuki (1978: 153-157) on the significance of "roles" (e.g., a speaker's role as a parent vis-à-vis his/her child) and their linguistic manifestations (e.g., *papa* 'father' in first person-designation).

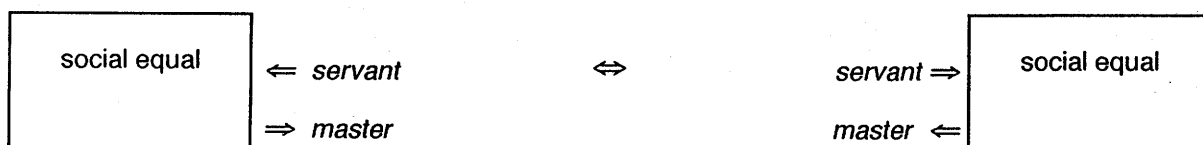
⁵¹ Cf. ex. 9 and 14 in Section 6.5.3.

Lyons (1977: 639-644) stresses the fact that, despite the existence of first and second person pronouns in many known languages, it is possible to hypothesise a language which does not have first and second person pronouns, but which could still "operate as a natural semiotic system under essentially the same conditions as do the actual languages that we are familiar with (ibid., 639)". To illustrate this, he constructs an imaginative version of English, a "Quasi-English", in which personal pronouns are dispensed with and, instead, a special subset of definite expressions determined by social status is used in referential and vocative function. For simplicity, only one dimension of two degrees, superior and inferior, is hypothesised, a distinction which is lexicalised in the opposition 'master' vs. 'servant'. Thus, when an English speaker referring to him/herself would use an expression *I am hungry*, a speaker of "Quasi-English" who has superior status would resort to something like *The master be hungry*, using the term *master* in self-reference, to which his/her addressee could respond with *Be the master?* (substituting the English *Are you?*), and thus making use of the same term in address.⁵² Conversely, a speaker of inferior status would employ the term *servant* when referring to him/herself, as in *The servant be hungry (I am hungry)*, to which his/her addressee could react with *Be the servant? (Are you?)*. In the case of apparent equal status, they could be assumed to be employing the expression of social inferiority in self-reference, *The servant be hungry (I am hungry)*, and that of social superiority in referring to the addressee, *Be the master? (Are you?)*. Vocative expressions would yield *It be raining, master* (e.g., *It's raining, Sir/John*) from an inferior to a superior or between equals, and *It be raining, servant* from a superior to an inferior. We have

Figure 5: "Quasi-English" first and second person terms



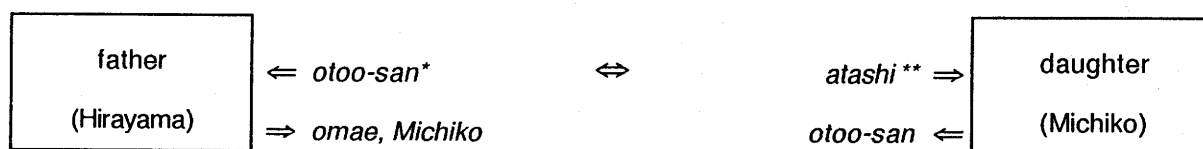
⁵² The verb form *be* is used "in order to eliminate variation with respect to the category of person from the forms of the verb" (Lyons 1977: 640).



adapted from Lyons (1977: 642)

As can be seen, the above Japanese example of a father-daughter dyad partially overlaps with the social superior-social inferior case hypothesised by Lyons: just as the term *master* in "Quasi-English", *otoo-san* 'father' can be used in self-reference by the father, and the same term is employed to him in address by his daughter. In our example, however, there is no equivalent term which could be employed in the way of the "Quasi-English" *servant*. Instead, personal pronouns *omae* and *atashi* are used. However, it must be pointed out that Japanese language also allows the use of a proper name in our example. Thus the father could be addressing his daughter for example with her first name (*Michiko*), and the daughter, on the other hand, could use the same term in self-reference.⁵³ This kind of usage of an inferior person's first name would, then, be similar to the functioning of the term *servant* in Lyons's paradigm, the difference, again, being that the name *Michiko* can naturally be used solely to Michiko and not to someone else, say Michiko's brother. As a matter of fact, a more thorough analysis of *Sanma no Aji* demonstrates that the father, Hirayama, employs *Michiko* in vocative function (see Section 4.2.3, ex. 2, line 39 : *Oi!... Oi! Michiko!* 'Hey!... Hey, Michiko!'). The only term employed by Michiko in self-reference, however, is the personal pronoun *atashi*. Our schema can thus be specified:

Figure 6: First and second person-designating terms in a father-daughter relationship (2)



(* a first person pronoun would also be an option)
(** FN or NN would also be an option, particularly in the case of a child)

⁵³ See fn. 23 above. Cf. Lyons (1977: 640).

Furthermore, if we take a look at the *history* of Japanese personal pronouns, Lyons's hypothetical terms *servant* and *master* can help us to understand why terms such as the first person pronoun *boku* and the second person pronoun *kimi*, for example, came to be used in personal reference, gradually gaining the status of personal pronouns. As mentioned previously, *boku* was once a common noun, originally meaning 'humble servant'. Similarly, *kimi* was originally a common noun meaning 'prince' or 'emperor' (Quinn 1994: 45). Having said this, it can only be concluded that there is a striking resemblance in the origin of *boku* and *kimi* to the "Quasi-English" terms *servant* and *master* suggested by Lyons.

The basic distinction between the categories of first person (speaker) and second person (addressee)--albeit somewhat problematic in Japanese--offers a starting point for the present investigation; it is the reason why the analysis is limited to overt terms referring either to the speaker (first person) or to the hearer (second person). Admittedly, this kind of a "traditional" dyadic view, that is, limiting the analysis to two individuals engaged in conversation, is open to criticism and, therefore, a word of caution is in order. Although I employ terms such as "speaker", "hearer" and "listener" throughout the present study, I am not unaware of the dangers involved in this kind of a simplification.⁵⁴ However, as my aim is not to examine how, for example, the presence of a third person (and possible resultant changes in the level of formality) affect communication, I deemed usage of "speaker" and "hearer/listener" as technical terms appropriate. Thus, I am mainly interested in verbal interaction between two persons and, more specifically, in the ways these two persons influence each other and create meanings in the course of conversation. Although the terms "speaker" and "hearer/listener" no doubt put the focus on speaking and hearing/listening, this should not be taken to mean that sound alone is under consideration.⁵⁵ Nonverbal communication, such as gazing, gesturing, touching, and so forth, also play a major role in these processes and will be discussed when relevant to the interpretation of person-designation term use (Goffman 1981: 130). In addition, despite the fact that the floor (i.e., the right to speak) is usually passed back and forth between the participants (and operating this mechanism is one of the conversational roles played by overt person-

⁵⁴ Cf. Hymes (1974: 54): "The common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants." See also Goffman (1981: 146).

⁵⁵ Note also the semantic difference between 'to hear' and 'to listen'.

designating terms⁵⁶), there are cases in which only one of the interactants is clearly "in charge", being the dominant figure, while the other one (or others) is (are) given the right to speak only when the dominant participant so allows. Furthermore, in many cases, there are, in fact, only two persons present in the analysed excerpts, and, if additional people are present, only "legitimate" hearers are taken into account. Hence, by the term "hearer" (or "listener", "addressee", "interlocutor") I mean a "legitimate", "ratified" or "official" hearer, that is, the person(s) whom the speaker is clearly addressing. Cases of overhearing and the like are not discussed (cf. *ibid.*, 133).

It can no doubt be argued that limiting the analysis to the first and second person only is particularly hazardous in Japanese. Since the combinations name + address suffix, kinship terms, professional titles, and the like, can be utilised both when addressing somebody and when referring to somebody in the third person, it can be concluded that the distinction between address (second person) and reference to the third person is, in fact, fuzzy in.⁵⁷ In other words, the distinction between exophora and endophora is not as clearcut as linguistic research concentrating on deixis often presumes (cf. Hanks 1990; Seppänen 1995).⁵⁸ Also, in the material used in the present investigation, there are some cases in which it is difficult to judge whether a term is employed to address someone or whether it is used in order to refer to a third person present.⁵⁹ Seppänen (*ibid.*), who is dealing with Finnish, has examined what kinds of third person forms are employed to refer to people who are present in the speech event (but who are not directly addressed) and what kinds of roles are thus assigned to them. This would certainly be a topic worth looking into also in Japanese, but, given the monumentality of the task, it was impossible to incorporate it in the present research.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ See Section 6.4.2 for further details.

⁵⁷ Note, however, the differences between kinship terms in address and reference. For details, see for example Befu and Norbeck (1958).

⁵⁸ Furthermore, when we consider that there are even terms (pronouns) which can be used both in the first and the second person (e.g., *boku*, *ware*), the Japanese situation appears complicated indeed. This kind of situation, however, is not uniquely Japanese. See for example Ylivakkuri (1986: 102-105) on the Finnish language.

⁵⁹ The analysis of cases of this type is further complicated by the fact that Japanese often avoid looking straight at the interlocutor they are addressing. (This is particularly striking in Ozu's films.) In many cases there are simply not enough nonverbal cues which might facilitate the analysis.

⁶⁰ Seppänen (1995) has written a licentiate dissertation on four pronouns, which can be employed in this manner in conversational Finnish.

Another reason why the present analysis is restricted to the speaker-hearer dyad can be found in the particular nature of this relationship as hypothesised in Maynard (1993: 268-269). As will be explained in more detail in Section 4.2, while the "task" of an English speaker consists mainly of "observing and describing the world" within which s/he finds him/herself, the addressee and the third person, in Japanese the emphasis is more on the speaker-addressee relationship: A speaker of Japanese endeavors, above all, to create a distinct world with the addressee. The speaker and the addressee are obligatorily continuously mutually reflected in each other, thus creating a distinct world of their own. More details are given in Section 4.2.

3.2.5. Concrete analysis

To put all what has been discussed in this chapter into more concrete terms, let me now explain briefly how the collection and analysis of data was carried out. First, all terms referring to the first and the second person were picked out from the film scenarios and categorised as explained above. Secondly, all five films were viewed several times and compared to the scenarios. Any discrepancies between the scripts and the film dialogues in contexts relevant to this study were recorded and example sentences and conversations included in the analysis were changed to match the actual film dialogues. In addition, pauses in the flow of speech and paralinguistic features, such as special intonation and prominence were recorded when deemed significant from the perspective of pragmatic analysis. However, because the observation of these features was based on auditory perception and no technical devices were used, in the analysis of data the focus was put on a single clearly perceptible element, namely, the possible juncture in the flow of speech following (or preceding) examined person referents. This is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

The second level of analysis consisted of dividing the first and second person terms in the following categories: bound forms (first and second person terms), "intermediate" forms (first and second person terms without the topic marker *wa*) and free forms (second person terms). Definitions of the categories of bound forms and free forms were taken from Braun (1988) and an intermediate group was created based on theoretical considerations explicated in

Sections 5.2. and 5.3. In addition, the number of occurrences of different types of overt person terms and their relative percentages were calculated. Furthermore, strictly bound forms of person-designating terms were calculated separately, and the results thus obtained were compared to the total numbers of first and second person terms. These categories will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Sections 6.2 and 6.3.

In the analysis of free forms, or, vocatives, a set of vocative functions set up by Haverkate (1984) was applied. However, I found it necessary to make some changes to his typology for the sake of precision, and therefore I added a number of possible subcategories. This is the topic of Section 6.4. Furthermore, one of the categories proposed by Haverkate was re-examined from the viewpoint of frame analysis with the help of a native speaker. Results of this examination are reported in Section 6.5.

4. Overt first and second person-designating terms in Japanese

4.1. Some remarks on previous studies

One problem for foreign learners of Japanese, myself including, is that studies dealing with Japanese person referents have tended to concentrate on such areas as anaphora and referential choice in narratives, kinship terms, static social aspects (e.g., sex, age, status) of person-designating term use, and so forth. It is, of course, understandable that examining narratives has been popular for the simple reason of availability of research material. Written narrative material is easily accessible everywhere, and there is no need for the often lengthy and complicated process of recording and transcribing required by the use of natural conversation. However, given the fact that an average language learner is usually studying a foreign language in order to learn to communicate with (native) speakers of that particular language, learning how to refer to the third person in narratives is probably not his/her most immediate concern. Certainly, conversations often take the form of narratives with third person agents, but should not learning appropriate ways of referring to the first and second person exophorically appear higher up on the list for the foreign learner? After all, it is the speaker and the listener who are present in actual conversation and, thus, the most immediate candidates for conversation topics. Are not first and second person-designating terms then the tools a speaker most urgently needs? Sociolinguistic studies have, of course, discussed first and second person-designating term use in Japanese, and, frequently relying on questionnaire surveys, typically examine person referent use in detail in a number of carefully planned situations. They do tell us what kind of referents can be or are generally used by certain types of speakers to other types of listeners in a variety of contexts, but what they fail to reveal is *when* these reference terms *actually* occur in Japanese discourse. When does one need a first or second person referent and when can one get away with a so-called zero referent?

It is well-known that, in Japanese, subjects can be frequently omitted and, therefore there is often no need for overt reference to first or second person. Much has been written about ellipsis in Japanese, but, as far as person referent ellipsis is concerned, the natural extension of

that interest, namely, the question of what these referents accomplish when they *are* present, has received far less attention. Thus the question remains: when *is* there need for overt reference, and when does overt reference most typically occur?

If we examine what linguists have actually written about this, it is surprising how easily they seem to gloss over the matter with such vague statements as the following. Martin states (1975: 1075): "In many unmarked situations the appropriate translation of an English pronoun is either zero or repetition of the noun. . . . the reference is often omitted." However, he does not specify what sort of situations are unmarked and how often is "often". Harada (1976: 510) suggests the following: "What is expressed in English by a personal pronoun is always expressible with a zero if the context permits." But when does the context not permit it? Ide (1979/1990: 56-57) points out that "Japanese children often do not employ person-designating terms", but does not specify how often is "often". Bachnik (1982: 2) makes the following remark: "Japanese person terms can usually be omitted in discourse", but, again, "usually" is not specified. Wetzel (1984: 38) suggests that "direct personal reference is somehow marked" and continues that (ibid., 67) "no nominal actants need be specified unless context demands it". The reader is left to wonder: In what way is direct personal reference marked and when does context demand it? Jordan (1987: 59) is more helpful and refers to "the avoidance of designation of person except in those situations where it has special focus", but, again, the nature of the "special focus" remains obscure. Quinn (1994: 271) specifies that "the subject is mentioned only for informational reasons linked to the communicative needs at a specific point in the discourse", but does not elaborate what he means by "informational reasons". Chirasombutti (1995: 24) adds the following: "There are times when self-reference terms in Japanese . . . need to be specified, to clarify vagueness or for other reasons." And the reader wonders what the "other reasons" might be. As a conclusion, although some attempts to explain overt use of person referents have been made, what was summed up by Kuno (1973: 18) already almost twenty-five years ago still seems valid today: "It is not clear at present when subjects, objects, and other elements can be deleted and *when they must not be deleted* (emphasis mine)."

If we take a closer look at what was stated above, it is easy to notice that when discussing ellipsis of person referents in Japanese, researchers seem to focus on slightly different aspects of this phenomenon. Some of them, probably because of the influence of Western linguistics, concentrate solely on "(personal) pronouns", others speak more generally about "person-designating terms", "person terms", "direct personal reference", "designation of person", and still some refer to "nominal actants" and "subjects". However, it appears that assuming zero referent to be the unmarked form seems to be a popular approach among linguists dealing with Japanese. The same approach is forwarded also by Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 157), who discuss so-called Japanese pronouns in the following manner: ". . . in Japanese neither unmarked anaphoric person denotation nor unmarked person indexicality is carried by pronouns. Unmarked reference is determined contextually." They appear to agree with a mysterious non-dated¹ paper authored by Yano in that "so-called Japanese pronouns function as the sign of markedness, just like the pronouns of Spanish or Italian". Yano apparently sums up this markedness work by dividing it into three categories, emphasis, contrast and referential disambiguation. These functions are illustrated by three examples, but, as they contain a number of orthographic mistakes, I will not repeat them here. Yano seems to be echoing Passin (1966: 105) who noted already in the 1960's that use of pronouns in Japanese is required only for emphasis or to avoid ambiguity. Mochizuki (1980: 460, 463), also focusing on pronouns, examines co-occurrence of Japanese first person pronouns² with different types of verb forms and sentence-final particles and argues that unmarkedness of what she refers to as "deleted forms" (i.e., zero forms) can be explained by the fact that only these forms occur with any kind of verb (casual, neutral, humble) and both with and without sentence-final particles.³ Therefore deleted forms are interpreted to carry no signs of markedness.

¹ In the bibliography of Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 293), Yano's paper appears undated, with "n.d.", but in the text (157) it is given either with "n.d." or with the year 1986. Furthermore, the bibliography does not specify where the paper appeared.

² What I call here Japanese first person pronouns is referred to as "variants for 'I' in Japanese" by Mochizuki.

³ She interprets the occurrence of sentence-final particles as being a sign of informality, non-occurrence being related to formality.

Mochizuki's observations take us to another noteworthy point: selection of a specific overt first or second person-designating term bears a direct link to what kind of verb forms are appropriate in the same context. Thus, for example a casual first person pronoun *ore* 'I' cannot be employed with humble or polite verb forms as in **Ore wa Kyoto kara mairimashita* 'I came (humble and polite) from Kyoto', nor can an honorific second person term such as *shachoo-san* ('company president' + suffix *-san*) be used in combination with plain verb forms and casual style as in **Shachoo-san (wa) nanji ni kuru?* 'What time will you be there, sir?'. Furthermore, it is also important to observe another restriction, concerning the compatibility of first and second person-designating terms. In stabilised human relationships, personal pronouns, such as *ore/omae* and *boku/kimi* 'I/you' generally form "pairs" in the sense that, if one uses the first person term *ore* in self-designation to a specific addressee, the most natural second person-designation term to the same addressee is *omae*.⁴ Thus, in case a relationship undergoes a change, let us say from an initial formal relationship to a closer and friendlier one, the first person-designating term *boku* together with the second person term *kimi*, for example, can shift to *ore* and *omae*. In a balanced horizontal relationship this shift takes place in the speech of both parties, therefore having a stabilising effect on the relationship as a whole, and, in a way, fixing it to the new level of closeness (Takubo 1997: 15).⁵

Further, as regards possible functions of overt person-designating terms, in his discussion of anaphora in Japanese casual interview, Hinds (1978: 174) summarises that both overt pronouns and nouns (what he calls epithets, i.e., constructions having the structure [determiner, e.g. *kono* 'this'] + [relative clause] + noun) referring to the first, second or third person perform essentially the same restricted functions. Namely, they are used to "contrast, emphasize, or to reintroduce a paragraph, segment or detail topic", the major difference between pronouns and nouns being that a noun (epithet) "can also introduce a concept into a conversation for the first time".⁶ In both cases, the primary condition of the cited functions is

⁴ See the category of personal pronouns in Section 3.1.2 for the level of politeness/formality.

⁵ See Section 6.5.3.3 for more examples.

⁶ "A paragraph is a connected series of sentences, or sentence fragments, all of which relate to the same topic." Paragraphs have an internal structure, and, in spontaneous speech, they are divided into segments, whose function is to "offer different perspectives on the topic". Finally, "details are the specific developments of each segment". (Hinds 1978: 154-156).

that the antecedent of these terms must be listed in the discourse registry.⁷ However, I believe that this statement is both inaccurate and incomplete. This problem obviously is due to the restrictions resulting from Hinds's concentration on anaphora only. To elaborate, first, it is clear that in face-to-face conversation between two friends, for example, first and second person "concepts", that is, the speaker and the hearer, can hardly be introduced into a conversation for the "first time", since they are, among other things, items of unique reference registered in the "permanent section" of the discourse registry (ibid., 149). Or, as Shibatani (1990: 363) puts it, as far as colloquial speech is concerned, "the presence of both speaker and hearer is taken for granted as non-linguistically provided omnipresent accessible referents for pro". However, they can, of course, be introduced into the conversation as "new" (paragraph, segment or detail) topics at any time. In these cases, though, there is often no need to use a noun (epithet) referring to the speaker or hearer, but a pronoun will do as well. Secondly, a point very relevant to the present study, Hinds (ibid., 161) includes what he refers to as vocative expressions in his discussion. Thus, an overt expression referring to the interviewee, *Bessho-san* 'Ms Bessho', in *Bessho-san, toshi wa ikutsu desu ka?* 'Ms Bessho, how old are you?' in the beginning of an interview excerpt provided by Hinds is analysed as follows:⁸

The interviewer uses the form *Bessho-san* as a vocative expression. The interview situation itself ensures that the topic of conversation (more precisely the paragraph topic) is understood by both participants to be *Bessho-san*. Since it is recognized by both participants that the topic is *Bessho-san*, and since *Bessho-san* is registered in the permanent registry (by virtue of being one of the participants), there is no need to use any overt form to refer to her, as long as the paragraph topic does not change. Thus, questions never contain *Bessho-san*'s name or a personal pronoun such as *anata* 'you'.

Thus, Hinds appears to suggest that even vocative expressions could be included in his analysis. This is clearly misleading, as, even though there would be no compelling need to use any overt form to refer to the initial topic of conversation (e.g., the speaker or the hearer in our case) from the viewpoint of anaphora, when examined from a pragmatic perspective, there are

⁷ Discourse registry refers to "a mechanism for indicating that particular concepts are assumed in the consciousness of the speaker and his audience at a given point in a conversation (Hinds 1978: 148)".

⁸ Hinds's transliteration *bessyo san* is changed to match the style used in the present work.

also many other functions vocative expressions can be demonstrated to perform. Contrast, emphasis and (re)introduction of a (paragraph, segment or detail) topic proposed by Hinds are not enough. This will be demonstrated in Section 6.4, where pragmatic functions of vocatives will be discussed in detail with several illustrative examples.

Hinds's statement is no doubt influenced by the nature of his data. He is basing his arguments on an analysis of what he refers to as casual interviews (*ibid.*, 155).⁹ Although, sometimes, spontaneous speech may be similar to interviews, in most cases, it is not likely that one party keeps asking questions to the other, the only role of the latter being providing answers to these questions. In an interview, however, it is the role of the interviewer to ask questions and that of the interviewee to provide answers, and these roles are generally not reversed. The topic of an interview is usually the interviewee him/herself, and it does not easily switch to the interviewer. That is why an initial reference to the interviewee is often all that is needed to set the topic of the interview. No further overt references are necessary as long as the topic stays the same. In spontaneous conversation, by contrast, there is often continuous fluctuation of topics, resulting in continuous switches of reference. Perhaps one party starts by telling about an event related to him/herself, then the other party diverts the conversation to his/her thoughts or actions, and so on. As will be demonstrated later by a number of examples, data derived from Japanese films shows that, at least in certain types of conversations, overt reference to the speech participants takes place much more frequently than in interviews.

Further, as will be argued in Section 6.1, it seems plausible to conclude that analysis of anaphoric functions alone cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of overt person-designating terms (including so-called personal pronouns) in Japanese. Less consideration should be given to anaphora and, instead, the focus of attention should become the deictic and pragmatic functions these terms have in face-to-face conversational interaction.

⁹ Cf. Wetzel's (1984) data in Section 4.3.3.

4.2. First and second person-designating terms and the notion of 'person' in Japanese

In this section I address the notion of 'person' in Japanese. This will be done by relating a number of previous studies and suggestions to concrete examples taken from the Japanese films analysed for the purpose of the present study.

4.2.1. The grammatical category of person and personal pronouns

Let us now take a look at person-designating terms from the perspective of 'person' as a grammatical category in language. Lyons (1977: 638, 640) states that what is central to the grammatical category of person in any particular language is the notion of participant-roles together with the grammaticalisation of these roles and, more specifically, the grammaticalisation of the speaker's reference to him/herself as the speaker. In many known languages these roles are grammaticalised as personal pronouns, but it is clear that pronouns are by no means indispensable. As can be exemplified by the Finnish expression *Soita-t-ko viulu-a?* 'Do you play the violin', where reference to the second person is marked by *-t* in the predicate verb *soittaa* 'to play', the category of person can also be grammaticalised by inflecting the main verb.¹⁰

In the previous chapter, I presented examples of Lyons's (1977) theorised "Quasi-English", a fictional version of English with a set of definite expressions, *servant* and *master*, used instead of first and second person pronouns. With regard to the category of person, "Quasi-English", which thus relies solely on ordinary nouns in referential and vocative functions and has no verb inflection, differs from standard English in that it has no grammatical category of person (Lyons 1977: 641-642). In the previous chapter, a comparison was made with the Japanese language, with the conclusion that the Japanese system of referential and vocative functions partially overlaps with that constructed for "Quasi-English" by Lyons. Should it therefore be assumed, as has been suggested, that Japanese too lacks the grammatical category of person?

¹⁰ Note: *-ko*: interrogative suffix; *-a*: partitive case.

There seem to be at least two possible ways to answer this question. The first, advocated for example by Suzuki, has a diachronic analysis as a starting point. Given the fact that, etymologically the majority of so-called Japanese personal pronouns are derived from regular nouns, that is, they once had--and some of them still have--specific meanings such as 'humble servant' (*boku*), 'emperor' (*kimi*), 'honored-in-front' (*omae*), and so on, it could be claimed that Japanese has no genuine personal pronouns and, therefore, no grammatical category of person in the sense of English, for example. Also, while in English the category of personal pronouns is closed and we cannot really expect new pronouns to come into use, in Japanese (so-called) personal pronouns form an open class. If necessary, for example such loan terms as *you* and *me* (from the English *you* and *me*) can be employed in the same function as *anata* and *watashi*, and the like (Takubo 1997: 14).

However, when viewed from a strictly synchronic perspective, it is clear that the symbolic meanings of *boku*, *kimi*, *omae*, and so forth, have, in most cases, given way to indexicality. In Modern Japanese (as represented in the *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* 1974), out of the most common first person pronouns, some are (still) listed both as pronouns and as regular nouns, while others are defined solely as pronouns:

<i>watakushi</i> :	1) pron. I; myself; self; 2) n. privateness; privacy; partiality
<i>watashi</i> :	pron. [= <i>watakushi</i>]
<i>ware</i> : ¹¹	pron. (literary) I; you
<i>washi</i> :	pron. (slang) I
<i>boku</i> :	1) = <i>shimobe</i> : n. a (man)servant; 2) pron. I
<i>ore</i> :	pron. (slang) I
<i>ora</i> :	pron. (dialect) I
<i>kochira</i> :	pron. 1) this place; here; this side; this way; 2) this (one); we; I; your house; you

The same is true for a number of second person pronouns as well:

¹¹ Cf. *ware*: n. oneself; self; ego.

<i>anata</i> : ¹²	pron. you; (hail) I say; say; (to husband from wife) (my) dear; (my) darling; (my) honey
<i>anta</i> :	pron. (slang) you [= <i>anata</i>]
<i>kimi</i> :	1) n. a ruler; a sovereign; a monarch; an emperor; 2) pron. you; (hail) old boy; old chap; old man
<i>omae</i> :	pron. (slang) 1) you; old man [fellow]; (between husband and wife) (my) dear; darling; honey; (to a child) my child [boy, son, daughter]; 2) (to an inferior) Hey, you!
<i>kisama</i> :	pron. (vulgarism) you
<i>temee</i> :	pron. (vulgarism) you
<i>sochira</i> :	pron. 1) your place [country]; 2) you; your family; 3) the other

Now, let us compare this to the information given about the English pronouns *I* and *you* (in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* 1990):

<i>I</i> :	pron. used by a speaker or writer to refer to himself or herself; n. (Metaphysics) the ego; the subject or object of self-consciousness
<i>you</i> :	pron. 1) used with reference to the person(s) addressed or one such person and one or more associated persons; 2) (as interjection with a noun) in an exclamatory statement; 3) (in general statements) one, a person, anyone, or everyone

It can first be concluded that a glance at the Japanese language dictionary thus provides us with information as to the origins of these terms--after all, some of them can still be used as common nouns (e.g., *kimi*) (the English language dictionary, on the other hand, lists only etymological information which tells us that the English *I* and *you* derive from Old English and Germanic pronouns, e.g., "Old English from Germanic" for *I*).¹³ Second, although both the English pronoun *you* and the Japanese pronouns such as *anata*, *kimi* and *omae*, for example, can be used in hails and interjections (i.e., in vocative function), it must be stressed that such use in English is much more restricted than in Japanese. In fact, vocative use of the English pronoun *you* generally has negative connotations. The Japanese counterparts *anata*, *kimi* and

¹² Cf. *anata*: n. [elegant] [= *achira*: 1) that; the other; 2) there; yonder].

¹³ The use of *I* as a noun (in metaphysics) is naturally a later adaption.

omae, by contrast, can be employed with such positive connotations as 'my dear', 'old chap' or 'my child'.¹⁴ Third, what is perhaps most striking is the apparent contradictory information provided for the Japanese terms like *ware* and *kochira*: although both terms can be listed as first person terms, surprisingly, the same terms can also be employed in reference to the person addressed.¹⁵ Whether they are used in first or second person can generally be inferred from the type of speech act in which they appear: in statements they designate the speaker and in commands and interrogatives the hearer (Takubo 1997: 35).

4.2.2. *Uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' and 'person' in Japanese

As discussed in the preceding chapter, another matter complicating a comparison of English and Japanese personal pronouns naturally lies in the fact that, in Japanese, personal pronouns (or other person-designating terms) can be deleted with relative ease.¹⁶ Thus effective use of verb forms often renders overt personal reference unnecessary. Someone familiar with European languages, for example, would therefore expect that Japanese verbs must be inflected in person to allow identification of persons. Lyons, whose view was referred to above, (1977: 639) remarks with respect to the necessity of personal pronouns: "Personal pronouns as such are completely dispensable, provided that the category of person is grammaticalized morphologically in the verb-form." Even so, Japanese proves to be different: verb forms are not inflected in person--at least not in the conventional way. As will be discussed below, a number of researchers have suggested a different kind of "inflection" or concord for Japanese, namely, (a pragmatic) one depending on the categories of *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group', and actualised in speech in honorific and humble verb forms as well as in polite and plain forms:

¹⁴ See ex. (3) in Section 5.1 and Section 6.4 for further details. Recall, however, Russell's comments in Section 3.1.2 on the vertical relationship inherent in these terms.

¹⁵ Cf. "Quasi-English" *The master be hungry* and *Be the master?* or *The servant be hungry* and *Be the servant?* (Lyons 1977: 642).

¹⁶ See, however, Section 6.2.

It is from this kind of pragmatic, if not grammatical, concord, the concord between the *uchi* and *soto* categories of the interactants in harmony with the *uchi* and *soto* layers of the speaker's sense of self and the linguistic forms of polite morphemes which index these categories that Japanese speakers derive a great sense of satisfaction and enjoyment in language use. In other words, Japanese speakers have a feeling of correctness similar to that felt by speakers of an European language when they observe the correct grammatical concord of subject and verb (Ide 1997: 84).

Researchers who have taken a look at person referents from an exophoric point of view have been mainly interested in the roles these terms play in defining 'person' in Japanese. However, this is again only one aspect of overt person-designating terms, and, as will be demonstrated in the present investigation, a more detailed analysis of person-designating terms occurring in Japanese spoken discourse reveals that, from a pragmatic perspective, these terms can be considered to have a number of specific functions. This claim is in sharp contrast with what is generally forwarded by those researchers who concentrate on person referents in respect of the concept of 'person'. In fact, some of them go as far as to claim that person-designating terms are practically unnecessary, especially in the process of defining person: "The frequent omission of person terms implies that they are redundant, and further, that it would be more useful to consider other means for specifying person in Japanese (Bachnik 1982: 2)." Furthermore: "Person terms in Japanese are usually omitted in discourse, meaning that person is defined in discourse situations without reference to terminology (Bachnik 1986: 56)."

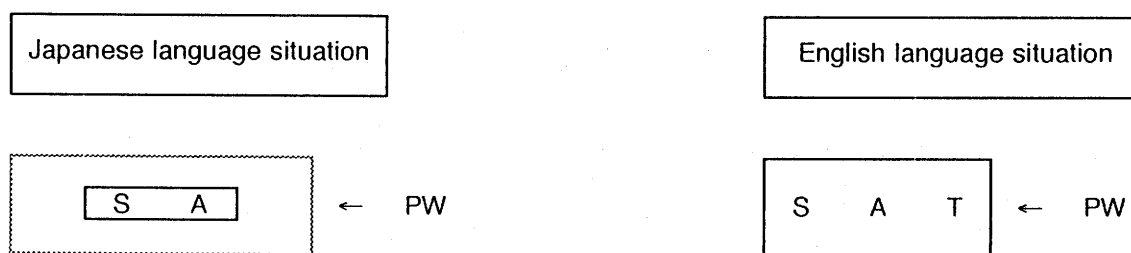
Maynard echoes Bachnik by stating that Japanese lacks a clearly defined personal pronoun system. She (1993: 268) remarks that a Japanese speaker (self) and his/her addressee are continuously mutually reflected in each other, thereby creating a distinct world within what she calls the "possible world" (i.e., the world one perceives to exist) (PW). The speaker thus simply attempts to create a world *with his/her interlocutor*, and little regard is given to its immediate and direct significance in the "possible world". This, according to her, may be the reason for the lack of a clearly defined personal pronoun system in Japanese. It is also reflected in the fact that Japanese first person reference terms take "other-oriented self-designation", the self-indentification of the speaker depending on his/her interlocutor and vice versa. Maynard

(ibid., 269) goes on to claim that in English, on the other hand, what the speaker is most interested in is "observing and describing the world" within which s/he finds him/herself (first person) (S), the addressee (second person) (A) and the third person (T). This is reflected in the three-way personal pronoun system of English. Maynard's general view of the concept of 'person' appears to be similar to that of Suzuki (1987: 104-105), who defines the category of person in language as follows:

Category of person is the linguistic projection of the speaker's psychological interpretation of the universe in and out of himself. . . . The category of person in language is a parameter of the speaker's subjective interpretation of the universe that surrounds him, and so . . . a phenomenon exclusively notional and psychological.

Following this line of thought, the differences displayed between Japanese and English can be thus be schematised as

Figure 7: The relationship among the Speaking S(elf), the A(ddressee) and the T(hird-person) within the P(ossible) W(orld)



Maynard (1993: 268)

As often noted, "observing and describing the possible world" through English is primarily done using a subject-predicate axis: what is of main concern to English speakers is who does what to whom. In Japanese, by contrast, the topic-comment structure and the lack of a clearly defined three-way personal pronoun system would, still according to Maynard (1993:

269), seem to offer opportunities for easier personalisation of the discourse¹⁷: "The subject matter to be expressed by the Japanese language is free from the strict subject-predicate system in which the participants must be identified within a tripartite pronoun system."¹⁸

Bachnik's stand concerning the concept of 'person' is shared also by Wetzel who suggests that, in Japanese, 'person' is actually communicated more broadly than by using person-designating terms. According to Wetzel (1984: 10), the *uchi/soto* 'in-group/out-group' distinction, signalled more often through polite and donatory predicates than through nominal reference, is much more important for delineating 'person' in Japanese.

4.2.3. Group indexicality vs. individual indexicality and intergroup communication vs. intragroup communication

Although Wetzel's (1984: 101) claims concerning the frequency of Japanese person referents are based on a single televised cooking lesson lasting less than fifteen minutes, they appear to have been generalised in a rather hazardous way. In the editor's introduction to one of Wetzel's papers, Bachnik (1994: 73), (together with Quinn) editor of a compilation of essays dealing with different aspects of the aforementioned *uchi/soto* distinction, repeats what she considers to be Wetzel's arguments as a *general fact*: "... it is significant that reference to 'in-group/out-group' by politeness marking on the verb outnumbers that of pronouns by a ratio of ten to one." This constation goes dangerously astray in three different aspects. First of all, in Wetzel's televised cooking lesson, out of a total of fourteen cases of overt person reference, there were only three occurrences of so-called personal pronouns (*boku, watashi*), the rest being names with suffixes (*Saito Ryoozoo-san, Osawa-san*) or other nouns (*mina-san, sensee*) (Wetzel 1984: 104-105). Second, Wetzel's argument includes not only what she refers to as polite verb forms (i.e., honorific and humble forms), but also verbs of giving and receiving

¹⁷ For example, "the more intimate the discourse, the more intimacy-encouraging personalization is needed", and "the more formal the discourse, the more polite and/or other-accomodating personalization is expected" (Maynard 1993: 266).

¹⁸ This, however, is not intended to be taken to mean that, compared to English, for example, the Japanese system would be somehow "unique". A personalisation process exists in all languages, and it is only "the intentions, means and degree of personalization strategies" which differ from one language to the next (Maynard 1993: 270).

(ibid., 101; 1994: 80), a fact which is not included in Bachnik's statement. Third, given the fact that we are dealing with a single televised cooking lesson, it is naturally rather unfounded to state the ratio of ten to one as some kind of a general truth, as if it were valid for every kind of Japanese spoken discourse. Wetzel herself (1984: 102) acknowledges the fact that a televised cooking lesson is likely to differ from other types of spoken discourse, but she defends her choice of data by stating that her claims about the functions of *uchi/soto* deixis in Japanese discourse are by no means altered by the nature of her data. In fact, she asserts that the televised cooking lesson provides support to these claims "more clearly than a conversation taped informally might have" (ibid., 103).

Thus, if we follow the arguments forwarded above, person-designating terms, being outnumbered by more than ten to one by donatory verbs and honorific/humble verb forms, appear to represent an extremely marginal way of signalling person deixis in Japanese discourse. What should we then think about the following examples of casual conversation as depicted in the Japanese films used as data in the present study?

Our first example depicts a casual conversation between four young women who are former school classmates and are now good friends. In all the examples that follow, so-called personal pronouns are underlined and nouns such as names, titles, kinship terms and the like referring to the first or second person appear in bold-face. Honorific/humble and donatory verb forms appear in italics.

1) *Bakushuu*: p. 27-28

speakers: Mari (28) (M), Aya (28) (A), Takako (28) (T) and Noriko (28) (N), good friends, used to be classmates at school

- 1 M: (laughing) Demo, sonna koto yutcha kawai^{soo} yo.
 2 A: Soo kashira.
 3 T: Sorya¹⁹ dare datte sumasu wa yo.
 4 N: Demo, Chaako no anna sumashita kao, hajimete yo. Nee. (looking at Aya)
 5 A: Un, iya ni kidotchatte, o-choboguchi shichatte sa. (everybody is laughing)

¹⁹ Examples of this type, including a reduced form of the topic marker *wa*, are calculated as two words. (*Sore wa*.)

- 6 M: (to Takako) Anta doko datta? Shinkonryokoo.
- 7 T: Shuuzenji...
- 8 M: Atashi Atami... Ittara ame ni furarechatte, . . . sore de, nani shite ii ka wakannai desho.
- 9 Mainichi ame futte n da mono.
- 10 A: Choito **Mari**, anta nani ioo to omotte n no?
- 11 M: Hookoku yo, dokumentarii. (to Takako) Dakara, bantoo-san ni soo itte koma katte kite
- 12 moratta no.
- 13 T: Koma?
- 14 M: Un. Aru ja nai. Hora, kokki ka nanka kaite aru... Are mawashikko shiteta no yo.
- 15 A: (from the side) A, soo.
- 16 M: Totemo, uchi, tsuyoi no yo.
- 17 A: A, soo.
- 18 M: Da mon dakara...
- 19 A: A, soo.
(Mari, looking strange, stops talking)
- 20 T: Dame yo. Mikonsha no iru mae de, doku yo.
- 21 A: Bakabakashii. Atashi-tachi koma nanka mawasanai wa yo. Nee.
- 22 N: Akanboo ja nai n desu mono, nee.
- 23 T: Wakannai no yo, nee, mikonsha ni wa, nee.
- 24 M: Soo yo. Nee.
- 25 T: Kawaisoona mon yo, nee.
- 26 A: **Otaka!** Anta iu koto nai yo! Nani sa!
- 27 M: Doo shita no?
- 28 A: Darashi ga nai no yo, koitsu.
- 29 T: Atashi kaero! (gets up and goes to sit at another table further away from the others)
- 30 T: Kekkon shite minakya, ningen no honto no koofuku nante mono wa wakannai no yo!
- 31 Mikonsha ni wa toyakaku iu kenri nashi!
- 32 A: *Osshaimasu* wa ne, **ninjin joshi**.
- 33 T: Mikonsha ni wa kenri nashi!
- 34 A: Koofuku nante nani sa! Tannaru tanoshii yosoo ja nai no! Keeba ni iku mae no ban
- 35 mitaina mon yo. Ashita wa kore to kore to kore katte, oana ga detara nani kaoo nante
- 36 hitori de wakuwaku shiteru yoona mon yo.
- 37 T: Chigau! Kenri nashi!
- 38 M: Kenri nashi!
- 39 A: (turning to Mari) Anta nani sa!
- 40 N: Shikkari shikkari!
- 41 M: Atashi mo kaero!
- 42 A: Kaere kaere! **Koofuku naru shuzoku!** (Mari goes and sits with Takako)

43 T: Nee, ippen Kamakura ikanai? Noriko n toko.

44 N: *Irasshaiyo!* li wa yo, kore kara...

45 M: Kondo no tsugi no nichiyoo, doo?

46 T: Soo ne. (to Aya) **Aya**, anta doo?

47 A: Atashi wa itsu datte ii wa yo, mikonsha da mono, nee.

48 T: Mada itteru! (everybody bursts to laughter)

M: 'But it's not very nice for her if you say a thing like that.'

A: 'I wonder.'

T: 'Anybody would've showed a face like that in her place.'

N: 'But it's the first time that she was looking so pretentious, wasn't it?.'

A: 'Yes, and her affected manners and her lips pursed up.'

M: 'Where did you go on your honeymoon?'

T: 'Shuuzenji...'

M: 'I went to Atami... As soon as we got there it started raining, so, you know, we didn't really know what to do. And it was raining every day, I tell you.'

A: 'Wait a minute, Mari, what do you think you're doing?'

M: 'I'm giving you a report, like a documentary. Anyway, we told the hotel clerk and he went to buy a spinning top for us.'

T: 'A spinning top?'

M: 'That's right. You know, the kind that has pictures of flags or something... And then we just kept on spinning the top.'

A: 'Oh, really?'

M: 'My husband is very good at that, I can tell you.'

A: 'Really?'

M: 'And because of that...'

A: 'Oh, I see.'

T: 'Stop it. You should not be telling things like that to unmarried girls.'

A: 'Oh, that's silly. You know, we don't play with spinning tops. Right?'

N: 'We are not babies, isn't that right?'

T: 'Oh well, unmarried girls cannot understand it anyway. Right?'

M: 'No, they cannot. That's the way it is, isn't it?'

T: 'They're such poor things, aren't they?'

A: 'Otaka! You have no right to say that! What do you think you're saying?'

M: 'What's the matter with you?'

A: 'This one here has no shame.'

T: 'Well, me I'm going home.'

T: 'One cannot understand what real human happiness is without being married! So unmarried folks have no right to criticize!'

A: 'Look who is talking, Madame Carrot.'

T: 'Unmarried folks have no right!'

A: 'And what is happiness, anyway? Isn't it what you feel when you're looking forward to something? Just like the excitement you feel the night before going to the races. Thinking that tomorrow you'll buy this or that, something like being excited all by yourself about what to buy if you make a lucky hit.'

T: 'No, it's not like that! And you've got no right to say anything!'

M: 'No right!'

A: 'And what do you think you're doing?'

N: 'Hang on, hang on!'

M: 'Me, I'm also going home!'

A: 'Go, go! Happy tribe!'

T: 'Listen, won't you come to Kamakura with me to visit Noriko's place?'

N: 'Oh, please do come! It will really be a nice season from now on...'

M: 'How about next Sunday?'

T: 'Well... Aya, when is convenient for you?'

A: 'Oh, for me whenever is fine, I'm not married yet, you know.'

T: 'She's still going on!'

In this excerpt, we have a total of 14 person-designating terms used in reference to the first or second person in approximately 290 words²⁰, which projects to 48 overt personal referents per 1000 words. In Wetzel's cooking lesson, by contrast, there are only 7-8 examples of person referents per 1000 words (1984: 104). In addition, in our example, there are only two honorific verb forms, while there are no examples of verbs of giving and receiving. Thus, contrary to figures presented by Wetzel, overt person-designating terms outnumber honorific/humble and donatory verb forms by a ratio of 14 to 1! The overt person references in this example include 5 references to the first person which are all made by so-called personal pronouns (see lines 8, 29, 41, 47: *atashi* 'I'; 21: *atashi-tachi* 'we') and 10 references to the second person, including 5 so-called personal pronouns (see lines 6, 10, 26, 39, 46: *anta* 'you'), 3 names (see lines 10: *Mari*, 46: *Aya*, FN; 26: *Otaka*, NN) and 2 pejorative terms (see lines 32: *ninjin joshi* 'Mrs. Carrot'; 42: *koofuku naru shuzoku* 'happy tribe').

Of course our sample conversation here is extremely short and making generalisations based solely on examples of this type is naturally dangerous. The purpose of this section is by no means to estimate any explicit ratios for person referents occurring in Japanese conversation as contrasted to verb forms. My only aim is to demonstrate, by a number of examples, that examining one single type of conversational interaction can yield results that should not be generalised and considered to be applicable to all manifestations of Japanese spoken discourse. Although overt person referents do not play a significant role in Wetzel's data, this does not imply that the same should be true, for example, for every type of colloquial conversation. Basing one's judgment on the analysis of one restricted speech variant--and then proceeding to the explication of such monumental issues as delineating person in the Japanese language *in general* can be nothing but extremely hazardous.

Let us now look at another example. Whereas in the previous example we witnessed a conversation between four young women friends, here we are dealing with a conversation between a 57-year old father and his 24-year old daughter.

²⁰ As in Wetzel (1984: 104), the number of "words" in these examples is estimated and corresponds approximately to elements being separated by a space in the romanised transcriptions.

2) *Samma no Aji*: p. 353-354

speakers: Hirayama (57) (H) and Michiko (24) (M), his daughter

- 1 H: Nee, oi.
- 2 M: Naani?
- 3 H: Omae, o-yome ni ikanai ka.
- 4 M: E?
- 5 H: O-yome da yo, ikanai ka.
- 6 M: (with a laugh) Nani itten no!
- 7 H: Iya, honto da yo, honto ni da yo.
- 8 M: **Otoo-san** yotten no ne, mata.
- 9 H: Aa, sukoshi nonderu kedo ne, honki nan da yo.
- 10 M: Sukoshi ja nai wa yo. Dooshite sonna koto kangaetsuita no?
- 11 H: Dooshite tte... Iroiro ne. Ma, kotchi oide.
- 12 M: Chotto matte. Moo sugu dakara...
- 13 H: **Otoo-san**, iroiro kangaeta n dakedo ne... Ma, choito oide.
(Michiko switches off her iron and comes to sit down with her father)
- 14 M: Demo, atashi ga ittara komarya shinai?
- 15 H: Komatte mo ne, moo sorosoro ikanai to... Omae mo nijuushi dakara ne.
- 16 M: Soo yo. Dakara mada ii wa yo.
- 17 H: Shikashi ne, mada ii, mada ii tte itteru uchi ni, itsu no manika toshi o toru n da. **Otoo-**
18 **san**, tsui omae o benri ni tsukatte, suman to omotteru n da yo.
- 19 M: Dakara, doo shiro tte iu no yo. Atashi ne **otoo-san**, mada mada o-yome ni nanka
20 ikanai tsumori de iru no yo. Ikeya shinai to omotteru no yo, **otoo-san** datte soo
21 omotteta n ja nai.
- 22 H: Nani?
- 23 M: Atashi ga kono mama de iru hoo ga ii tte...
- 24 H: Dooshite? Sonna koto wa nai sa.
- 25 M: Datte soo ja nai no. Atashi ga itchattara, **otoo-san** ya **Kazu-chan**, doo suru no yo.
- 26 H: Soryaa doo ni ka suru sa.
- 27 M: Doo ni ka tte, doo suru no yo. Doo ni mo narya shinai wa yo. **Otoo-san** ittai itsu kara
28 sonna koto kangaeta no.
- 29 H: Ja, omae, o-yome ni ikanai tsumori kai.
- 30 M: Ikanai nante itte yashinai wa yo. Sonna tsumori nai wa yo. O-tomodachi no naka ni datte
31 o-yome ni itta hito zuibun iru no yo. Akachan no aru hito datte iru wa.
- 32 H: Soo ka... Dattara omae... (Michiko does not interrupt)
- 33 M: Ii no! Atashi, ima no mama de ii no!

34 H: Uumu, sorya **otoo-san** datte ne, ima ga ichiban ii toki da to wa omotteru yo. Demo,
 35 soryaa ikenai n da. **Otoo-san** kangaeta n da yo.
 36 M: Kangaeta n nara, moo sonna kattena koto iwanaide yo.
 37 H: Katte ja nai yo.
 38 M: Katte yo. (gets up and starts collecting the laundry)
 39 H: Oi!... Oi! **Michiko!**

H: 'Listen, Michiko.'
 M: 'What is it?'
 H: 'You don't want to get married?'
 M: 'What?'
 H: 'Yes, get married, you don't want to do it?'
 M: 'What on earth are you saying?'
 H: 'No, I'm serious, this is serious.'
 M: 'You're drunk again, aren't you?'
 H: 'Well, I've had a few drinks, but I'm really serious about this.'
 M: 'It's not a just few drinks. What gave you an idea like that?'
 H: 'What... Well, all kinds of things. Come here now.'
 M: 'Wait a minute. I'm almost finished.'
 H: 'You know, I've been thinking about all kinds of things... Come and sit down with me now.'
 M: 'But if I get married, won't you be in trouble?'
 H: 'Even if I'll be in trouble, if you don't get married soon... You're also already twenty-four.'
 M: 'That's right. And that's why it's still alright.'
 H: 'But while you're saying it's still alright, it's still alright, you get older before you know it. I've been taking advantage of your situation and I feel sorry for it.'
 M: 'That's why I'm saying, what to do. You know, Dad, I've got no intention to get married yet. I don't think it's possible. Wasn't that the way you felt too?'
 H: 'What way?'
 M: 'That it's better for me to stay as I am...'
 H: 'Why? That's not true.'
 M: 'But isn't it like that? If I get married now, what are you and Kazu going to do?'
 H: 'We'll manage somehow.'
 M: 'Oh, somehow, how is that? It won't work, I tell you. When did you get this idea, anyway?'
 H: 'So, you're not going to marry?'
 M: 'I'm not saying that I won't marry, that's not what I have in mind. You know, many of my friends are already married. Some of them even have babies.'
 H: 'Is that so... In that case you...'
 M: 'I'm fine, I'm just fine like this.'
 H: 'Yes, me too I think this is the best time of my life, but it won't do. I've been thinking about it.'
 M: 'If you have been thinking about it, don't say such selfish things.'
 H: 'It's not selfish.'
 M: 'It's selfish alright.'
 H: 'Hey!... Hey, Michiko!'

This example clearly resembles example (1) in that the number of overt first and second person referents is much higher than in Wetzels cooking lesson, namely 20 in approximately 314 words, projecting to a total of 64 person-designating terms per 1000 words. Moreover,

there are no occurrences of honorific/humble or donatory verb forms. The person-designating terms in this dialogue comprise 9 references to the first person, including 5 so-called personal pronouns (see lines 14, 19, 23, 25, 33: *atashi* 'I') and 4 kinship terms meaning 'father' (see lines 13, 17-18, 34, 35: *otoo-san*). Overt reference to the second person is made 11 times and is carried out 5 times by so-called personal pronouns (see lines 3, 15, 18, 29, 32: *omae* 'you'), 4 times by a kinship term meaning 'father' (see lines 8, 19, 20, 27: *otoo-san*), once by a combination of kinship term + nickname (see line 25: *otoo-san ya Kazu-chan* 'you and Kazu') and once by a given name (see line 39: *Michiko*).

In addition to the relatively high frequency of overt person reference, this passage resembles example (1) in another aspect. In both cases we are clearly dealing with arguments. However, while in example (1) the tone of the conversation is rather joyful and lighthearted, in the present example it is more serious. Also Abe (1993: 70) reports that her examination of family conversations in the movie *Makioka Sisters* "demonstrated that avoidance of pronouns does not apply to argumentational conversations". She gives two examples of this type and concludes that, in the first one, out of a total of 75 utterances 15 included personal pronouns, in the second one, personal pronouns appeared 40 times in 77 utterances. Of course it can be said that, as a televised cooking lesson, this kind of conversation represents a "special" kind of conversational interaction, and the frequency of overt person references may thus be higher than in other types of spoken discourse.

However, there is also one major difference between this example and example (1). In example (1), we witnessed a conversation of four participants, whereas in this example we have only two persons present, Hirayama and Michiko. It is important to point out that the use of person-designating terms differs depending on the number of speech participants. This difference becomes evident in particular in the use of personal names in addresses, which may be required for disambiguation (e.g., Takako uses the FN in line 46 in ex. 1 to direct her question at Aya).

The following passage represents another example of conversation between family members. This time the speakers are Tatsuo and Yoshiko, brother and sister.

3) *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*: p. 23-24

speakers: Tatsuo (T) and Yoshiko (Y), Tatsuo's little sister

(Yoshiko, looking sad, sits in a rattan chair on the broad veranda, staring out into the garden)

- 1 T: Haitte mo ii kai.
2 Y: (trying to look joyful) Doozo. (Tatsuo comes in holding a glass of whisky in his hand)
3 Y: (looking at the glass) Hiruma kara o-sake?
4 T: Kesa no shinbun mita ka, kusakusa suru ze mattaku. (drinks from his glass)
5 Y: O-sakenomi wa, nan demo o-sake no tane ni suru no ne.
6 T: Ore mo ne, omae mitai ni tanjun ni oyaji o shinjitai yo, demo na...
7 Y: (as though trying to convince herself) Shinbun ga niowaseteru, anna koto uso yo...
8 Ano otoo-sama masaka.
9 T: Omae ni wa ii oyaji sa, iya, shinda o-fukuro no bun made omae o kawaigatteru n dakara,
10 sore ijoo kamo shiren, shikashi...
11 Y: **Onii-sama** ni wa warui otoo-sama?
12 T: Iya, ore ni mo ii oyaji sa... Dakara, ore tamaranee n da yo.
13 Y: (starts to say something)
14 T: Moo ii, yosoo konna hanashi... Omae mitaina akanboo ni hito o utagae to itte mo
15 muri da.
16 Y: Atashi akanboo ja nai wa.
17 T: A, kore wa, shitsuree shimashita, **oku-san**.
18 Y: (suddenly looks sad again and lowers her eyes)
19 T: (frowning) Doo shita **Yoshiko**.
20 Y: (quickly) E?
21 T: (staring closely at her face) Omae, shiawase kai?
22 Y: (nods)
23 T: Nishi no yatsu... kawaigatte *kureru* ka.
24 Y: (nods)
25 T: Hontoo ka.
26 Y: (nodding) Ee... Demo naze?
27 T: Iya... sore nara ii n da yo.
28 Y: ...

(The two become silent and look out into the rain in the garden.)

T: 'May I come in?'

Y: 'Yes, please do.'

Y: 'You've started drinking so early in the day?'

T: 'Did you see this morning's paper? It really gets me down!'

- Y: 'A drinker makes anything an excuse for drinking! Isn't that right?'
 T: 'You know, I wish I could believe in father simply like you do but...'
 Y: 'The newspapers are just making things smell bad. It's all lies... Why father wouldn't do such a thing...'
 T: 'He is a very good father to you. He's been more than just a good father. He's even petted you and taken care of you enough to make up for mother since she died. Maybe even beyond that. But...'
 Y: 'Has he been a bad father to you?'
 T: 'No. He's been a good father to me too... That's why I just can't take it!'
 T: 'That's enough. Let's change the subject... It's impossible to convince a baby like you to suspect people.'
 Y: 'I'm not a baby!'
 T: 'Oh, I'm sorry to have insulted you, Madam.'
 T: 'What's wrong, Yoshiko?'
 Y: 'Huh?!'
 T: 'Are you happy?'
 T: 'Is that Nishi... taking good care of you?'
 T: 'Are you sure?'
 Y: '... But why do you ask?'
 T: 'Oh, nothing... It's alright if he is.'
 Y: '...' (Ba: 146-147)

In this fragment the relative number of overt person referents is even larger than in examples (1) and (2), 12 referents in 146 words, which, in turn, projects to 82 referents per 1000 words. The only deictic verb form, *kawaigatte kureru*, indicates that, at the point of the conversation where Tatsuo utters this verb, he considers himself and his sister Yoshiko as *uchi* 'in-group', and Nishi, Yoshiko's husband, as *soto* 'out-group'. Reference to the first person is accomplished solely by so-called personal pronouns and takes place 4 times (see lines 6, 12: *ore* 'I'; 16: *atashi* 'I'). In second person reference, three types of person-designating terms are used: the kinship term 'elder brother' with the honorific suffix *-sama* (see line 11: *onii-sama*), the status term 'Madam' (see line 17: *oku-san*) and a given name (see line 19: *Yoshiko*).²¹ This example, together with example (2), seems to offer support to Mühlhäusler's and Harré's (1990: 156) argument that in Japanese spoken discourse, overt "individual indexical expressions are quite common in private conversation, particularly in the home".

Let us look at one more excerpt containing a much higher frequency of person-designating terms than Wetzel's data. In this example, we are not witnessing a conversation taking place between good friends or family members. This time we are listening to a

²¹ For an analysis of the shifts in second person-designating terms, see example (6) in Section 6.5.3.1.

conversation between three men who work for the same company. Although the conversation takes place at a bar, the company hierarchy is clearly expressed.²²

4) *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*: p. 22-23

speakers: Moriヤマ (M), principal administrative officer, Shirai (S), contract section chief, and Nishi (N), secretary to vice-president

- 1 M: Yoo, kimi mo konna tokoro e kuru no ka na.
2 S: Ikemasen naa, shinkon soosoo...
3 N: Doomo warui tokoro mirarechatte. . . .
4 N: A... Boku, chotto odotte kimasu.
5 M: Kimi, kimi... nigende mo ii daroo. Ha ha ha.
...
6 M: Ha ha ha... Shikashi kimi, kore de hotto shita ne... Iya, kimi wa nakanaka
7 settokuryoku ga aru.
8 S: Iya desu yo, buchoo... Anta mo nakanaka... Are ja, Wada wa shinu yori shikata ga nai.
9 M: Yose yo kimi... Mono wa, soo hakkiri iu mon ja nai... Sa, kon'ya wa hitotsu yooki ni
10 nomoo.
11 S: Demo ne... nan da ka atoaji ga warukute...
12 M: Ha ha ha ha... Wakai ko demo daku sa... Sore ni kagiru yo, konna hi wa...

M: 'Well, do you frequent places like this too?'
S: 'And just after your wedding too...'
N: 'You've caught me in an embarrassing position. . . .'
N: 'I think I'll go dance a little.'
M: 'Hey, there... You don't have to run away from us.'
...
M: 'Ha ha ha... But you must feel very relieved at the way things have turned out... You're really a persuasive fellow, aren't you?'
S: 'Don't talk like that, department chief... You were pretty good yourself... After what you said, Wada can't help but die.'
M: 'Oh, come on... Anyway, let's drink and have a good time tonight.'
S: 'But, I don't know... I still feel a little strange about it...'
M: 'Ha ha ha ha... Get yourself a nice young girl to sleep with and you'll get over it... That's what you need on a day like this...' (Ba: 144-146)

This dialogue also has a large proportion of 93 overt person referents per 1000 words, or 9 referents in 97 words. These referents comprise one so-called personal pronoun referring

²² In the film this excerpt is presented as a taped conversation.

to the first person (see line 4: *boku* 'I') and 8 terms referring to the second person, including 7 personal pronouns (see lines 1, 5, 6, 9: *kimi* 'you'; 8: *anta* 'you') and one title 'department chief' (see line 8: *buchoo*).

Finally, let us examine how extremely formal contexts differ from those of the above examples. In the following passage, we are witnessing a funeral. The deceased is to be put in a coffin, and the undertaker, who is the speaker here, is giving instructions to the funeral guests.

5) *Osooshiki*: p. 43-44

speaker: Ebihara (E), undertaker

1 E: Sore dewa hotoke-sama o-kan ni *o-osame itashimasu* node, **mina-sama**, *o-atsumari*
2 *kudasai*. Mazu, **okaa-sama** to **Chizuko-sama** de tabi o *hakasete agete*
3 *kudasaimase*.

...

4 Sore kara, **onii-sama** to, **jijo no kata** de zoori o *hakasete agete kudasaimasu ka*.
5 **Hoka no mina-sama** mo doozo dekiru dake te o *soete agete kudasai*. . . .
6 Sore dewa, **o-mi uchi no katagata** de o-kan ni *utsushite itadakimasu*. **Mina-**
7 **sama** narubeku o-te o *o-soe kudasai*.

E: 'And next we shall move the deceased to the coffin. Please, everybody gather here. Madame and Miss Chizuko, would you first be kind to put on the tabi-socks?

...

And then, Mr. Amemiya and Miss Ayako, would you please put on the zoori-sandals? And everybody else, please support him with your hands. . . . And next, if the closest relatives would kindly move the deceased to the coffin. Everybody, please support him with your hands.'

In this short excerpt, the number of honorific and humble verb forms is remarkably high. Honorific expressions directed at the funeral guests occur 5 times (see line 1-2: *o-atsumari kudasai* 'please gather together'; line 2-3: *hakasete agete kudasaimase* 'please put on'; line 4: *hakasete agete kudasaimasu ka* 'could you please put on?'; lines 5 and 7: *te o soete agete kudasai* and *o-te o o-soe kudasai* 'please join hands') and humble forms twice (line 1: *o-kan ni o-osame itashimasu* 'put in the coffin'; line 6: *o-kan ni utsushite itadakimasu* 'move [have the favour of moving the deceased] to the coffin'). However, in this context, despite all

the honorific and humble verb forms, overt second person-designating terms still must be used for disambiguation. The undertaker has to direct his instructions at specific addressees. This is the reason he is forced to employ several honorific nouns referring to the interlocutors (see lines 1, 5, 6-7: *mina-sama*, lit. 'everybody'; line 2: *okaa-sama*, lit. 'mother', *Chizuko-sama* FN; line 4: *onii-sama*, lit. 'elder brother', *jijo no kata* 'second daughter'; line 6: *o-mi uchi no katagata* 'close relatives'). As can be seen, pronouns of address cannot be employed in this extremely formal context.

As our examples demonstrate, neglecting the role overt person-designating terms play in the process of communicating person in spoken Japanese discourse can lead to misunderstandings. Because Wetzel bases her conclusions on extremely restricted data, she ends up emphasising the most apparent aspects in her data of a televised cooking lesson, namely, the low frequency of person referents compared to that of polite or donatory predicates. However, what is true for a televised cooking lesson is by no means directly applicable to other types of conversational interaction. Despite this fact, Wetzel (1984: 147) is ready to generalise her findings: ". . . Japanese speakers are more likely to distinguish in-group from out-group in many situations than they are to distinguish person as we do in English."

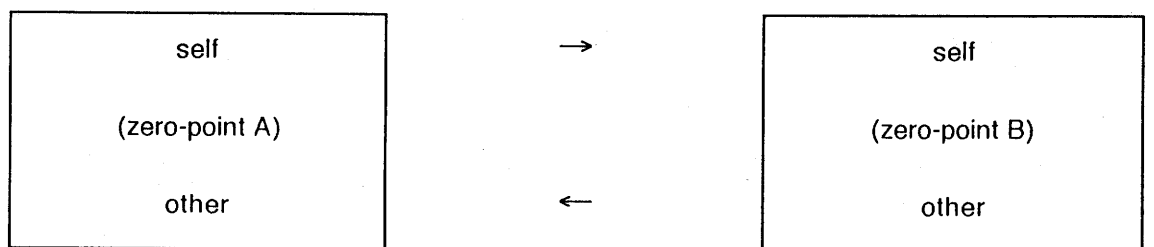
Now, if we take a closer look at Wetzel's work, it turns out that arguments against what she posits to be general facts can be made using her own data. First of all, she points out that "in-group and out-group might be, and *frequently are*, single individuals" (ibid., 141; emphasis mine). If this is true, as it appears to be for the most part of the examples presented earlier, how does the in-group consisting of only the singular "me" as opposed to the out-group comprised of only the singular "you" differ for example from first and second person in a similar kind of English discourse situation? If we study Wetzel's data, we can see that, also in the televised cooking lesson involving two announcers, the teacher and the audience, the in-group/out-group distinction can sometimes encompass only two persons. In her data there are four situations of this type, where, at some point of the programme, the in-group/out-group dichotomy corresponds to single individuals (ibid., 116-120). What is more interesting, out of the total of fourteen occurrences of overt person referents found in the data, five (33%) appear in these

short episodes as opposed to no occurrences of polite or donatory verbs (ibid., 173-191).

Should it not therefore be important to point out that, in other types of spoken discourse, such as extremely common casual face-to-face conversation involving two individuals, overt person-designation actually *does* communicate person in Japanese?

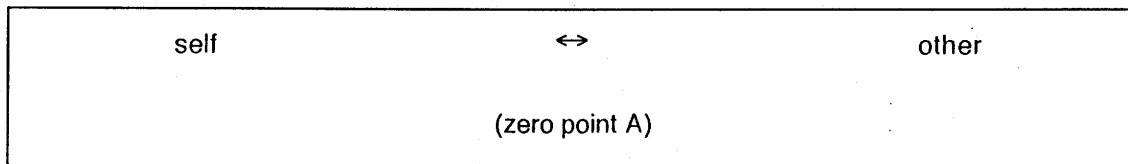
Given the fact that formal speech often tends to avoid overt person reference, it is understandable that some researchers, focusing only on this type of speech style, have ended up overlooking functions served by Japanese person-designating terms. Therefore, I would like to suggest that, instead of overemphasising the fact that in-group/out-group boundaries are constantly shifting in Japanese spoken discourse, it should be noted that there is also continuous shifting of boundaries between *group* and *individual* indexicality (see Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 156). While group indexicality can often be associated with formal speech and the public sphere, individual indexicality relates to more informal speech styles and the private domain. The same problem is addressed also by Bachnik (1982: 15-16) who notes that, in comparison with intergroup deictic communication, "communication *within* the group . . . could be expected to differ markedly since all members would *share* the same anchor point". Bachnik does not elaborate her statement any further, but, for clarity, the figures she suggests for Japanese deictic organisation are worth reproducing here:

Figure 8: Intergroup deictic communication



Bachnik (1980: 16)

Figure 9: Intragroup deictic communication



Bachnik (1980: 16)

These figures tell us that, in *intergroup* communication, Japanese deixis needs to locate two anchor points instead of one. While in the West, it is the ego that is generally viewed as the anchor point of deixis, in intergroup communication, a Japanese speaker locates him/herself within his/her own *group* (in-group).²³ However, this is not yet enough, for s/he must also locate the group reference point of his/her interlocutor in relation to his/her own group reference point (ibid., 18). Whereas most researchers, especially non-Japanese, are inclined to concentrate on this aspect of Japanese communication, the other side of the coin, namely, that of *intragroup* communication has received less attention. This is no doubt due, at least partially, to the fact that Japanese people tend to make a clear distinction between *ura* 'back' and *omote* 'front', *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group', or, in more common terms, the private and the public domain (or 'self'), and, for outsiders (persons belonging to the out-group or, even more likely, to the group outside the out-group)²⁴, it is often very difficult to penetrate the "true" private domain. However, this should not lead to generalisations based on examination of only one side of the problem. After all, limiting one's analysis to only one of these spheres can lead to unfortunate misjudgements. As Stubbs (1983: 175) puts it:

The correct conclusion is that no single level of analysis will ever be able to say all there is to say about a conversation, unless it is of the most routine kind, say, a routine transaction between strangers in a shop, and such interaction, in which nothing of personal or social significance is at stake, has been overemphasised in the literature. We can never learn everything about anything, but it is possible to study with some

²³ Cf. Larjavaara's (1990: 85-86) criticism concerning the egocentric view of deixis.

²⁴ Besides the usual distinction between in-group and out-group, Ide (1997: 76-77) distinguishes a third group of interactants in the Japanese context, namely, that of *soto no soto* or *yoso* 'outside of out-group'. See Section 4.3 for more details.

precision the ambiguity and indirectness which are central to social interaction of any significance.

4.3. Overt person-designating terms and politeness

The fact that overt person-designating terms, as depicted in the Japanese films examined in this study, appear to be employed more frequently in colloquial conversation than in formal settings also provides an attractive link to theories of politeness. Japanese, with its wide variety of polite expressions, is generally considered to be a language displaying characteristics of negative politeness. Negative politeness, as contrasted to "approach-based" positive politeness, is described as being "avoidance-based" (avoiding unjustifiable closeness), and thus leads, for example, to the avoidance of a direct pronoun of address (Brown and Levinson 1978/1987: 70, 190). As pointed out by Passin in relation to Japanese pronouns (1966: 105), "the direct use of personal pronouns has the sense of pointing; it feels over-emphatic, almost rude". Instead of positive politeness and negative politeness, Scollon and Scollon (1983: 167-168) prefer to use the notions of "solidarity politeness" and "deference politeness". While solidarity politeness assumes that there is little distance and little or no power difference between the interactants and it is essentially directed to "the general nature" of the relationship, deference politeness stresses the apparent distance between the participants and "acknowledges the seriousness of the imposition in the act of making it".

Although Japanese formal discourse is undoubtedly characteristic of negative (deference) politeness, in friendly, casual conversation, by contrast, there is a preference toward positive (solidarity) politeness (Maynard 1989: 31).²⁵ This fact is often overlooked by researchers who, for some reason or another, seem to be traditionally more interested in discerning the kinds of properties of negative politeness displayed by the Japanese language. However, as Maynard (*ibid.*, 223) puts it,

²⁵ Note in this connection the following remark made by Loveday (1986: 104) on difficulties in cross-cultural Japanese-Western communication: "The problem seems to lie in the inavailability or non-operation in the J[apanese] communicative code of a semi-formal, middle level of politeness; in other words, the extremes of negative or positive politeness hold sway in the J[apanese] speech-community."

Among in-group members in Japan, . . . a reciprocal *amae* [dependence, indulgence]²⁶ relationship allows members to express emotion and feelings directly, even sometimes in a manner considered rude by outsiders. . . . The style shift between formal politeness and friendly directness is an important part of Japanese communication, and this must be appreciated in the juxtaposition of two social axes, social differentiation on one hand and the desire for *amae* on the other.

This is further elaborated by Ide (1997: 76) in the following way:

. . . Ingroup members, *uchi*, are surrounded by a hard boundary that separates them from the outgroup, *soto*. Thus, the fragile Japanese self is protected from outsiders by this boundary between ingroup and outgroup. On the inside of this boundary, radically different behaviour is expected than outside this boundary, so when crossing this boundary, the Japanese shift behaviour patterns. Among the many signs of this shift are the linguistic markers, the two sets of choices that mark the inside and the outside of this boundary²⁷

In Japanese, positive politeness, characteristic of in-group contexts, is evidenced in casual conversation in numerous uses of particles and fillers, which "help create a casual, friendly discourse with pleasant emotional appeal to one's partner" (Maynard 1989: 31). McGloin (1991: 35) maintains that for example the frequent use of the particle *no* by women (as opposed to the *n[o]da* construction employed by men) can be explained by positive politeness: women make use of *no* more widely than men because they "tend to be more positively polite", and *no* readily serves the function of "creating a conversational rapport between the speaker and the hearer".²⁸ Thus, it is the interactants' use of such linguistic devices, together with a switch to non-polite predicate forms, which helps to create the close relationship (Ide 1997: 84).

However, although a speech level switch from polite forms (i.e., *-desu/masu* forms) to non-polite forms (i.e., *-da/ru* forms) generally marks a switch from intergroup contexts to

²⁶ See for example Wierzbicka (1991: 342-346) for a detailed discussion on the concept of *amae*.

²⁷ As mentioned earlier, Ide (1997: 77) further separates a third category, the group outside the out-group (*soto no soto* or *yoso*), which encompasses "the people who are around you every day, but with whom you do not interact". And since Japanese etiquette assumes indifference to be the desirable type of behaviour toward people belonging to this group, Japanese people's behaviour may sometimes seem impolite in the eyes of non-Japanese.

²⁸ See ex. (37b) in Section 5.2 for a discussion on the *no (desu)* expression.

intragroup contexts, it is important to keep in mind that code switching can take place also when there is no apparent change from intergroup situations to intragroup situations or vice versa. Shifts from non-polite forms to polite forms occur in intragroup contexts and, to a lesser extent, switches from polite forms to non-polite forms take place in intergroup talk.²⁹ In fact, frequent code-switching is another characteristic which might be connected to in-group talk, a point made by Hijirida and Sohn (1983: 159), who state that "code switching seems to be much more frequent among in-group members".

To all this, I would like to add that, in friendly casual conversation--the type of conversational interaction usually evidenced in intragroup settings, as seen in some of the examples above--frequent direct reference to the second (and first) person can also serve to display the kind of "friendly directness" generally associated with positive (solidarity) politeness.³⁰ However, it is important to note that this does not directly apply to asymmetrical relationships, generally characteristic of intergroup settings. In fact, in example (4), the frequent use of the second person pronoun *kimi* should be interpreted to mark the speaker's authority over the hearer rather than "friendly directness".³¹

4.4. Ellipsis of first and second person-designating terms

At this point, the above examples suffice to demonstrate that overt expressions referring to the first and second person play a rather significant role in communicating person in some types of Japanese conversational interaction. However, we still must determine when they most typically occur and what kinds of functions different types of person-designating terms have in the ongoing conversation.

It is common knowledge that the frequency with which the subject and other elements of sentences can be ellipted is much higher in Japanese than in many European languages, for example. (However, as was pointed out in section 4.1, the "rules" or conditions regulating this phenomenon are still relatively unclear.) It has been suggested that the frequency of ellipted

²⁹ See Ikuta (1983) and Mimaki (1993) for more details.

³⁰ See Chapter 6 for the role of the topic particle *wa*/zero particle in this discussion.

³¹ See ex. (10) in Section 6.4.3 for a more detailed account.

subjects in Japanese ranges from 37% to 75% (*Danwago no Jittai* 1955). Clancy (1980: 133), comparing Japanese and English, reports that, in her investigation of narrative discourse, English speakers used ellipsis in roughly 21% of the places where a nominal argument was possible, whereas speakers of Japanese ellipted nominal arguments approximately 73% of the time. Another illuminating example is provided by Garnier (1993: 73), who has compared overt reference to the first person in Japanese and French: In one episode of a Japanese TV series lasting for one hour, there were reportedly 789 utterances which would have required an overt first person-designating term (*je/me/moi*) if translated into French. However, in the original Japanese dialogues, only 75 of the utterances, that is, 9%, contained a term which was used to refer directly to *je* 'I'.

The frequency of ellipsis in Japanese can be better understood if we consider the following observations. First, Japanese participants in a discourse rely heavily on context; what is perhaps obligatorily vocalised in English language conversation can often be left unsaid in Japanese. Also, various characteristics of Japanese language help the hearer identify the actual referents of deleted person referents, or zero forms. Okazaki (1994: 110-111) refers to "unmarked ellipses", which she defines as instances of ellipsis meeting one or both of the following conditions:

- 1) missing elements are uniquely recoverable by structural clues (such as the subject of the imperatives) or
- 2) elided elements are within the speaker's consciousness in terms of preceding contexts (such as topics of conversations, answers to questions) or in terms of immediate physical contexts (such as the "you" and the "I" in face-to-face communication).

She further adds:

When grammatical clues, cognitive and physical contexts provide enough information to identify the missing elements unambiguously, omission of a part of elements tends to be regarded as unmarked by native speakers of Japanese.

According to Okazaki (ibid., 114), the most common type of ellipsis is the deletion of noun phrases, which is our most immediate concern here. Hinds (1982a: 80-81) defines "three conditions under which ellipsis occurs freely in Japanese conversations":

- 1) The noun phrase is identified through a grammatical construction: for example, the subject of a declarative sentence is generally the speaker and that of an interrogative or imperative sentence the addressee, which is why they are generally omitted. In addition, there are constructions which tend to require specific types of subjects, for example, *tsumori da* 'intend to' or *-tai* 'want to' take first person subjects as they mark information directly accessible only to the speaker (e.g., internal feeling) (see Shibatani 1990: 364). These person subjects too are often deleted in oral discourse. (See also Nitta 1991.)
- 2) When the identity of subjects being described can be inferred from honorific mode, as with *mairu* 'come/go', which requires its subject to be the speaker or someone belonging to the speaker's in-group.
- 3) When a noun phrase refers to the paragraph topic, or a part of the paragraph topic, ellipsis may occur, but when a speaker introduces a new topic, a noun phrase appears on the surface structure to signal the shift of topic.

To this list, Shibatani (1990: 364) adds deictic expressions which point out "whether the speaker is involved as a subject or a goal" (cf. for example donatory verbs). Moreover, as Kai (1995: 2) remarks, contextual clues play an important role in interpreting ellipsed elements. For example after a tiring sports session, an utterance like *kitsukatta ne* '[today's practise] was hard, wasn't it?' can generally be easily understood by the interlocutor having participated in the same session without overt reference to *kyoo no renshuu* 'today's practise'. Therefore the noun phrase *kyoo no renshuu* is often omitted in contexts of this type.³²

However, examination of Japanese conversational data reveals that "elliptable" terms are clearly not omitted every time the proper conditions are met. In other words, ellipsis is by no means obligatory even if the context provides enough clues for interpreting who or what is being talked about. Thus, even though linguists have managed to pinpoint a number of reasons

³² See Shibamoto (1985) for sex-related differences concerning ellipsis in Japanese.

why zero forms are likely to appear in certain contexts, the fact is that, in a number of instances, the data derived from the Japanese films used in this study illustrate the opposite: overt person-designating terms occur in contexts where one would normally expect a zero form. This is the phenomenon which caused me to take interest in overt first and second person terms in Japanese conversation, for it seems worthwhile to examine what these "unexpected referents" actually do in such situations. Are they completely redundant or can they be interpreted as performing some specific functions? This is a question I will attempt to address in the present study from the viewpoint of pragmatics.

5. Bound forms and free forms of address in Japanese

5.1. Second person-designating terms and omission of the topic marker *wa*

Before continuing any further in the examination of the possible functions performed by overt person-designating terms, it is necessary to discuss some theoretical aspects related to the categorisation of these terms, in particular second person-designating terms. "Traditional" studies on address behaviour have usually been careful to point out that address terms should always be clearly distinguished from terms of reference. However, another basic distinction, namely that of *bound forms of address* versus *free forms of address* has become a subject of inquiry in address theory only quite recently. Traditionally, it is the bound form of address that has been examined more rigorously by sociolinguists, cultural anthropologists and others, but a number of studies have included both bound and free forms without making any reference to their actual differences. To give just one example, Russell (1981: 120), who examines "second person pronouns in Japanese", lists such terms as *otaku, anata, anta, kimi, omae*, etc., but points out that some of the respondents of her questionnaire-survey indicated they also used *oi* and *ne*. These attention-getting devices, however, can be used solely as free forms, whereas so-called personal pronouns tend to occur as bound forms.¹

Following the definition presented by Braun (1988: 11), syntactically bound forms of address are considered to be integrated parts of sentences, whereas syntactically free forms generally occur "outside" the sentence construction (preceding/succeeding the sentence or inserted into the sentence).² In languages like English, French, Dutch or Finnish, for example,

¹ See Sections 6.2 and 6.4.2 for more details. Cf. also Suzuki's (1973: 146-147) "vocative use" (*kokakuteki yoofoo*) and "pronominal use" (*daimeshiteki yoofoo*) as well as Takubo (1997) on second person terms as "vocatives" (*yobikake*) and "sentence-internal terms" (*bunmai taishooshi*).

² Conversational analysts generally make a distinction between addressing and what they call summoning. Schegloff (1968/1986: 357-359) classifies as summonses the following: 1) mechanical devices (e.g., telephone rings); 2) terms of address (e.g., *John?*, *waiter?*); 3) courtesy phrases (e.g., *Pardon me* when trying to get somebody's attention); 4) physical devices (e.g., a tap on the shoulder). When used as summonses, second person terms occur as the first part of a two part sequence (e.g., - *Sarah?* - *Yes*; - *Mary?* - looks up). If they are employed as terms of address, however, a response from the interlocutor is not always required. When addressing someone, the positioning of a term of address is restricted: it may occur at the beginning or at the end of an utterance, or between clauses or phrases in an utterance. "As summons items, however, terms of address are positionally free within an utterance . . . :

C: Try to get out t' - Joe?

D: Yeah?

C: Try to get ahold of [etc.]" (ibid., 358)

bound forms tend to be pronouns of address, whereas nouns of address usually appear as free forms:³

- 1) Est-ce que tu iras à Paris la semaine prochaine?
'Will you go to Paris next week?' (French)
- 2) Mijnheer Gaens, kan ik even met U spreken?
'Mr. Gaens, may I talk to you for a moment?' (Dutch)

However, the reverse is also possible:

- 3) You, where were you last night?
- 4) Ja mitä rouvalle saisi olla?
'And what would madam [-/le: allative case] like to have?' (Finnish)⁴

Braun (ibid., 12) observes that the distinction between bound and free forms is extremely helpful in address studies, since, for example, pronouns can "change their 'meaning' when used as free forms". The English pronoun *you*, for example, can pick up rather unfavourable connotations when used as a free form (see ex. 3 above). This is noted by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987: 203) as well, who point out the rudeness of the English *you* as an "address form in a hail or attention-getting phrase". They further observe that, as many languages delete the 'you' of the subject of imperatives, in English, too, a command containing the direct expression *you* is "marked as aggressively rude" (ibid., 191).

Japanese scholars have been prone to examine Japanese terms of address without paying much attention to the distinction between free and bound forms. One of the few studies dealing with this distinction in Japanese that I have come across is Takenoya (1995). Her

While terms of address are "inserted" in an utterance, summonses, on the other hand, are followed by a "recycling" to the beginning (see the example above). Thus, "after the term of address is introduced, the utterance continues with no break in its grammatical continuity": *Tell me, Bill, what were you doing yesterday, when...?*

³ Verb forms of address occur, for example, in Finnish.

⁴ Suzuki (1975: 27) attempts to emphasise the "uniqueness" of Japanese by claiming that this kind of indirect address (i.e., nominal variants used as bound forms) does not usually occur in English. However, as is illustrated by this example, and further specified by Seppänen (1989b: 21) and Braun (1988: 12), "indirect address either has a particular status . . . or functions as a *regular* expression of superiority or distance" in many languages (emphasis mine).

dissertation provides a description of the Japanese address system as used by native speakers and American learners of Japanese as a foreign language.⁵ According to her (ibid., 7), it is the bound form of address that tends to cause problems to American learners. The free form can often be avoided or substituted by nonverbal communication, such as pointing a finger, knocking on the door, waving the hand, touching somebody on his/her shoulder, etc. The bound form, on the other hand, is indispensable because of its function as a part of the sentence construction. Takenoya (ibid., 43) appears to apply to Japanese the theoretical concepts introduced by Braun (1988) in rather a carefree manner. First, she simply divides the Japanese address terms into two groups: nouns and pronouns. Nowhere does she point out that some researchers find this kind of a classification rather ill-suited to the Japanese language (see for example Garnier 1994). She further makes the distinction between free and bound forms of address in the following manner:

_____ (a), *kono hon wa* _____ (b) *no desuka?* '_____, is this book _____?'

The first item (a) of this utterance, which was provided in her pilot study questionnaire, is supposed to yield a free form of address, while the second missing item (b) corresponds to a bound form of address (Takenoya 1995: 40). She seems to suggest that differentiating bound and free forms of address in Japanese is as "simple" as in a language like English, for example.

Unfortunately Takenoya's analysis fails to account for an important characteristic of Japanese colloquial speech, namely, that of the deletion of the topic particle *wa*.⁶ The function of the postpositional particle *wa* is to separate the 'topic' of the sentence from the rest of the sentence (Hinds 1980: 266), but, in spoken language, utterances with deleted topic (or case) particles often sound more natural than corresponding utterances which contain these particles.⁷ This is pointed out, among others, by Shibamoto (1985: 124):

⁵ Although she claims to provide a *comprehensive* description of the address system as used by these groups (ibid., vii), her informants consist only of university students.

⁶ Terms "deletion", "omission" and "ellipsis" are often used interchangeably in linguistic literature, which is the case in the present work as well. See, however, Hinds's (1982: 18) definitions of "ellipsis" and "deletion".

⁷ Particle ellipsis is related also to such factors as speed of speech and geographic location. The higher the speed, the more often there is particle ellipsis. Furthermore, it has been reported that ellipsis takes place more frequently in the speech of the Kansai area (see Hinds 1982a: 163, 178; Okazaki 133). Kiyose (1995: 125), however, does not acknowledge particle ellipsis in expressions that are lacking in the nominative case suffix *-ga* and the accusative *-o*: *Watashi o sonna koto o zenzen shiranakatta wa* 'I did not know such a thing at all'. (But

The function of a noun phrase in a Japanese sentence is indicated by a particle that follows the noun and specifies the grammatical relationship of the noun phrase in question to the rest of the sentence. Not all noun phrases are marked; the surface versions of a sentence often undergo optional ellipsis of these markers.

Compare the following:

5a) Baa-chan wa doo na no.
Grandma TOP how NOM

5b) Baa-chan doo na no.⁸

In the film both of these utterances correspond approximately to '(Grandma) What do you think?', the only difference being that in (5a) the word *baa-chan* (literally 'Grandma') occurs with the sentence topic marker *wa*, while in (5b) *wa* appears to have been deleted.

How should we then categorise *baa-chan* of (5b)? Should it be analysed as a free or a bound form of address? Takenoya rids herself of this problem by making no mention of *wa* deletion, but her method can clearly not be defended if one wishes to examine spoken Japanese. Takubo (1997) differentiates vocatives (*yobikake*) and second person-designating terms occurring as parts of sentences (*bunnai taishooshi*). However, although some of his examples contain "wa-less" terms (e.g., *Okaa-san-tachi, doko ni itta?* 'Where did you [mother and the others] go?'; *ibid.*, 17) he does not discuss *wa* deletion. He seems to include cases like this in the category of vocatives.

Nakamura (1982: 312) mentions a similar case in his investigation including vocatives (*yobikake*), but he concludes that making clearcut categorisations is often problematic. This is especially true in his case, because his study was carried out by employing an interview method instead of recording natural discourse, and judgements based on such features as intonation,

can *watashi* 'I' in this example be analysed as lacking in *-ga*?) According to him, this is not a matter of ellipsis, because *historically* the zero-form has been the marker for the nominative and the accusative cases in Japanese.

⁸ (5a) appears on p. 40 in the scenario of *Osooshiki*, but it is actualised as (5b) in the film. Although in cases like these we know that the omitted particle is specifically *wa* and not *ga*, there are other cases which are less clear. There is room for individual variation, but, as Hinds (1982: 158) notes, it is plausible to assume that in most cases it is the topic marker *wa* which has been deleted.

prominence and occurrence of a pause in the utterance under examination could not be readily applied. The same difficulty is mentioned by Suzuki (1973: 146-147; 1975: 27; 1978: 124-125), who, inspired by an earlier paper by Fischer (1964), acknowledges a theoretical distinction between what he refers to as "vocative use" (*kokakuteki yoofoo*) and "pronominal use" (*daimeshiteki yoofoo*) of address terms.⁹ However, what he includes in his category of vocative terms appears to be relatively restricted, focusing only on attention-getting devices, such as *Okaa-saan!* 'Mom!' shouted in a loud voice by a child who cannot find his mother, or on terms of abuse and endearment: "The vocative includes the use of animal names to express affection or anger toward the addressee (Suzuki 1978: 124-125)." He goes on to give examples of terms of this type, such as 'piglet' and 'chick' in Europe, or *inu* 'dog' and *buta* 'pig' in Japan. Unfortunately, as will be demonstrated in Section 6.4, this kind of a view of vocative second person terms is clearly much too restricted. For the pronominal use of second person-designating terms, Suzuki (1975: 27) provides an example containing the topic marker *wa*: *Okaa-san wa, kore doo omou?* 'What do you [mother] think about this?'. Although, interestingly, his example sentence displays an ellipsis of the case particle *o* (cf. *Okaa-san wa, kore o doo omou?*), he does not seem to want to recognise that the topic marker *wa* could be deleted as well (as in *Okaa-san, kore doo omou?*).¹⁰ Also, despite his initial remark on the difference between vocative and pronominal usages, he makes no reference to this fact later in his discussion of second person-designating terms. Considering these points, it seems that Suzuki, among others, has simply chosen to use a convenient shortcut rather than give the theoretical points addressed here the attention they clearly deserve.

⁹ Cf. Tani's (1973: 890-891) slightly different categorisation of *termini di riferimento* and *termini vocativi*, the latter group including *termini ordinari* and *pronomi personali*.

¹⁰ See Section 6.3 for a more detailed account of *wa* deletion.

5.2. Omission of the topic marker *wa*: Previous studies

In this section I summarise what previous studies have concluded about the omission of *wa* with respect to first and second person NPs. Although, in most cases, first and second person NPs are only one part of the discussion, as third person NPs are generally also included, here the focus will be solely on the first and second person. I will take a look at several researchers' ideas, which is the reason the discussion may seem relatively long. However, since most of the previous studies summarised in this section exist only in Japanese, the English language overview I offer here is perhaps of some value.

5.2.1. Shibatani, Maruyama and Hasegawa

Let us first consider what those researchers who have examined the deletion of the topic marker *wa* have written about the nature of "*wa*-less" person-designation terms. As far as first person expressions with *wa* deletion are concerned, researchers are seemingly unanimous. Let us first consider the following example:

- 6) Watashi samishii wa.
I lonely FP
'I feel lonely.'¹¹

Following Shibatani (1990: 368-369), an utterance like this cannot be completed with any particle which might seem appropriate to the context. It is clearly lacking a particle after the first person subject *watashi* 'I', but filling the "empty slot" with a particle would alter the expression. As Shibatani observes, when dealing with utterances of this kind, supplying the topic particle *wa* after the subjects would turn them into judgement making, "yielding fairly objectively analyzed expressions regarding the speaker". According to him, example (6) above differs clearly from Watashi wa samishii, because insertion of the topic particle turns the utterance into "a judgement made by the speaker about herself connoting a rational analysis

¹¹ Shibatani's own analysis and translation.

behind the expression". Given the fact that example (6) is uttered by a woman who is appealing to her lover and revealing her innermost feeling to him spontaneously, we are most probably not dealing with rational judgement making. On the contrary, the speaker is simply expressing her internal feelings in an extremely direct and spontaneous manner, resulting in a simple juxtaposition rather than what is traditionally considered a "grammatical" sentence. For the same reason, adding the nominative particle *ga* would be quite infelicitous, as example (6) cannot be regarded to be a neutral description by an outside observer, nor is it an answer to the question *Dare ga samishii?* 'Who feels lonely?'. In a way, (6) is therefore an "unreconstructable" expression in the sense that it cannot take a particle without changing its connotation.

As another example of constructions of an "unreconstructable" nature, let us consider the following expression provided by Hasegawa (1993: 160):

- 7) ... Watashi, doo shiyoo.
 I how do-TENT
 'What should I do?' (when annoyed or troubled)

Hasegawa notes that if *wa* (again, *ga* would not be appropriate here) were added to this sentence, it would no longer convey the same emotional message as it does without the particle. Examples of this sort should therefore be clearly distinguished from cases of simple particle deletion. What we are dealing with here is an independent function of the zero form. Maruyama (1996: 78) gives the following example for a first person subject:

- 8) Boku, unagi.
 I eel
 'I'll take eel.'

Here again our example differs from the corresponding expression with *wa* and the plain form copula *da*: *Boku wa unagi da*. Maruyama echoes Shibatani's views by noting that example (8) consists of a plain juxtaposition of *boku* 'I' and *unagi* 'eel', while a similar utterance containing *wa* would connote deeper analysis.

However, when it comes to the second person, Shibatani (1990: 368) views the situation differently:

- 9) Kimi dare ga suki?
you who NOM like
'Who do you like?'¹²

Here we would be dealing with the simple omission of the topic particle *wa*, and, consequently, example (9) should be analysed as *Kimi \emptyset dare ga suki?* As a result, it would be completely identical to *Kimi wa dare ga suki?* with the topic particle *wa*. Shibatani does not elaborate his analysis, but there are other Japanese researchers who seem to disagree on this point.

Maruyama (1996) notes that it is, in fact, important to make a clear distinction between the functions of the topic particle *wa*, case particles (*ga*, *o*, *ni*) and the zero form (no particle). The category of zero forms can further be divided into two distinct groups: simple omission (*shooryaku*) of a case particle, and what she calls the function of "picking/pointing out" an element (*toridashi*). This she borrows directly from Hasegawa (1993), who explains the difference as follows. In the case of simple omission, both the speaker and the interlocutor know what is missing, and the case relationships in the utterance are clear. Consider for example (ibid., 160):

- 10) Omiyage katte kaerou ne.
souvenirs buy go home-TENT FP
'Let's buy some souvenirs to bring back.'

We can easily complete this example with the accusative case particle *o*, since the noun *omiyage* 'souvenir' is generally semantically associated with the act of buying (cf. the verb *kau* 'buy').

Similarly, in (ibid., 161)

¹² Shibatani's own analysis and translation.

- 11) Soko oitette kudasai.
 there put-POL
 'Please put it there.'

it is no doubt the locative particle *ni* that has been deleted. If, however, the case relationships within an utterance become unclear without a particle, particle deletion is impossible (ibid.):

- 12) Itsumo chichioya ni (* \emptyset) shikararete bakari...
 always father by scold-PASS only
 'I'm always just scolded by my father...'

Here deleting *ni* would cause confusion: we would no longer know whether it is the father who is being scolded by somebody or whether it is the father himself who is doing the scolding.

As for the zero form's capacity of "picking/pointing out" an element in an utterance, two separate roles emerge.¹³ Hasegawa calls these the "signaling" (*shingoosee no kinoo*) and the "softening" (*yawarage no kinoo*) functions.¹⁴ In general, nominals which cannot take a particle, as for example *watashi* in example (7) above, are things that are in the speaker's/hearer's field of vision or directly related to the speaker/hearer. This is pointed out also by Shibamoto (1991: 89-90), who acknowledges that, when an NP is physically or psychologically close to the speaker and the hearer, or when it is perceptible to both speaker and hearer at the moment of speech, particle (*wa/ga*) ellipsis becomes possible. And what could be more directly related to the speaker than the speaker him/herself?! Hasegawa (1993: 162) further posits that, in a way, a nominal marked by a zero particle forms the basis (*kiban*) of the message the speaker wishes to convey to the hearer; it is the item of the utterance that the speaker wishes to point out clearly to his/her interlocutor. It is frequently spoken with special

¹³ See Watanabe (1995) for a slightly different use of the concept of "picking/pointing out" (*toridashi*).

¹⁴ The "softening" function is slightly out of the scope of this study and therefore I explain it only briefly here. According to Hasegawa (1993: 165), particle ellipsis can be used in order to avoid *wa*'s effect of contrast and *ga*'s effect of exclusion, for example, when offering coffee to somebody: *Koohii \emptyset (?o/?wa) nomimasu?* ('How about some coffee?'). Using *o* here would imply "Do you want to drink coffee or not?" (selection) or "Do you usually drink coffee?" (checking if the addressee has the habit of drinking coffee), *wa* on the other hand would connote a contrast with other drinks. The "softening" zero form thus provides a more neutral way to express the speaker's intention.

intonation and followed by a short pause¹⁵, and, being positioned at the beginning of an utterance, it seems to be intended to alert the hearer: "This is what I am going to talk about, get ready".¹⁶ After this "initial alert", the speaker can proceed with the rest of utterance, for it is the [Y] part (i.e., the comment) in [X \emptyset Y] that the speaker is essentially hoping to convey to the interlocutor.

As mentioned above, if we examine the function of "picking/pointing out" further, we can, according to Hasegawa, determine two separate functions. What I am mainly interested in here is what she calls the "signaling function". By employing these "signals", the speaker is attempting to get the addressee's attention. In this way, they resemble vocative attention-getting devices (e.g., interjections *anoo*, *nee*), back-channeling, hesitation sounds, etc., which are also used within the flow of speech by a speaker who is trying to send some kind of a signal to the hearer. Vocatives, for example, can be used to "soften" an utterance: instead of stating *bluntly* his/her idea, opinion, impression, or whatever s/he wishes to convey, the speaker first notifies his/her speaking-intention to the addressee by a vocative. The speaker "picks/points out" the basis of the message first and thus gets the addressee's attention. Hence, in a way, these "signals" can be interpreted to function as directives in the sense that the addressee must pay attention to what the speaker is saying (ibid., 163).

A zero particle thus often marks the first person, that is, the speaker him/herself. As we have already seen, this happens often when s/he wants to convey his/her feelings to the interlocutor:

- 13) Atakushi, sonkee shiteru n desu. (K: 106)¹⁷
 I respect NOM COP
 'I respect [him].'

¹⁵ Hasegawa (1993: 162) suggests that example (7) could be "reconstructed" as *Watashi (-tte nante dame na no kashira.) Doo shiyoo* '(I'm probably of no use.) What should I do?'. This is the reason *watashi* in example (7) appears to be slightly cut off from the rest of the utterance.

¹⁶ Cf. Maynard (1987: 63-64) on non-thematisation (*ga*) and thematisation (*wa*): "Non-thematized participants are often 'singled out' as a focus of attention. Thematized participants then are not so much 'singled out' but rather remain in the total conceptual framework to maintain a flow of thought in the form of evoked, activated and stored information."

¹⁷ In the examples taken from the films used in this study, a comma marks a short pause in the flow of speech as occurring in the actual film dialogues.

- 14) Washi, nanka kibun ga warui de. (O: 12)
 I somehow feeling S bad FP
 'I feel somehow unwell.'

However, what I am mainly interested in here is, of course, the second person. How should we analyse words such as *omae* 'you' and *onii-san*, literally 'elder brother', in the examples that follow?

- 15) Onii-san, isoganai to ato nana fun yo. (B: 8)
 big brother hurry-NEG if after seven minutes FP
 'You better hurry up [if you want to catch your train], you've only got seven minutes.'
- 16) Onii-san mata kodomo shikatta no? (B: 41)
 big brother again children scold-PAST NOM
 'Did you scold the children again?'
- 17) Omae, shiawase kai? (W: 24)
 you happy Q
 'Are you happy?'

As also Hasegawa (*ibid.*, 164) observes, words such as *onii-san* above strongly resemble vocatives. However, in these utterances [X \emptyset] corresponds to the subject of the predicate clause and, according to her, it cannot be considered to exist independently (outside the utterance) in the way "true" vocatives do.¹⁸ Compare the following:

¹⁸ Kiyose (1995: 33) goes as far as to suggest the existence of a vocative case in Japanese: "A word used to address a person or personified object is, while being situated in a sentence, not related to other words and stands independently. The case of a noun-substantive thus used for the form of address is called the vocative case and is indicated by the suffix *-yo*, *-ya*, or the zero-form . . ." According to the *Kokugo Daijiten* (1981: 2414), the suffix *-yo* can be used when calling somebody or appealing to somebody. Kiyose provides the following example: *Ryoosei yo jichi no seeshin o wasureruna* 'Dormitory students, don't forget the spirit of self-government'. The suffix *-ya*, however, gets a slightly different definition in the *Kokugo Daijiten* (2360): it can be attached to personal names or other nouns denoting persons if one wishes to express closeness or intimacy to the interlocutor. It used to be employed as a suffix to common names denoting lower status addressees and servants, as in *nee-ya* 'maid' (voc.), *boo-ya* 'boy' (voc.), and the like. Today *-ya* is no longer analysed separately as a suffix. On the contrary, it seems to have completely intergrated in words like 'maid' and 'boy' themselves: *neeya* = 'maid', *booya* = 'boy'. In this sense, Kiyose's analysis of *-ya* as a separate suffix seems slightly outdated: *Boo ya, koko ni oide* 'Come here, little boy'. Martin (1975: 919) cites the example *Taroo yo!* 'Hey, Taroo!' and explains that the particle *yo* used as a vocative corresponds to the literary and dialect use of *ya*, which, in turn, is described as a vocative marker employed in old-fashioned (regional or literary) speech: *Obaa-san ya!* 'Hey there, granny!' (*ibid.*, 933). In my data, there are no instances of *ya*, and *yo* occurs only in *Osooshiki* in the speech of two elderly male characters: *Chizu-chan yo* 'Hey, Chizu(ko).' (O: 41). Note also Takubo (1997: 26-27): While kinship terms cannot usually be used as second person-designating terms from social superiors to social inferiors, adding the vocative marker *-yo* to terms like *otooto* 'little brother' and

18) Otoo-san... hontoo watashi, Nishi ni atte kita n desu. (w: 63)
 father really I IO meet came NOM COP

'Father... I did just go see Nishi...' (Ba: 220)

Here the speaker is simply trying to get her father's attention in order to tell him that she went to see a person called Nishi. Thus, *otoo-san* 'father' here is naturally not the subject of the predicate clause. In the example sentences provided by Hasegawa for the second person, however, it is interesting that all her second person "signals" are nouns (or more precisely, kinship terms): *nii-san* 'elder brother', *nee-chan* 'elder sister' and *otoo-san* 'father'. Also, all her example sentences are interrogatives. Why does she not give any examples with the so-called personal pronouns such as *anata*, *kimi*, or *omae* ('you'), and why is she limiting herself to interrogatives? Is this just a coincidence, or is she implying that examples like (15) and (16) should be treated somehow differently from (17)?

5.2.2. Kai and Onoe

To this point, we have seen that in everyday speech the topic marker *wa* can be dropped relatively easily after first and second person subjects. Following Kai (1991: 121) the order of likelihood can be schematised as:

Figure 10: Possibility of *wa* deletion (1)

higher possibility	>	lower possibility
1st person	>	2nd person
	>	3rd person

adapted from Kai (1991: 121)

As was seen above (see example 6), Shibatani (1990), among others, acknowledges the existence of first person subjects which *cannot* take *wa* or *ga*. Onoe (1987) (a conference paper

musuko 'son' makes them acceptable in vocative function. Thus *otooto yo* and *musuko yo* can appear as free forms (i.e., vocatives).

quoted in Kai [1992: 100]), expands this to certain second person subjects as well. It was mentioned earlier that, when the speaker is talking about him/herself or about the hearer, we can often observe expressions of the following type (ibid.):

19) Boku, ikitai.
I go-DESI
'I'd like to go.'

20) Kimi, hayaku ikinasai.
you quickly go-IMP
'Go quickly.'

According to Onoe, the function of *boku* 'I' and *kimi* 'you' above is to *announce* to whom the remainder of the sentence applies, and they should, therefore be treated as independent constituents. This is clearly similar to what Hasegawa calls "signals". This kind of a relationship cannot be marked by *ga* (connoting a logical relationship) nor by *wa* (connoting a topic-comment relationship).¹⁹

Kai (1992) elaborates Onoe's analysis and links "*wa/ga*less" sentences to the concept of "discourse topic" (which the speaker believes s/he is sharing with the hearer). She states that when the discourse topic is (easily) registered as the hearer's information, utterances without *wa* and *ga* are produced. If that about which or who the speaker is talking is clear to the hearer (through his/her five senses or otherwise) at the moment of the utterance, *wa/ga* deletion occurs: *Mite, kare o neteru* 'Look, he's sleeping'; to a friend when standing in front of a public phone: *Juu en dama o aru?* 'Have you got a ten yen coin?'. Additionally (and of greater interest in our present discussion) *wa/ga* omission takes place when a topic noun phrase is limited to the first or second person and appears in "functional sentences" (i.e., directives, descriptions of internal feelings, interrogatives directed to the hearer, etc.) as in (ibid., 104):

¹⁹ In addition, Onoe lists two other expression types, which cannot have *wa/ga*: existential interrogatives (e.g., *Hasami, aru?* 'Are there any scissors?') and new explanations/evaluations concerning subjects that have been introduced into the discourse for the first time (e.g., *Kono mise, yasui n da* 'This shop/restaurant is cheap').

21) Watashi \emptyset ocha nomitaai.²⁰
I tea drink-DES I

'I'd like to drink tea.'

22) Watashi \emptyset kore mae ni mita koto aru.
I this before have seen

'I've seen this before.'

Because the speaker is the only person who can know the information contained in these utterances, only a first person subject is possible. Therefore the subject of these kinds of sentences is often omitted. However, in our examples (21) and (22), the first person subject *watashi* 'I' is present. Kai (ibid., 104) states that using *wa* in these examples would imply some kind of a contrast (*taihitekina imi*) between the speaker (*watashi*) and someone else.²¹ Thus, when the first person noun phrase is used solely to designate to whom the latter part of the sentence applies, without any strong sense of assertion or contrast, *wa/ga* cannot appear.²² Hence, as we have already seen with Hasegawa (1993) and Onoe (1987), the role of *watashi* in the previous sentences is simply to let the hearer know as clearly as possible to whom the latter part of the sentence is referring. This applies also to formal self-introduction:

23) Watakushi, haiyuu no Inoue Wabisuke to Amemiya Chizuko no
I actor POSS and POSS
maneejaa de Satomi to mooshimasu kara... (on the phone) (O: 29)
manager and QT say because

'As my name is Satomi and I am the manager of actors Wabisuke Inoue and Chizuko Amemiya...'

As discussed above, directives and interrogatives are usually directed to the second person and thus the subject of these kinds of utterances can be easily understood even if it is

²⁰ The lengthened *ai* in *nomitaai* '[I]'d like to' is intended to mark an empathic lengthening of the vowel in pronunciation.

²¹ Similar views are provided also by Hata (1980: 206) and Clancy and Downing (1987: 49).

²² However, if the speaker wants to emphasise his/her intention/opinion/feeling particularly strongly, *wa* can appear without having the connotation of comparison: *Ore wa makenai* 'I won't lose' (Kai 1992: 107, fn. 10). Cf. also Tsutsui's view below.

omitted. However, if one wishes to refer *explicitly* to the performer of the action (i.e., retain an overt second person-designating term) *without* implying contrast, *wa* cannot be used. This may be required, when there are many people present and the speaker needs to point out to whom s/he is talking. Except for disambiguation, in this context, Kai does not refer to any other possible functions of "wa-less" second person-designating terms. However, as will be demonstrated later, there is more to these terms than just disambiguation. Kai's (1992: 104-105) examples of second person terms with zero particles are of the following type:

24) Omae \emptyset kore yare yo.
 you this do-IMP FP

'Do this.'

25) Omae \emptyset yasunda hoo ga ii n ja nai?
 you rest is best NOM not

'Shouldn't you take a break?'

26) Anata \emptyset kyoo kuruma de kita n desho?
 you today car by came NOM I guess

'I guess you came by car today?'

5.2.3. Tsutsui and Masunaga

Foreign learners often experience difficulties in learning case and topic marking particles, a task which is further complicated by their frequent ellipsis in informal talk (but also in formal talk, see example 23). This is remarked also by Tsutsui (1981, 1984) who sums up his analysis of *wa* deletion in the following two rules (1981: 297):

- 1) Focus condition (FC): *Wa* never drops if the noun phrase it marks is the focus (or part of the focus) of the sentence.
- 2) Presupposition Condition (PC): *Wa* drops if the noun phrase it marks is the presupposition (or part of the presupposition) of the sentence and if the degree of the speaker's presupposition is high at the moment of utterance.

In his discussion, he regards the focus of a sentence as "the part to which the speaker wants the hearer to pay most attention", while presupposition of a sentence corresponds to "the remainder which is less important in the sentence in achieving the speaker's intended communication" (ibid., 298).²³ The meaning of this point can be illustrated by the examples that follow. First, it is necessary to examine the FC, for this negative condition (i.e., *wa* cannot be ellipted when it is met) is responsible for the (un)naturalness of *wa* ellipsis. Although that to which Tsutsui refers as the focus of the sentence is his main concern here, in a later paper (1984: 113), he rephrases the "unnaturalness condition" as follows. Ellipsis of *wa* is unnatural if

- a) [X *wa*] is the focus (*shuuten*) of the utterance.
- b) The comment (*taioo bubun*) of [X *wa*] is deleted.
- c) The comment (*taioo bubun*) of [X *wa*] is emphasised.

These conditions can be illustrated by examples of the following types (ibid., 114-116). A) [X *wa*] is contrastive: *Boku wa (*φ) iku kedo, Yamada wa (*φ) ikanai yo* 'I'll go, but Yamada won't'; *Boku wa (*φ) iku yo* (with stress on *boku wa*) 'I'll go' vs. *Boku (wa) iku yo* 'I'll go'.²⁴ B) the comment (predicate part) of [X *wa*] is omitted: *Taroo wa (*φ)?* 'What about Taroo?' vs. for example *Taroo (wa) doo shita?* 'What did Taroo do/what happened to Taroo?'; *Doo shita no, kimi (wa)?* 'What did you do/what happened to you?'. C) the comment (predicate part) of [X *wa*] is emphasised: *Omae wa oobakayaroo da!* 'You're a complete idiot!' vs. *Kimi (wa) baka da naa* 'You're such a fool, aren't you'; - *Shitsuree desu ga, Suzuki-san desu ka.* - *Iie, watashi wa Yamada desu* 'Excuse me, but are you Mr./Ms. Suzuki? - No, I am Yamada' vs. *Watashi (wa) Yamada desu* 'I'm Yamada'.

Secondly, if we are not dealing with any of the aforementioned situations, naturalness of particle deletion can be related to what Tsutsui (1981: 306) refers to as the degree of presupposition. "If a noun phrase is marked by a thematic *wa*,²⁵ the referent of the noun phrase (X) is what the speaker talks about--in most cases, the presupposition (or part of the

²³ Cf. topic vs. comment and theme vs. rheme.

²⁴ Cf. fn. 22.

²⁵ Tsutsui is referring to Kuno's (1973) concept of thematic *wa* (vs. contrastive *wa*).

presupposition) of the sentence." With regard to the level of presupposition, Tsutsui (ibid.) proposes two rules (or, "hypotheses", as he puts it) according to which the level of presupposition is expected to be either high or low. The first one stipulates that a high level of presupposition calls for one of the following conditions:

- a) X is close to both the speaker and the hearer, physically or psychologically, at the moment of speech.
- b) X is something perceptible to both the speaker and the hearer at the moment of speech.
- c) The speaker and the hearer have been talking or thinking about X at the moment of speech.

These factors promote particle ellipsis. Often many conditions can be satisfied at the same time, but it is in particular condition (a) which can be considered relevant to the present discussion.²⁶

The second rule presented by Tsutsui is the opposite of that discussed above in that it deals with situations in which the speaker's level of presupposition is considered to be low (or not high). In an earlier paper (1981: 306), he considers this to be the case when the speaker's attitude toward X of [X *wa*] is "objective".²⁷ In contexts of this type, *wa* usually cannot be omitted. According to Tsutsui (ibid.), this rule takes precedence over the first one.

Accordingly, *wa* deletion does not generally take place in general statements such as *Kujira wa* (* ϕ) *ho'nyuu doobutsu desu* 'A whale is a mammal' (ibid., 314). In this earlier paper, Tsutsui (ibid., 315) posits that the same "objective attitude" inhibits *wa* deletion in, for example, recollections involving the first person.²⁸ According to him, this applies also to written language: "In general, written language requires a more objective attitude than spoken language does", which explains why *wa* usually cannot be dropped in written language.

²⁶ Conditions (b) and (c) can be illustrated by examples of the following kind: *Are (wa) nan no oto?* 'What sound is that?' (b); *Sono kangae (wa) nakanaka omoshirosoo da ne.* 'That idea seems pretty interesting, doesn't it?' (c). (See Tsutsui 1981: 312-313.)

²⁷ In a footnote, however, Tsutsui (1981: 318, fn. 11) likens the term "objective" to "psychologically distant". The latter term is the one he adopts in his later paper (1984).

²⁸ Tsutsui (1981: 315): "The speaker sits away from himself and sees himself as if he were a third person. In other words, his attitude toward himself is objective. Therefore, the degree of his presupposition is low and the *wa* cannot drop."

The idea of "objective attitude" linked to the maintainance of *wa* certainly appears awkward, and, in a later paper, Tsutsui (1984: 117-118) abandons this term and summarises the abovementioned two rules in a single, more general rule:²⁹

When, at the moment of speech, the speaker considers X to be psychologically close to him/herself and the hearer, the utterance containing [X *wa*] has a high level of presupposition. And, conversely, when the speaker considers X to be psychologically distanced from him/herself and the hearer, the presupposition level of the utterance containing [X *wa*] is low (my translation).

And what could, again, be felt more closely psychologically (or physically) by the speaker him/herself than the first person?³⁰ He (ibid., 118) provides the following examples for the first person:

27) Watakushi (wa) Yamada desu.³¹
I (TOP) COP

'I am Yamada.'

28) Watashi-tachi (wa) kono aki kekkon suru n desu.
we (TOP) this autumn marry NOM COP

'We'll get married this autumn.'

However, when the speaker sees himself/herself playing the role of X as the third person, the psychological distance between him/her as speaker and him/her as X increases, and, thus, *wa* cannot be dropped naturally. Tsutsui maintains that this is what happens for example in the case of recollections. Thus, he rephrases his earlier hypothesis of "objective attitude" in terms of that of psychological distance: he no longer refers to an objective attitude in relation to the occurrence of *wa* with first person NPs appearing in recollections, but links the particle to the

²⁹ Cf. Section 5.3.

³⁰ According to Tsutsui, except for extremely formal occasions, the first person (the speaker) is also generally psychologically (and physically) close to the second person (the hearer).

³¹ *Watakushi* could naturally also be deleted. (Although a perfect example of condition (a), example (27) satisfies also condition (b): the speaker is perceptible to both the speaker him/herself and the hearer at the moment of speech.)

more general concept of psychological distance.³² Although psychological distance is no doubt a practical concept in this discussion, its usefulness is partly undermined by the fact that Tsutsui does not provide a sufficient definition for the term, nor does he link it to more comprehensive pragmatic theories.

The second person--the hearer--is usually also felt by the speaker to be close, both physically and psychologically (and the hearer is naturally close to him/herself as well). Accordingly, *wa* is often deleted with overt second person-designating terms. Tsutsui (ibid.) suggests the following:

- 29) Kimi/Suzuki-kun (wa) Hokkaidoo datta ne.
 you/Mr. Suzuki (TOP) COP-PAST FP
 'You were from Hokkaido, right?'
- 30) Anata-tachi (wa) konna tokoro de nani shiten no?
 you-pl. (TOP) like this place in what doing NOM
 'What are you doing in a place like this?'
- 31) Oi, Kimura, omae (wa) saikin genki nai zo. Doo shita?
 hey you (TOP) lately lively NEG FP how do-PAST
 Hey, Kimura, you've been pretty down lately. What's wrong?'

According to Tsutsui, the same rule applies to names, titles and so-called pronouns.³³

Masunaga (1988: 153) presents similar findings, but prefers to use the concept of "predictable themes". It is important to make a distinction between shared and unshared

³² When the speaker sees him/herself as a third person (e.g., recollection of the past), or when s/he addresses a large crowd, the psychological distance between him/her and X increases, and ellipsis of *wa* cannot occur naturally: *Ano toki wa tashika ame ga futteita to omou. Ore wa (*φ) itsumo no yoo ni ekimae de kyakumachi o shiteita n desu* 'I think it was raining then. As usual, I was waiting for clients in front of the station' (Tsutsui 1984: 118). However, as will be discussed later, Kai (1991: 119) acknowledges *wa* deletion in utterances of this type when the speaker is describing a specific *point* of time in the past (restricted period of time): *Watashi (wa) ano toki juujitsu shita jinsee o okutteta. Demo sore mo ima to natte wa mukashi no hanashi da.* 'I was living a full life in those days. But now that's already stories of the past.'

³³ However, as in the first person, when the psychological distance increases, *wa* cannot be deleted naturally (*Ano toki no kimi wa (*φ) mada chuugakusei datta naa. Oboeteiru kai?* 'In those days you were still a junior high school student. Remember?'). The third person can also be felt to be psychologically close, e.g., a family member, an employee of the same company, a colleague, a teacher, a classmate, etc: *Otoo-san (wa) osoi ne* 'Father is late, isn't he?'. Masunaga (1988: 152) refers to referents of this kind as "predictable themes". However, if the third person is not known by/close to the speaker/hearer, the psychological distance usually increases: *Boku no kanai no tomodachi no shujin wa (*φ) kimi to onaji kaisha ni tsutometeiru rashii* 'It seems my wife's friend's husband is working in the same firm with you'. See also Shibamoto (1991).

information: "When the topic is predictable, the particle can be deleted, and when the topic is not predictable, the particle must remain." A speaker or a hearer is naturally a "predictable theme" in any speech act, which is the reason why *wa* can generally be deleted easily with first and second person pronouns. However, why Masunaga is referring here only to *pronouns* remains unclear.

5.2.4. Kai's "Principle of assertion" and "Principle pertaining to the hearer"

Kai (1991) has examined the rules governing the omission of *wa* in even more detail. Apart from what she suggests in Kai (1992) (discussed above), according to her, there exist two principles allowing *wa* deletion: "the principle of assertion (PA)" and "the principle pertaining to the hearer (PH)".³⁴ According to PA, "*wa* cannot be omitted when a speaker is convinced that the state of affairs is true and he asserts it."³⁵ *Wa* can be omitted, on the other hand, when a speaker does not have enough convictions about the truth of the proposition, or when a speaker asks a hearer questions about the truth of the proposition, or . . . because he does not have enough information for judgement (Kai 1991: 128)." Following Kai (ibid., 114) this can therefore be schematised as:

Figure 11: Possibility of *wa* deletion (2)

impossible	<	lower possibility	<	<	higher possibility
assertion, judgement			<		non-assertion
<i>da</i>	<	modality markers	<		interrogatives

adapted from Kai (1991: 114)

³⁴ Sometimes, though, drawing a line between these two principles can be difficult.

³⁵ According to Tsutsui (1983: 211, as quoted in Shibamoto 1991: 91), the fact that general statements usually do not allow particle deletion can be traced back to the aforementioned "closeness condition", which maintains that "the more closely related an utterance is to its hearer, the more natural ellipsis will be". Thus, as general statements are not closely related to the hearer, this functions as a feature inhibiting ellipsis.

This schema can be further elaborated:

Figure 12: Possibility of *wa* deletion (3)

impossible/lower possibility	<		<	higher possibility
speaker's own experience, observation	<	<	hearsay (information from a 3rd person)	
<i>daroo</i>	<	<i>yoo da</i>	<	<i>mitai da</i>
			<	<i>rashii</i>
				<i>(hazu da)</i>
				<
				<i>datte/</i>
				<i>soo da</i>

adapted from Kai (1991: 116)

Observe the following (ibid., 117):

32a) Go-ryooshin wa (* \emptyset) kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru.
 HON-parents TOP you POSS future DO be anxious
 'Your parents are anxious about your future.'

32b) Go-ryooshin wa (* \emptyset) kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru daroo.
 I guess
 'I guess your parents are anxious about your future.'

32c) Go-ryooshin (wa) kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru yoo da.
 looks like
 'Your parents seem anxious about your future.'

32d) Go-ryooshin (wa) kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru mitai da.
 seems
 'It seems your parents are anxious about your future.'

The degree of the speaker's certainty regarding the state of affairs is indicated by epistemic modality. As the uncertainty or the indirectness of the information increases, omission of *wa* becomes increasingly appropriate. Similarly (ibid., 118):

33a) Benisu no machi wa (* \emptyset) hito ga ippai da.
 POSS town TOP people S full COP
 'The town of Venice is full of people.'

33b) Benisu no machi wa (? \emptyset) hito ga ippai ni chigai nai.
must be

'The town of Venice must be full of people.'

33c) Benisu no machi (wa) hito ga ippai kamo shirenai.
perhaps

'The town of Venice is perhaps full of people.'

However, according to Kai (ibid., 118-121), ellipsis of the topic marker *wa* can occur even in statements under the following conditions: 1) co-occurrence with certain adverbs: *kitto* 'certainly', *tabun* 'maybe', etc., which emphasise the speaker's conjecture or guessing; 2) relationship with the place and time of speech: *ima ...-shiteru* 'am/are/is doing now', *ano toki/ dooji ...-shiteta* 'was/were doing then, at that time', co-occurrence with deictic demonstratives (*kono* 'this', etc.); 3) answers to interrogatives: - *Watashi kinoo ichinichi juu benkyoo shiteta n dakedo anata wa nani shiteta?* - *Watashi wa (\emptyset) bideo o miteta* '- I was studying yesterday all day long, but what were you doing? - I was watching videos'. This can be further schematised as:

Figure 13: Possibility of *wa* deletion (4): Conditions concerning X in [X *wa*]

impossible / lower possibility	<	higher possibility
logical / universal judgement <	transitory, temporary state of affairs / movement restricted in time (not necessarily now / here)	< something that is now / here

adapted from Kai (1991: 121)

According to Kai (119-121), it is easy to understand that *wa* deletion takes place most naturally in contexts which are restricted to "this and now" (of the present), if one considers linking the object of judgement (X) to the comment (Y) to be the principal function of the topic particle. When a speaker is stating for example something like *Yuki wa shiroi* 'Snow is white', s/he is generally convinced about the truth of the proposition. Accordingly, *yuki* (X) is tied strongly to the comment *shiroi desu* (Y) by maintaining the topic particle. However, the deeper

the relationship of an utterance is with "this and now" of the present, the further away it slips from this "prototypical" case. And, consequently, *wa* deletion becomes more natural. The best example of an utterance having a deep relationship with "this and now" is perhaps an exclamation, for example, *A, kore watashi no da* 'Oh, this is mine'.

Finally, the most typical *non*-judgements (*non*-assertives) are unquestionably interrogatives. This is the reason that *wa* may be easily omitted in utterances such as (16) and (17) above. Interrogatives are, of course, generally directed at the addressee, and this also explains why my data displays an extremely high number of "*wa*-less" second person-designating terms in interrogative sentences:

34) Kimj, naze kaban o akenai n da. (W: 28)
 you why bag DO open-NEG NOM COP
 'Why don't you open your briefcase?' (Ba: 154)

35) Noriko, mada iru? (B: 20)
 still be
 '(Noriko) Are you still staying?'

Kai's other principle, the "principle pertaining to the hearer" (PH), can be understood as follows: *Wa* can be omitted when the speaker takes into consideration the relation between the hearer, the information and the speaker him/herself. PH has the capacity to soften the speaker's assertion (Kai 1991: 128). According to Kai, PH is applied for example in the following situations. The information held by the hearer is taken into consideration by the speaker: a) differences in knowledge, recognition (*ninshiki no sa ni taisuru hairyo*), which can be reflected in speech by the use of *yo* (sentence-final particle of persuasion 'I tell you'), *-janaika* ('isn't it'), etc.; b) identical knowledge, recognition (*dooitsu ninshiki ni taisuru hairyo*) which may be evidenced by the use of *ne* (tag-question sentence-final particle); c) discordance, clash of information (*kikite no motsu joo hoo no kuichigai ni taisuru hairyo*), which can be materialised in speech for example in the construction *-nanka ja nai* ('is no [such thing, etc.]'), etc.; d) new (unnoticed) information to the hearer, which can be marked by the *no da* ('it is that') construction. Take for example (ibid., 123):

36a) Shige-san wa (* \emptyset) fushigina hito da.
 Mr./Ms. TOP strange person COP

'Mr./Ms. Shige is a strange person.'

36b) Shige-san (wa) fushigina hito nanka ja nai.
 some NEG

'Mr./Ms. Shige is no strange person.'

Compare also the following (ibid., 115-116):

37a) Watashi wa (* \emptyset) shiganai inaka kyooshi da. Anata to wa kankyoo ga
 I TOP poor countryside teacher COP you with TOP circumstances S
 chigai sugiru.
 differ too much

'I'm just a poor country teacher. My circumstances are too different from yours.'

37b) Watashi (wa) shiganai inaka kyooshi nan da. Anata to wa kankyoo
 NOM COP
 ga chigai sugiru.

'It is that I'm just a poor country teacher. My circumstances are too different from yours.'

Here (37a) is an assertive sentence with the plain form copula *da*, whereas (37b) contains the pattern *no da* (which is realised here as *nan da* [*< na no da*]), as is the case when it follows a noun; roughly 'it is that'). Thus, the copula *da* alone connotes strong assertion, and its appearance makes omission of the topic marker less appropriate. With *no da*, however, *wa* deletion becomes possible.³⁶ It is true that in my data too "wa-less" first and second person referents have the tendency to co-occur with the *no da* construction, among others, and exceptions to this rule are difficult to find. In addition, utterances containing the *no da* construction are generally followed by sentence-final particles. Another variant is the feminine *no* alone, a functional counterpart of the generally more masculine *no da*:

³⁶ *No da* consists of the nominalising particle *no* and the copulative *da(desu)* (Kuno 1973: 223-224). Alfonso (1966: 405) explains that, basically, the meaning of a sentence does not change by the addition of *noda(desu)*. What it does is to add "certain overtones to the statement, for it indicates some *explanation*, either of what was said or done, or will be said or done, and as such always suggests some context or situation". Makino (1991: 107), on the other hand, links this construction to the concept of empathy and states that it expresses "the speaker's or writer's unilateral empathy with a state or action". In narrative discourse it can also be interpreted as being a marker of the writer's subjective interpretation of the events s/he is describing.

38) Atashi ima no mama de ii no! (S: 354)
I now POSS as good FP

'I'm happy just as I am.'

As for other examples containing "wa-less" first or second person referents with the plain form copula *da*, it seems that there is the need for some kind of a "softening device", such as a conjunction or a sentence-final particle. Japanese generally dislike ending an utterance on a tone of finality and, as Kamio (1990: 56-57) points out, overt expressions which could be felt to emphasise the "monopolising" position held by the speaker vis-à-vis the interlocutor.³⁷ Therefore there is a clear tendency to avoid plain assertions like:

39a) Sonna koto wa nai.
such thing TOP NEG

'It's not like that.'

and replace them with "pseudo-assertions" accompanied with sentence-final particles or conjunctions:

39b) Sonna koto wa nai ga.
but

lit. 'It's not like that, but.'

Compared to (39a), (39b) feels like an unfinished sentence and the hearer might hypothesise that the speaker still wants to go on and give some more explanations, instead of stating his/her view of the matter in the extremely direct and blunt manner expressed by (39a). In my data too, these tendencies were reflected in utterances of the following type:

40) Atashi, kodomo daisuki da shi... (B: 60)
I children like very much COP besides

'And besides I love children...'

³⁷ See Loveday (1986: 115): "It is generally regarded as unrefined to clearly mark the end of one's utterances and so the ending is frequently left hanging with a word like 'nevertheless' (*keredo ... ga*)."

- 41) Kane wa motteru kedo, hito no kimochi wa wakaran hito da de ne.
 money TOP have but people POSS feeling TOP understand-NEG person COP FP

Washi daikirai da na... (O: 128)
 I dislike very much COP FP

'He has a lot of money, but he doesn't understand people's feelings. I really dislike him...'³⁸

- 42) Obaa-chan taihen datta wa nee. (O: 50)
 grandma hard COP-PAST FP FP

'It must have been so hard for you.'

In addition to the *no da* construction and other copula expressions like (40-42) above, in my data "*wa*-less" person-designating terms appear extremely frequently in other types of assertive sentences with sentence-final particles:

- 43) Oo, nee-san, ore meshi kuu yo. (S: 355)
 hey elder sister I food eat FP

'Hey, sis, I haven't eaten yet.' (lit. 'I'll eat.')

- 44) Otoo-san yotten no ne, mata. (S: 353)
 father be drunk NOM FP again

'(Father) You're drunk again.'

The second condition of Kai's (1991) "principle pertaining to the hearer" involves the following. Recognition of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer (or a third person), which may become apparent in the use of the neutral polite copula *-desu*, neutral polite verb forms with *-masu*, *wa* (sentence-final particle used mainly by women), and so forth, make topic *wa* deletion easier. Observe the following examples provided by Kai (ibid., 123-124):

- 45a) Yamada-kun no oya wa futari no kekkon ni hantai datta. Sore de
 Yamada Mr. POSS parents TOP two POSS marriage IO oppose COP-PAST that with
 zuibun Yamada-kun wa (* \emptyset) nayanda.
 much Mr. TOP be distressed-PAST

³⁸ See below.

'Yamada's parents were opposed to their marriage. That is why Yamada was very distressed.' (plain)

- 45b) Yamada-kun no oya wa futari no kekkon ni hantai deshita. Sore de zuibun Yamada-kun (wa) nayamimashita.
be distressed-PAST-POL

'Yamada's parents were opposed to their marriage. That is why Yamada was very distressed.' (neutral polite)

- 45c) Yamada-kun no oya wa futari no kekkon ni hantai datta. Sore de zuibun Yamada-kun (wa) nayanda wa.
be distressed-PAST FP

'Yamada's parents were opposed to their marriage. That is why Yamada was very distressed.' (emphasising)

The examples above all contain a third person subject, but when the speaker is judging the interlocutor (second person) on something that normally only the interlocutor him/herself can know for sure, neutral polite verb forms do not normally allow *wa* deletion. Compare the following first and second person subjects:

- 46a) Watashi (wa) juujitsu shita jinsee o okutteimasu.
I (TOP) plentiful life DO be living-POL

'I am living a plentiful life.'

- 46b) Anata wa (* \emptyset) juujitsu shita jinsee o okutteimasu.
you

'You are living a plentiful life.'

The same tendencies are displayed in my data. First person subjects co-occurring with neutral polite *-desu/-masu* verb forms allow *wa* deletion:

- 47) Atashi... totemo shiawase desu... (W: 58)
I very happy COP-POL

'And I'm... very happy...' (Ba: 212)

- 48) O-naka nanka itaku nai n desu... Watakushi, dame desu... (K: 90)
stomach some painful-NEG NOM COP-POL I no good COP-POL

'It's not that I've got a stomach ache or something... I can't do it...'

- 49) Sudoo-san wa ii kata desu, watakushi, koofuku o inottemasu. (K: 117)
 Mr. TOP good person COP-POL I happiness DO be praying-POL
 'Mr. Sudoo is a good man. I'm praying for his happiness.'

The same is true for first person subjects appearing in assertives with the sentence-final particle *wa*:³⁹

- 50) Atashi moo oitoma suru wa. (B: 50)
 I already leave FP
 'I have to go.'

Although usually associated with feminine speech, a similar particle can also be found in male speech, as in:

- 51) Ore byooin no kanjoo haratte kuru wa. (O: 38)
 I hospital POSS bill pay come FP
 'I'll go and pay the hospital bill.'

In spite of Kai's thorough analysis of constructions and linguistic contexts where *wa* deletion is likely to take place or not to take place, the reader is left with a number of questions: What makes the speaker to be assertive at times and less assertive at others? Why does the speaker decide to use "softer" expressions on certain occasions or when speaking to certain addressees? It is curious that Kai's "principle of assertion" is linked solely to the level of the speaker's convictions about the truth of his/her proposition or the level of the speaker's information. If a speaker resorts for example to example (32b) (*Go-ryooshin wa kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru daroo*), it does not automatically signify that, in reality, s/he is less certain about the state of affairs than in the case of (32a) (*Go-ryooshin wa kimi no shoorai o kizukatteiru*). It is a well-known fact that speakers of Japanese tend to avoid expressions which might sound too direct. Compared to (32a), the indirectness of (32b) makes it sound slightly

³⁹ See, for example, Ide and McGloin (1991: 30-33, 75-76) for further discussion.

softer, more distanced from the speaker, and therefore more polite.⁴⁰ Furthermore, since the recognition of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer is one of the main aspects of Kai's second principle, the "principle pertaining to the hearer", it should also be interpreted as being linked to the concept of politeness.

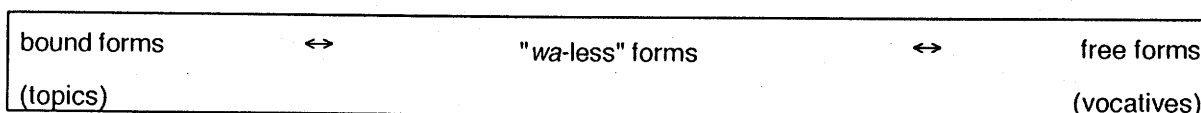
5.3. First and second person-designating terms without *wa*: "Intermediate" terms and their functions in discourse

After this lengthy discussion on the conditions regulating topic *wa* deletion, the initial question still remains: How should "*wa*-less" first and, more importantly, second person-designating terms be treated in the present analysis? It is clear that, despite the arguments given in Takenoya (1995), the dichotomy of *bound forms* versus *free forms* suggested for the categorisation of terms of address by Braun (1988) cannot be applied to second person-designating terms occurring in Japanese spoken discourse without difficulties. Therefore I would like to propose that, rather than sticking to such a dichotomy, from a pragmatic point of view, it would be profitable to consider a more flexible apparatus for describing Japanese phenomena. On a simply *formal* level, the Japanese case could be seen as continuum, stretching from terms with an overt particle on the left through "*wa*-less" constructions in the middle to independent constituents on the right. In this continuum only the ends coincide with Braun's concepts of bound and free forms, while the middle part is characterised by person-designating terms with omitted topic particles. For the second person case, this can be schematised as:⁴¹

⁴⁰ According to Kamio's (1990: 232-233) theory of speaker and hearer territory, it is important to note that a speaker displaying information as belonging to his/her territory of information, although it *actually* belongs to the territory of information of his/her hearer, would be seen as non-polite.

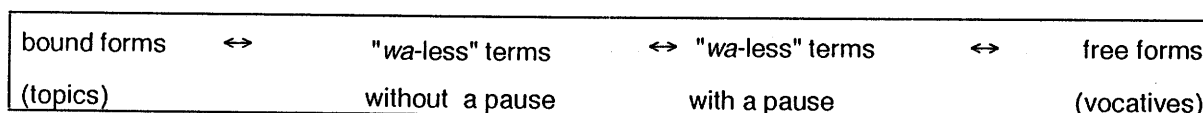
⁴¹ First person terms could be added to the categories of bound forms and "*wa*-less" forms in the schema--and, perhaps, even to the category of free forms. As pointed out to me by Yasuhiko Nagano (personal communication), some female speakers tend to commence utterances with (*w*)*atashi* 'I', even when what follows has no clear connection to the speaker. (Functionally forms of this type could perhaps be likened to "emphasising vocatives", discussed in section 6.4.2.) Note also that, although the continuum presented here places bound forms on the left side and free forms on the right, functionally they could perhaps be hypothesised to form a triangular pattern. (Cf. Hayashi [1973: 34] on the *shihatsusee* of *mina-san wa* as compared to a vocative *mina-san*.)

Figure 14: Continuum of bound forms, "wa-less" forms and free forms (1)



In fact, when dealing with spoken discourse, our formal schema for the second person can be specified even further. Observation of features related to sound enables us to construct the following more detailed continuum:

Figure 15: Continuum of bound forms, "wa-less" forms and free forms (2)



Given the fact that detection and identification of sound features in the present study was based on auditory perception only (no technical devices were employed), the focus was put on a single clearly perceptible element, namely, the possible pause in the flow of speech following (or preceding) examined person-designating terms.

Although restricted to a formal level, the advantage of a scalar view is that it provides a mechanism for an explanation of second person reference terms having both "bound form-like" and "free form-like" uses. As was already remarked above, Hasegawa (1993), among others, acknowledges the importance of a pause in her discussion of the zero form's capacity of "picking/pointing out" an element in an utterance (*toridashi*). If we follow Hasegawa and consider "wa-less" terms as representative of what she refers to as "signals" (*shingoosee no kinoo*), her theory offers support to our analysis. As a matter of fact, Hasegawa (*ibid.*, 163) acknowledges the existence of different degrees of these signals. And the stronger the "signalness" of a "wa-less" NP, the more explicit its appeal (*hatarakikake*) to the listener and the more detached it is from the rest of the sentence. This can be easily understood, if one considers "true" vocatives to be "directives" in the sense that, often some sort of a (verbal or nonverbal) reaction is required from the interlocutor who is being summoned. Thus, when

examining overt second person referents, it appears plausible to claim that "*wa*-less" terms appearing *with* a pause are, in fact, closer to what Braun (1988) refers to as free forms of address, or vocatives, while "*wa*-less" terms appearing *without* a pause are closer to bound forms of address, or topics, in our discussion. This kind of theory, namely, one involving the acknowledgement of the saliency of pragmatic factors opens exciting new horizons in the discussion of Japanese sentence topics and topicality in general.

This analysis is naturally restricted solely to formal factors and cannot explain the kinds of functions terms with zero particle and those which retain the topic particle actually carry out in Japanese discourse. As was seen in the preceding section, many researchers have engaged in the discussion of "*wa*-less" terms, resulting in numerous hypotheses and suggestions concerning the nature and functions of these terms. The maintenance of *wa* has been related to such factors as rational or objective analysis, logical judgement, contrast, focus, psychological distance, assertiveness, and so on. The ellipsis of *wa*, on the other hand, has been linked to spontaneity, emotion, "signality" and anticipation, high level of presupposition and predictable themes, psychological closeness, uncertainty, softening, and so forth. Although certain factors, such as contrast or focus, for example, may be directly dependent on the structural explicitness, there are others, deriving secondarily from the lack of the topic particle, which depend instead on the speaker's attitude toward him/herself, the addressee and/or the information contained in the message.⁴² It is the latter factors, namely, those related to the speaker's attitude that, in my opinion, have not yet been explained in a sufficiently coherent manner. A number of researchers, including Kai (1991; 1992), have been eager to point out the kind of constructions and linguistic contexts which generally promote particle deletion, but attempts to relate this phenomenon to a comprehensive pragmatic framework have lacked consistency. Also, since most researchers mentioned here have discussed first and second person NPs together with third person NPs, the "special" roles played by first and second person terms with respect to such factors as politeness and communicative functions have been unavoidably overlooked.

⁴² Cf. Shibamoto's (1991: 94) summary of features promoting or inhibiting particle ellipsis, based on Hinds and Tsutsui. Note also her concept of "functional/interpretive" features.

I would like to suggest that "bare" or "wa-less" first and second person terms relevant to the speaker's attitude can be best explained by the relatively "simple" concepts of politeness and involvement. Shibatani's observations (personal communication to De Wolf), reported in passing in a footnote in De Wolf (1987: 288, fn. 16), can be interpreted as offering support for this kind of a theory. It is curious that Shibatani does not include these remarks in his later discussion on *wa* deletion (Shibatani 1990), for they provide an insightful view of the "subtle but significant semantic differences" between subjects followed by *wa* and subjects marked with a zero particle in colloquial speech--a view which is consistent with the theoretical lines discussed in the present research. He (De Wolf 1987: 288, fn. 16) states the following:⁴³

Wa draws attention to the NP so marked. It is omitted when the NP is being specified as a *participant in* rather than as purely the referent of the predication (emphasis mine).

Watashi wa shinu wa 'I'm going to die (kill myself)' is a comment about the fate or the action of *watashi*. *Watashi shinu wa* is a statement about an event.

Another salient point concerning the "semantics of *wa*" is made by Maynard (1987: 62-63) who discusses Mio's concepts of *genshoobun* and *handanbun*. While *genshoobun*, which are characterised by the formula NP + *ga* + VP,⁴⁴ "express phenomena perceived and reflected emotionally" and they "are arrived at without the process of judgement", *handanbun*, of the type NP *wa* NP *-da*, "express logical propositions such as A equals B". In the case of *genshoobun*, "there is no gap between the phenomenon and its descriptive expression" and thus no place for a subjective view which could "intrude between" the actual phenomenon and its expression. As a result, there is also "no responsibility on the part of the user" in regard to the contents of *genshoobun*.⁴⁵ In the case of *handanbun*, by contrast, the truth or trustworthiness of the proposition the speaker is making is dependent on his/her subjective judgement (see Nagano 1972: 123). Whereas purely descriptive utterances of the *genshoobun* type give "the

⁴³ However, again, Shibatani's observations are limited to the first person.

⁴⁴ VP includes present progressive (*-teiru*, etc.) or past tense (*-ta, -da*) forms (Maynard 1987: 62). To these, Nagano (1972: 120-121) adds expressions of the following type: *Hi ga noboru* 'The sun rises' (present tense); *Sora ga aoi* 'The sky is blue' (adjectival), etc. In short, he defines *genshoobun* as sentences having a subject followed by the particle *ga*.

⁴⁵ See Section 6.1. on the concept of responsibility vis-à-vis indexical progression.

impression of urgency and immediacy", at least some of the *wa* sentences (of the *handanbun* type), Maynard (1987: 62-63) continues, "reflect the speaker's judgement and therefore less immediacy of expression is conveyed". Mio's original concepts are elaborated by Nagano (1972: 123-125), who extends *handanbun* to include a number of different sentence types which have a *wa*-marked subject (e.g., the latter sentence of: *Yuube osoku ame ga furidashita. Ame wa, akegata yanda.* 'It started raining late last night. The rain stopped at dawn.').

Although Maynard and Nagano are describing the differences between *ga* and *wa* and make no mention of zero particles, it is reasonable to assume that utterances with zero particles, too, reflect a lower level of subjectivity on the speaker's part than utterances which maintain *wa*. These points are similar to those discussed in the preceding section. Furthermore, keeping Shibatani's observations in mind, a speaker producing overt first person terms followed by *wa* can thus be regarded as a commentator on his/her own actions. In a way, there is a certain distance between the speaker as a commentator (narrator) and the actual events s/he is describing, reflecting what could be referred to as a more processed or organised description. In Maynard's (1987: 63) words, the speaker displays him/herself as someone going through "a change of states". The focus is not on separate events or actions, but rather on the speaker him/herself who serves as a reference point in the unfolding of events. The speaker himself/herself is displayed as the sentence topic on which a comment is made or explanations are given (cf. Nagano 1972: 125). Omitting the topic particle can therefore be interpreted as reflecting a "less processed" or "less organised" description, resulting from the "erosion" of the topic-comment construction which leads to inexplicitness of expression. My claim is that a zero marked first person term, in a way having a less explicit status than a sentence topic marked by *wa*, provides a means to focus more on the events and actions themselves. Overt reference to the speaker puts him/her on stage, but s/he is to be seen more as an active participant rather than a mere reference point of action.⁴⁶ Whereas the topic marker *wa* could perhaps be characterised as having the effect of "stalling" action by putting the spotlight on the

⁴⁶ Furthermore, if we assume that "*wa*-less" constructions put more emphasis on the events and actions than those with *wa*, the logical outcome is that, in the case of a zero NP (i.e., no overt referent), the focus is even more on the events and actions alone.

speaker, the zero particle perhaps allows a more "action-oriented", dynamic and vivid portrayal of events.⁴⁷

Yet another concept that can be integrated in our theory is that of "involvement". Chafe (1982: 46) has remarked that a speaker's involvement *with his/her audience* becomes manifest in the frequency of overt self-reference: the more frequent the references to the first person, the higher the speaker's level of involvement with his/her audience.⁴⁸ Similarly, "second person reference would seem to be also a symptom of involvement", although Chafe admits that there were too few examples in his data to prove this.⁴⁹ In spoken language, involvement is exhibited also in another aspect (*ibid.*, 45):

The speaker is aware of an obligation to communicate what he or she has in mind in a way that reflects the richness of his or her thoughts--not to present a logically coherent but experientially stark skeleton, but to enrich it with the complex details or real experiences--to have less concern for consistency than for experiential involvement.

Keeping this in mind, my hypothesis is that, not only do frequent overt references to the first and second person reflect the speaker's involvement also in (colloquial) spoken Japanese, but spoken Japanese--as contrasted to written Japanese--also possesses a convenient means of spotlighting the rich, experiential details the speaker has in mind: *wa* deletion. While frequent use of overt first and second person terms with the topic particle would, in fact, result in presenting "a logically coherent but experientially stark skeleton", particle ellipsis allows a less processed description of events and turns the spotlight toward the action.⁵⁰ The emphasis is

⁴⁷ Cf. also Suzuki (1993: 223): "When [zero-marked phrases] are used in combination with *wa*-marked phrases or zero anaphors, they tend to refer to entities which play a secondary role in the discourse." She suggests that a speaker who is unwilling to talk about him/herself may demonstrate this unwillingness by using zero marked first person referents. I do not share Suzuki's idea of unwillingness, but I believe her concept of a secondary role can be reinterpreted to match the idea of "action-oriented" description of events.

⁴⁸ In this respect, note the term *our* in the previous sentence.

⁴⁹ Involvement is a characteristic of spoken language, whereas written language generally manifests another quality, "detachment", which is evidenced, for example, by the passive voice and frequent nominalisation in the case of English.

⁵⁰ Cf. Nagano (1972: 170), who stresses the role *wa*-marked subjects play in the clarity and explicitness of the development and argumentation of the (discourse) topic.

more on an "impression of urgency and immediacy" of the complex details and the real experiences of the speaker.

In spite of Shibatani's apparent reluctance to include second person NPs in his discussion of *wa* deletion, I believe the theoretical model traced out in this section can be helpful in dealing with "*wa*-less" second person-designating terms as well. In the case of overt second person NPs, the speaker is naturally referring to the interlocutor(s), and, depending on whether s/he resorts to a second person term with or without *wa*, s/he either displays him/herself as a commentator with regard to the interlocutor and his/her situation or as someone more interested in the actions performed by and events related to the interlocutor.⁵¹ Using *wa* reflects the speaker's process of organising the information s/he wishes to convey, and, as a result, gives the impression that there is a certain distance between him/her as the speaker and the expression. This can communicate a feeling of increased distance between the two parties involved, the speaker and his/her interlocutor, a distance which can be linked to the idea of negative (deference) politeness. Omitting *wa*, on the other hand, switches the focus of attention from the interlocutor himself/herself to his/her actions. The role of the speaker is not that of commenting on the interlocutor, but, rather, the speaker wishes to highlight his/her involvement with the events related to the interlocutor. I believe that this kind of an attitude on the speaker's part may reflect a feeling of closeness, a characteristic of positive (solidarity) politeness.⁵²

⁵¹ In this perspective it is easy to grasp the oscillating nature of the borderline between bound forms and free forms, as schematised earlier. In the second person, a clear pause after a "*wa*-less" term brings it closer to the category of vocatives, thus distancing it from the role of the pivot of the predication. Accordingly, it is the described actions and events that become highlighted instead. Finally, in the most "extreme" case we are dealing with "pure" vocatives (located at the rightmost end of our schema) and, grammatically, the second person term no longer constitutes an integral part of the utterance. From the point of view of the predication, its role is reduced to a minimum: the predication does not necessarily involve the second person at all (e.g., *Oi, otoo-san, ore moo neru zo* (S: 369)'Hey Dad, I'll go to sleep now').

⁵² See the following chapter for more details of different types of politeness related to *wa* deletion.

6. Analysis of overt first and second person-designating terms occurring in the data

Following an introductory section on person-designating terms and the concept of 'responsibility' (as linked to indexicality) (6.1), this chapter will be divided into four main sections. In the first section (6.2), I discuss what I consider as bound forms of overt person-designating terms in Japanese (first and second person), in the second (6.3) I concentrate on terms occurring without the topic marker *wa* (i.e., the focus will be on the middle part of the continuum proposed in the preceding chapter), in the third (6.4) on free forms of address (second person) and what I call their pragmatic or communicative functions in Japanese spoken discourse, and, finally, the fourth section (6.5) deals with shifts in first and second person-designating terms. It was pointed out earlier that, as regards the appearance of so-called personal pronouns and other overt terms referring to the first or the second person, an approach concentrating solely on the anaphoric functions of these terms is not able to explain all cases of Japanese overt person-designating terms in a satisfactory way. This is why, in this chapter, the focus will be on another aspect of person-designating terms, namely, their indexicality and exophoric (or deictic) functions.

6.1. Person-designating terms as indexicals: The notion of 'responsibility'

The notions 'indexicality' and 'deixis' were discussed already in Section 3.2.4, but one more concept needs to be added in the discussion, namely, that of 'responsibility'. In the theoretical framework of this chapter, I (partially) adopt the critical view represented by Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990), Bachnik (1982) and Luukka (1994b) vis-à-vis the overemphasis of anaphora in linguistic analyses dealing with pronouns (see also Takubo 1997: 16-17). Given the fact that overemphasis of anaphora often tends to lead to overemphasis of the functions of pronouns, especially when dealing with a language like Japanese, it would be more profitable to shift the focus to exophora. It is only in actual face-to-face conversational

interaction that the functions of pronouns *and* other person-designating terms can be fully grasped. And, since the use of second person pronouns is generally blocked from a social inferior to a social superior in Japanese discourse, it is important to discuss other types of person-designating terms together with pronouns. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 13) state the following:

For reasons best known to themselves, practising linguists concentrate on anaphoric and syntagmatic aspects of pronouns to the virtual exclusion of their paradigmatic and deictic functions. They treat pronouns as literally standing in place of nouns, and are apparently uninterested in their role as indexical indicators of persons. As a consequence, conversationally adequate accounts of pronominalization are rarely found. . . . Then studies carried out by linguists approach pronominal grammar through mechanistic metaphors, particularly those of a place-holder or spare part, thereby downgrading the *communicative functions that pronouns play in processes of face-to-face interaction* (emphasis mine). . . . The fact that pronouns are indexicals has not been taken sufficiently seriously, and this partly accounts for the lack of attention to the uses of pronouns in social discourses.

Treating pronouns as indexicals, instead of plain noun-substitutes, highlights the communicative roles they play in face-to-face conversational interaction and, in particular, the importance of an appropriate choice from a paradigmatic set of pronouns and other possible terms. Moreover, as indexicals, pronouns can be interpreted to perform the function of linking speech acts to "those jointly responsible for their illocutionary force and those meant to be responsive to it" (ibid., 25).¹ "It is through just these devices that acts of commitment are tied to persons and responsibility is distributed through social order (ibid., 30)." Adding the concept of responsibility to the idea of pointing (a location in space and time) inherent in indexicality leads to what Mühlhäusler and Harré (ibid., 91-92) call the "thesis of double indexicality". First, the English first person pronoun *I*, for example, is to be seen as an index of location. Thus, it is not used to 'denote' anything in the sense of picking out an extralinguistic

¹ Conversationally considered, "a speech *act* can exist only if there is a match between manifested intention and a display of uptake, either in non-verbal reaction to what has been said or more often in what another speaker says next. Speech acts, then, are created by the joint action of the participants in a conversation" (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 25).

object for both the speaker and his/her addressee.² Secondly, not only does *I* index "whatever is denoted by the speaker's utterance with its spatio-temporal location in relation to the location of the speaker and the moment of his or her utterance", but it "also indexes the utterance with the person who is to be held morally responsible for its illocutionary force and its perlocutionary effects".³ In general terms, the moral order of speaking can be expressed by the idea of roles: "A role is a coherent set of conventions of speech and action by reference to which a person can be seen as behaving in an orderly fashion, in particular with respect to the activities of others (ibid., 29)." However, speaking requires also a deeper level moral order, speaker sincerity. "A speaker must mean what he or she says in the sense of standing behind the illocutionary force of his or her speech acts (ibid., 30)."⁴

One more additional, yet unaddressed concept needs to be added to the above discussion, namely, that of "indexical progression". Taking into account the phenomenon of double indexicality as explained above, it can be assumed that, as a result, every speaker has a double position in discourse: 1) a location in space and time and 2) a certain degree of responsibility vis-à-vis the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects of what s/he is saying. In relation to this, Mühlhäusler and Harré (ibid., 94) suggest that the degree of this responsibility is, in fact, variable and the speaker may choose to alter his/her level of commitment and utterances accordingly. This is what they refer to as "indexical progression", and it can be considered to include a number of steps: the speaker may opt for an utterance which does not explicitly index it to him/her, or s/he may go for an utterance which is clearly

² Given the different forms 'I' can have in Japanese, the Japanese situation can be somewhat different.

³ Similarly, the "thesis of double indexicality" can be helpful in understanding the second person as well (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 93).

⁴ It has been suggested that the way this responsibility of standing behind the illocutionary force of one's speech acts (as communicated by indexical expressions) is targeted to conversational participants may vary from one culture to the next. Whereas in English, for example, it is the speaker him/herself who is held responsible for what s/he is saying, in Japanese conversation the responsibility for what is said is often not relevant to a single individual performing a speech act, but rather to a group of people to which this individual belongs (see Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 93; Bachnik 1982). However, as mentioned already earlier--and what Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 93) point out as well--in some contexts also Japanese displays means for indexing individual responsibility. Examples supporting this claim were presented in Chapter 4. Cf. Maynard's (1987: 62-63) discussion of (Mio's original concepts) *genshoobun* and *handanbun*, presented in Section 5.3. It was pointed out that, in the case of *genshoobun* (which include the particle *ga*), there is "no responsibility on the part of the user" in regard to their contents. In the case of *handanbun* (which include the particle *wa*), by contrast, the truth or trustworthiness of the proposition the speaker is making is dependent on his/her subjective judgement (Nagano 1972: 123).

indexed to him/her--and this indexing can be done in different ways. To clarify this, Mühlhäusler and Harré take examples from English, but I will make an attempt to illustrate the same idea here with some Japanese examples. Consider the following:

- 1 a) Ima irete moratta hoo ga ii.⁵
'It's best to have [him] put in [the coffin] now.'
- 1 b) Ima irete moratta hoo ga ii to omou kedo.
'[I] think it's best to have [him] put in [the coffin] now.'
- 1 c) Watashi wa ima irete moratta hoo ga ii to omou kedo. (O: 40)
'I think it's best to have [him] put in [the coffin] now.'

These examples clearly demonstrate how the degree of commitment to the reliability of the statement the speaker is willing to make can be seen as progressing from a weaker degree (1a) through an intermediate degree (1b) to the most overt indexing of the speaker with her utterance.⁶ What is of importance here is that, compared to the progression of performative utterances, this phenomenon should be seen as functioning in reverse order. That is, as the commitment level of the speaker to the factual claim of her utterance becomes stronger, the performative level, by contrast, becomes weaker. In example (1a), the speaker is shown to opt for a statement having no *overt* markers of indexing, although she is, of course, stating her own opinion about the matter. However, in Japanese an assertion of this type is usually felt to be a stronger performative than (1b) or (1c), for example, and it could actually even be perceived as an order.⁷ In (1b), the speaker adds the epistemic verb *omou* 'think' to the statement, which, in this Japanese context, not only displays the speaker as the very person who has been thinking about the matter in order to arrive at the stated opinion, that is, as having moral responsibility for and being committed to her statement, but it also indexes her as the

⁵ In natural conversation, this statement would most probably be accompanied with some kind of a "softening" sentence-final modality marker (e.g., *deshoo, n ja nai ka*). (Cf. *kedo* 'but, though' in [1b-c].)

⁶ The speaker in (1c) is a woman. Furthermore, since in the context of (1c) she is explicitly being asked by her mother to state her opinion, this case should be seen as an example of individual indexicality.

⁷ Examples of this type may also be interpreted as containing the expression of "I claim..." or "I say...".

location of (1b). This, of course, is due to the fact that, in most unmarked contexts, assertives occurring without overt person-designating terms in Japanese are generally associated with the first person.⁸ Compared to (1a), (1b) would be interpreted as a qualified avowal of the speaker's opinion and as a weakened performative (see Mühlhäusler and Harré: 101). Example (1c), however, contains an overt term referring to the speaker, *watashi* 'I'. Accordingly, the speaker's level of commitment in (1c) can be interpreted to be even higher than in (1b). In other words, still following Mühlhäusler and Harré (ibid., 102), if we apply the marked/unmarked distinction to these examples and take (1a) to be unmarked, then (1b) with the verb *omou* 'think' (provided that we are dealing with a "normal" situation where this verb form in a statement would be automatically understood as referring to the first person) will be *strongly marked* for location and *marked* for responsibility.⁹ Finally, (1c) with the overt first person term *watashi* 'I' would be interpreted as being *strongly marked* for responsibility.

Mühlhäusler and Harré (ibid., 157) adopt the popular stand of considering overt pronouns in Japanese to function as a sign of markedness, meaning that "neither unmarked anaphoric person denotation nor unmarked person indexicality is carried by pronouns" (cf. also Mizutani 1985: 35). Thus, following their reasoning, *watashi* in (1c) should be interpreted to be a marked use. As mentioned above, Mühlhäusler and Harré seem to agree with a mysterious paper authored by Yano in that the markedness work these words realise can be summed up as emphasis, contrast and referential disambiguation. In (1c), we would thus be dealing with a marked first person term connoting contrast in the sense of '(as for me) I think he should be put in the coffin now (but this is only my opinion and others might disagree)'. This could be put another way by stating that, in fact, in (1c) there is overt indexing of the speaker (*watashi*) as one having moral responsibility for the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects of what s/he is saying and, also, indexing of such a degree of personal commitment to the content of (1c) that the speaker wants to emphasise the possible uniqueness of her opinion vis-à-vis other

⁸ For more details, see Mizutani (1985: 43).

⁹ It is important to note that the marked/unmarked distinction as used here must be understood to be always relative. Also, when Japanese is concerned, it should be noted that in a context where the referent of a single verb form is not clear from the context of speech, this verb form cannot be interpreted as being strongly marked for location. Given the fact that the same form *omou* 'think', for example, can be used in the first, second or third person depending on the context, in an obscure context it cannot be said to be marked for location at all!

views on the matter. If we take this line of thought even further, it is possible to claim that by doing this the speaker is actually trying to avoid making generalisations, and, instead, she is offering her personal opinion solely as some kind of a reference to the other speech participants. It can therefore be hypothesised that, the higher the degree of commitment displayed by the speaker, the more "leeway" there is left for the others to think differently and forward other opinions. While (1a) could even be interpreted as an order, (1b) and (1c) represent much "softer" expressions. And would this not, in turn, provide a link between a high degree of commitment displayed by the speaker and the concept of politeness in the sense that s/he is offering this "leeway" to the other participants? Fujiwara (1983: 95-96) presents similar views in his discussion of the sometimes frequent occurrence of the Japanese first person pronoun (*watashi*, *boku*, etc.) in argumentative situations.

As a final remark on examples (1a-c), let us note one more interesting fact. As can be seen if we compare the English translations of (1a-c) to the original Japanese examples, occurrence of an overt person-designating term (personal pronoun) appears to index a commitment level (as hypothesised above) which, in the case of Japanese, is one step higher than in English. Thus, in order to communicate the meaning inherent in the Japanese version of (1c), the English translation must have recourse to a paralinguistic device, namely, the first person pronoun *I* should be pronounced with phonological prominence.

6.2. Bound forms

Let us now take a closer look at what kind of overt first and second person-designating terms occur in the five movies analysed for the present study. The following tables represent all first and second person terms found in the data.

Table 1: Total proportions of first and second person-designating terms occurring in the data

Overt reference to the first person			
ranking	type	n	%
1.	personal pronoun	551	92,5
2.	kinship term	19	3,2
3.	last name	7	1,2
4.	other pronoun (<i>waga</i> , etc.)	6	1
5.	last name + first name	3	0,5
6.	nickname	2	0,3
7.	common noun (<i>babaa</i> , <i>minna</i>)	2	0,3
8.	professional title	1	0,2
9.	professional title + last name	1	0,2
10.	company name + last name	1	0,2
11.	3rd person's first name + kinship term (<i>Aya no haha</i>)	1	0,2
	TOT	594	100

Overt reference to the second person			
ranking	type	n	%
1.	personal pronoun	452	46
2.	kinship term	135	14
3.	first name	76	7,5
4.	status term (<i>sensee</i> , <i>oku-san</i> , <i>danna</i> , etc.)	64	6,5
5.	common noun (<i>akanboo</i> , <i>mina-san</i> , etc.)	48	5
6.	last name + <i>-san</i>	35	3,5
7.	first name + <i>-san</i>	33	3,5
8.	fictional kinship term	23	2,5
9.	last name	19	2
10.	first name + <i>-chan</i>	18	2
11.	nickname + <i>-chan</i>	15	1,5
12.	professional title	14	1,5
13.	last name + <i>-kun</i>	12	1
14.	other pronoun (<i>jibun</i> , etc.)	9	1
15.	professional title + <i>-san</i>	9	1

16.	nickname + <i>-san</i>	5	0,5
17.	<i>o-</i> + nickname + <i>-san</i>	3	0,3
18.	nickname	2	0,2
19.	last name + professional title	2	0,2
20.	<i>go-</i> + professional title	2	0,2
21.	last name + status term	1	0,1
22.	first name + <i>-sama</i>	1	0,1
23.	<i>o-</i> + first name + <i>-san</i>	1	0,1
24.	last name + first name + <i>-san</i>	1	0,1
	TOT	980	100

As these tables demonstrate, Japanese possesses an extremely rich range of terms which can be used to refer to the speaker and the addressee. The tables were inserted in order to provide the reader with a concrete example of different types of first and second person terms, as they occur in the analysed films, and their relative frequency of appearance. Since the tables display all the analysed first and second person terms without reference to the user's sex, the following precisions are in order here. In the first person, male speakers used personal pronouns slightly more often than female speakers, but the difference was not significant. Of kinship terms, however, nearly 90% were employed by men. Furthermore, except for the 11th category (*Aya no haha* 'Aya's mother'), all the other first person terms were used by male speakers only. In the second person, there was more dispersion, and the majority of the terms were used both by male and female speakers. However, there are relevant differences in the following categories: Men employed roughly two thirds of the personal pronouns (1st category), while they employed only approximately one third of the kinship terms (2nd category). In the LN + *-san* category (6th), 70% of the terms were used by men, whereas women used only 30%. In the FN + *-san* category (7th), by contrast, female speakers employed roughly two thirds of the terms. LN alone (9th category), on the other hand, was resorted to only by male speakers. Use of the empathic suffix *-chan*, however, seems to be a female characteristic: women employed it significantly more than men in combination with a FN

(10th category) (more than 80% of the terms) and with a NN (11th category) (nearly 70% of the terms). By contrast, professional titles (12th category) were used overwhelmingly by male speakers (over 90%) and the LN + *-kun* combination (13th category) was used by male speakers only.

When compared to earlier studies on similar terms, it can be demonstrated that the terms employed in the analysed films provide a relatively reliable picture of first and second person-designating terms occurring in spoken Japanese.¹⁰ To give a better idea of the proportions of different overt first and second person-designating terms in Japanese, I will summarise here the results of some earlier quantitative analyses of person terms carried out in Japanese and compare them to the percentages given in the tables above.¹¹

First, Martin (1975: 1075) reports: "According to the results of one study . . . ninety percent of the overt references to the first person were made with some word felt to be specifically a personal pronoun--such as *watashi*, *boku*, *ore*, etc; but only .28 of the overt references to the second person were made by such a word--*anata*, *omae*, *kimi*, *o-taku*, etc." Bunkachoo (*Kokugo ni Kansuru Seron Choosa* 1995: 20) carried out a more detailed study and reports the following. In a formal situation, nearly 90% of first person-designating terms used in presence of a non-close addressee were reported to be personal pronouns (e.g., *watashi*, *watakushi*, *boku*, etc.), the only other noteworthy term being the reflexive pronoun *jibun*, with approximately 9%. In the second person, 37,7% of addressing was accomplished using the addressee's last name combined with the neutral polite suffix *-san* or the more honorific *-sama*. These forms were followed by *otaku(-sama)* (21,8%), *anata(-sama)* (18,5%), professional titles/terms referring to the addressee's group, organisation, etc., with or without *-san/-sama* (10,4%), *sochira(-sama)* (8,8%), and *anta(-san)* (1,2%). If we regard *otaku(-sama)*, *anata(-sama)*, *sochira(-sama)* and *anta(-san)* as personal pronouns, this category accounts for about 50% of all the terms used to refer to the addressee. This number is considerably higher than the percentage presented by Martin. My own analysis, based on Japanese films, yielded results

¹⁰ Mizutani (1985: 205) states that in Japanese television dramas personal names are often used more frequently than in real life. However, this statement could not be verified in the present study.

¹¹ Differences related to the speaker's sex are not discussed below. (See *Kokugo ni Kansuru Seron Choosa* 1995 and *Daitoshi no Gengo Seekatsu* 1981 for more details on differences related to sex and geographical location.)

similar to the investigations reported in Martin and Bunkachoo's survey in the case of the first person, that is, personal pronouns were employed overwhelmingly, in approximately 93% of all overt references.¹² However, the situation in the case of the second person differs from the analyses reported in Martin and Bunkachoo's survey in that kinship terms play an important role in the address behaviour depicted in the films used as a source for data, representing approximately 17% (including fictional kinship terms: 2,5%) of the total number of overt second person terms. In spite of this, as in Bunkachoo's study, personal pronouns still account for about half (46%) of all overt second person-designating terms. Names (+ suffixes/titles) comprise roughly 22%, titles and status terms (+ suffixes) 9%, and the remainder 6% (common nouns: 5%; other pronouns: 1%).

It should be pointed out, however, that a comparison based on the aforementioned data may, in fact, be rather hazardous. The problem lies in the fact that the conditions involved in the above mentioned analyses are actually quite different. Although Martin offers some examples, *watashi, boku, anata, kimi*, etc., he does not explicitly state what he includes in his notion "some word felt to be specifically a personal pronoun" nor does he explain the conditions or methods used to obtain the reported results. Also, Bunkachoo's data were collected by use of a questionnaire which limited its scope to a relatively formal context, while my own examination is based on discussions depicted in Japanese movies, including scenes of familiar contexts, such as conversations between family members and close friends. In this respect, it is not surprising that other quantitative analyses may still offer slightly different percentages. Relevant references can be found in the bibliography of the present study.

While the above tables list all the first and second person-designating terms that appear in my data, the table below, on the other hand, enumerates person-designating terms that are

¹² These findings strongly contradict Suzuki (1987: 75; see also 1973: 146), who claims that (as Japanese "self-specifiers" comprise a large repertoire of terms "such as the so-called first person pronouns, kinship and status terms, occupational appellations and locative adverbs") "where you would expect first person pronouns in English, the Japanese avoid them as much as possible trying to use words like uncle, teacher or *this here* to identify themselves". It is, of course, true that there is generally less overt reference to the first (and second) person in Japanese than in English, for example, but the data presented here suggest that when there *is* overt reference to the first person in Japanese, for the most part it is carried out by using "prototype" personal pronouns such as *watashi, boku, ore*, and the like. (More "locative-like" terms such as *kochira*, which are also included in the category of personal pronouns in this study, occur only at few occasions in my data.)

considered as (strictly) bound forms in the present study. As mentioned above, Takenoya (1995), following Braun (1988), attempts to make a distinction between bound and free forms of address in her dissertation dealing with patterns of use by native speakers and American learners of Japanese. The problem with her analysis, however, lies in the fact that not only does she fail to account for *wa* deletion, but she also fails to give detailed examples of different contexts where bound forms are most likely to occur. In this study, I apply the initial formulation presented in Braun (ibid.) and define bound forms of first and second person-designating terms as syntactically integrated parts of sentences. "Intermediate terms", that is, first and second person terms without the topic marker *wa*, are not included. The following tables were inserted in order to demonstrate that, when separated from "*wa*-less" forms and free forms, bound forms seem to be selected from a more restricted array of first and second person terms. The difference is particularly remarkable in the category of second person terms. This is no doubt due to the fact that a speaker who is in a position to use both personal pronouns and nouns in second person reference (usually a social superior or equal) generally opts for the former in the case of bound forms and for the latter in case of free forms (vocatives) (cf. *Wada-san, ittai anata wa kono hatsukakan, dare no tame ni mokuhiken o tsukatte orareru n desu?* (W: 14) 'Mr. Wada, just who is it that you are trying to protect by maintaining the right of silence for these twenty days?' (Ba: 129)). Furthermore, as a result of a detailed examination of first and second person terms appearing as integrated parts of sentences, I claim that bound forms (represented by X in the table below) in Japanese are to be expected to occur in the following types of grammatical constructions:

Table 2: Bound forms of first and second person-designating terms occurring in the data

construction	1st person	n	2nd person	n
X wa	personal pronoun	110	personal pronoun	64
	kinship term ¹³	1	kinship term	3
	nickname	1	last name + <i>-san</i>	3
			first name	1
			nickname + <i>-chan</i>	1
X ga	personal pronoun	63	personal pronoun	34
	kinship term	4	kinship term	2
			first name	4
			common noun	1
X o	personal pronoun	19	personal pronoun	13
X no (gen.)	personal pronoun	83	personal pronoun	75
	kinship term	2	other pronoun	5
	nickname	1	last name + <i>-san</i>	1
			status term	3
			common noun	6
X no (agent)	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	1
X ni	personal pronoun	31	personal pronoun	25
	kinship term	1	kinship term	3
			last name + <i>-san</i>	1
			status term	1
			common noun	2
X mo	personal pronoun	60	personal pronoun	17
	kinship term	1	kinship term	10
			<i>o-</i> + first name + <i>-san</i>	1
			first name	1
			nickname + <i>-chan</i>	3
			status term	1
			professional title	1
			first name	1
			common noun	1

¹³ Includes also fictional kinship terms in this table.

X sae	personal pronoun	4		
X kara	personal pronoun	5	personal pronoun	4
			kinship term	1
			common noun	1
X made	personal pronoun	2	personal pronoun	1
X de (ja=dewa)	personal pronoun	6	personal pronoun	2
			other pronoun	5
X demo			common noun	1
X to	personal pronoun	12	personal pronoun	7
			kinship term	3
			first name + <i>-sama</i>	1
			common noun	2
X dake	personal pronoun	2	personal pronoun	3
			other pronoun	1
			kinship term	1
X shika	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	1
X mitai	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	7
X toshite	personal pronoun	2		
X datte	personal pronoun	19	personal pronoun	10
	kinship term	1	kinship term	1
			first name	1
X -(t)te	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	2
			kinship term	1
X nante			personal pronoun	1
X nanka	personal pronoun	6	personal pronoun	12
			professional title	1
X teedo			personal pronoun	1
X yori	personal pronoun	2		
X nara dewa			gen. constr. + personal pronoun	1
X dattara	personal pronoun	2		
X de gozaimasu	gen. constr. + kinship term (<i>Aya no haha</i>)	1		
X desu	personal pronoun	4	personal pronoun	1

(x [desu] (yo))	last name + first name	2		
	last name	7		
	professional title	1		
X da	personal pronoun	4	personal pronoun	2
X ja arimasen			personal pronoun	1
			professional title + -san	1
X ja nai			personal pronoun	2
X ja			personal pronoun	2
X ka	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	1
			first name	1
X kai			last name	1
X kurai			personal pronoun	2
X jishin	personal pronoun	1		
X izoku	personal pronoun	1		
X hitori	personal pronoun	1	personal pronoun	1

The contents of this table can be further clarified by the examples that follow. In these examples some kind of overt reference to the first or second person is required by the sentence construction. In other words, it is necessary to fill the "slot" preceding the constructions represented in the above table with some kind of an overt person-designating term. In a more concrete way, these constructions (with the co-occurring overt referents) are expected to occur in sentences such as the following:

- 2) Ore wa naa Horie, kono goro no omae ga doomo fuketsu ni mieru n da ga ne. (S: 366)

'You know, Horie, lately you have started to look somehow unclean to me.'

- 3) Omae ni wa ii oyaji sa, iya, shinda o-fukuro no bun made omae o kawaigatteru n dakara, sore ijoo kamo shiren, shikashi... (W: 24)

'He is a very good father to you. He's been more than just a good father. He's even petted you and taken care of you enough to make up for mother since she died. Maybe even beyond that. But...' (Ba: 147)

- 4) Chichi mo geetobooru de mina-sama no o-nakama ni kuwaete itadaite, hontoo ni shiawase deshita wa. (O: 112)
'My father was also very happy because you took him in as a friend to your gateball group.'
- 5) Urusai hito ne, sonna koto atashi no shitta koto ja nai wa yo. (K: 113)
'What a disturbing person, that's not what I've heard.'
- 6) Otoo-san mo okaa-san mo, mata tokidoki wa Yamato kara dete kite kudasai yo. (B: 63)
'And father and mother too, come and visit us from Yamato sometimes.'
- 7) Minna atakushi ga warui n desu, atakushi sae mi o hikeba, ii n desu. (K: 113)
'It's all my fault, if only I back off, everything will be alright.'
- 8) Uumu... Komatta ne... Doo daroo, omae kara itte kure nai ka. (S: 360)
'Mmm... That's a problem... How about letting her hear it from you?'
- 9) Aa o-machidoosama, yaa sumimasen ne, atashi made gochisoo ni natteshimatte. (K: 115)
'Oh I'm sorry to have kept you waiting, and thank you for inviting even me to the dinner.'
- 10) Iyaa, boku de wakaruru ka doo desu ga... (B: 24)
'No, it's just that I wonder if I will find the reason [for your feeling ill]...'
- 11) Sono karakuri o shitteru no wa kimi to Wada no futari kiri da, kimi to Wada kara shinda Wada o hikeba, kimi dake nokoru... (W: 27)
'Wada and you were the only ones that know that set-up. And since Wada is dead that leaves only you...' (Ba: 152)
- 12) Hoo! Omae shika shiran no ka... Tsumari, Iwabuchi mo shiranai n da na. (W: 52)
'Oh?! You're the only one that knows, huh?... In other words, not even Iwabuchi knows, is that right?' (Ba: 202)
- 13) Shikashi, saigo no hoo wa, omae-tachi mitaina ii mago ni meguriaete, sukoshi wa tanoshikatta n ja nai ka na. (O: 27)

'However, I guess that, in the end, when he was lucky enough to have great grandchildren like you, he must have enjoyed his life a little.'

- 14) Iya, sorya itadaken no da. Watashi gotoki mono o aa iu kai ni maneite itadaita dake de ureshii n da kara... (S: 340-341)

'No, I can't accept it. You see, just the fact that you invited somebody like me to your reunion made me happy.'

- 15) Yappari ore-tachi toshite wa yo, gasu tsukeru toki ga ichiban iya da ne. (O: 143)

'For us, of course, the worst part is switching on the gas.'

- 16) Hiniku wa yoshite kudasai... Watashi datte kurushinderu n desu. (W: 56)

'Stop being so sarcastic... I feel very bad, too.' (Ba: 208)

- 17) Soo iu hito yo, onii-san te. (B: 13)

'That's the way you are.'

- 18) Soko iku to kanchoo nanka nanni mo go-kuroo nakatta n deshoo kedo ne. (S: 342)

'As for you, sir, I guess it was not that much trouble.'

- 19) Daitai ne, anta teedo no sarariiman ga gorufu suru nante zeetaku yo, namaiki yo! (S: 346)

'You know, for a salaried man like you to be playing golf is really a luxury, it's impudent!'

- 20) Gorufu mo ore yori umai shi, otokomae mo... ore yori choito ii ka na. (B: 21-22)

'He's better than me in golf, and his looks... I guess he's also a bit better looking than me.'

- 21) Iya, ugatta kangaekata o sureba desu ne, senkoku no koojimeesaisho o sokujiitsu dasaseru nado to iu aidea mo, jimutsuu no anata nara dewa no myooshu da to watashi wa omotteiru n desu ga ne. (W: 14-15)

'And I think that the idea to ask the companies for a detailed list of expenses on the same day was a very clever move for you, as one who knows that type of matters better than anyone else.' (Ba: 130)

- 22) Shikashi, moshi ore dattara doo dai. Motto wakakute hitorimono dattara... (B: 61)

'What if it was me? What if it was a younger lonely man...?'

- 23) Hajimemashite... Ayako no haha de gozaimasu. (B: 24)
'Nice to meet you... I am Aya's mother.'
- 24) Saitoo Yoshiko desu. (O: 74)
'I am Yoshiko Saitoo.'
- 25) Bujoku shiteru no wa anata yo. (K: 112)
'You're the one who's insulting.'
- 26) Kanchoo! Kanchoo-san ja arimasen ka! (S: 341)
'Captain! Isn't it you captain!?'
- 27) Nanda, Aoki omae ka, nani yatte n da, itsu kita n da, ima nanji? (O: 65)
'What is this, Aoki, is it you? What are you doing, when did you come, what time is it now?'
- 28) Omee, Shirai kai? (W: 39)
'Are you Shirai?' (Ba: 75)
- 29) Maa, juuman demo nijuuman demo yoroshii n desu kedo, otaku-sama gurai no o-uchi ni nareba, yahari nijuuman gurai de doo desu ka. (O: 59)
'Well, one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand are both appropriate, but in case of a household of your status, I guess two hundred would be suitable?'
- 30) Aku o nikumu no wa muzukashii yo... Nikushimi o kaki tatete, ore ijishin aku ni naranakya... dekinai! (W: 45)
'It is difficult to hate evil... If I don't become evil myself by arousing my hate, I can't do it!' (Ba: 188)¹⁴
- 31) ... watashi-tachi izoku no ue ni mo, kongo tomo, kawaranu go-koogi o tamawarimasu koto o, hitotsu kono onegai itasu shidai de gozaimasu. (O: 137)
'... we thus humbly ask you to extend your favour to us bereaved.'

¹⁴ Differs slightly from the original translation.

32) . . . kondo kooshite Shinkittsan ga itte shimoote, tootoo washi hitori ni natte shimoota n desu. (O: 36)

' . . . and now that Shinkichi died like this, finally, it is only me that is still left.'

As can be seen, a number of constructions generally require use of overt reference terms as integrated parts of sentences, that is, as bound forms. This list is by no means exhaustive, as other constructions which do not appear in the analysed films are of course possible. However, I believe that the table and the above examples give a good idea of grammatical contexts in which overt first and second person-designating terms are to be expected in Japanese discourse. In his discussion on pronominalisation in Japanese, Hinds (1978: 143) mentions possessive constructions as one of the contexts where pronominalisation is likely to occur. However, as the examples above demonstrate, pronominalisation takes place in a much wider array of grammatical contexts than just possessive constructions.¹⁵ These contexts include such constructions as the following: sentence topic/contrast (*wa*); (surface-) subject (*ga*); indirect object (*ni*); direct object (*o*); possessive nominal/(subdued) subject (*no*); highlighting (augment) (*mo*); 'if just' (*sae*); source (*kara*); focus 'even' (*made*); exclusive agent (*de*); coordinative/comitative (*to*); 'only' (*dake*); 'except for' (*shika*); 'like'/belittling (*mitai/na*); 'such that, like' (*gotoki*); '(as) for' (*toshite*); emphasis (*datte*); theme (*-[t]te*); 'or the like, for example, say, such a person'/belittling, etc. (*nanka, nante*); 'the level, caliber of' (*teedo*); comparison (*yor*); 'unique to' (*nara dewa*); conditional copula (*dattara*); copula (*de gozaimasu, desu, da, [da] yo*); negative copula (*ja arimasen, ja nai*); question particle (*ka, kai*); '(to) the extent of' (*g/kurai*); apposition (*jishin, izoku, hitori*), etc.¹⁶

I think it is important to point out that, in the grammatical contexts and expressions mentioned above, appearance of overt person-designating terms should not necessarily be seen as marked. This is a point that Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990) fail to make in their discussion of Japanese pronouns and other terms referring to the first or second person. They consider all

¹⁵ See the table below for more details on the proportions of terms occurring as bound forms.

¹⁶ For the definitions, see, for example, Martin (1975).

representations of Japanese pronouns to be marked and make no mention of the fact that, actually, there are grammatical contexts which require the use of an overt person referent. Of course overt person referents appearing in the contexts and expressions enumerated above could be labelled as being marked for "possession", "source", and so forth, but I feel that this kind of "markedness" should be distinguished from situations in which the speaker has a more "real" choice of using or not using an overt term referring to him/herself or to the addressee. Hinds (1978: 169, 173), for example, explains the appearance of *atakushi* 'I' and *kanojo-tachi* 'they (fem.)' in *Atakushi no yatteiru seekatsu to, mata kanojo-tachi ga yatteiru seekatsu to wa chigau desho?* 'The kind of life I'm leading and the kind of life they're leading are different, aren't they?' as serving to make a contrast: *atakushi* and *kanojo-tachi* are being contrasted. I would rather say that it is *the lifestyles of* "atakushi" and "kanojo-tachi" that are being contrasted. Another way to communicate nearly the same meaning might have been a simple possessive construction: *Atakushi no seekatsu to kanojo-tachi no seekatsu wa chigau desho?* 'My life is different from theirs, isn't it?', where one also needs to point out explicitly *whose* lifestyles one is talking about. Similarly, if the speaker wants to say, for example, 'You are taller than me', s/he could make use of the term for comparison, *yoru*, and the use of this term requires overt reference to at least one of the objects being compared. Thus, depending on the context, our English expression would yield for example (*Anata wa*) *watashi yori se ga takai*, (*Kimi wa*) *boku yori se ga takai*, etc., in Japanese.¹⁷ This is where I see a difference: the second person pronouns *anata* and *kimi* followed by *wa* in the preceding sentences may or may not be uttered, while it would be almost impossible not to mention the first person referents *watashi* or *boku*. Can it therefore be said that both the first and the second person terms above are marked in the same way?

As regards the relative frequencies of appearance of different types of first and second person-designating terms occurring as (strictly) bound forms, the following table lists their number of occurrences as well as their relative percentages:

¹⁷ Another possibility would be *Anata no hoo ga takai* 'You are taller', which again would require explicit reference to the addressee.

Table 3: Total proportions of bound forms occurring in the data

ranking	1st person	n (%)	2nd person	n (%)
1.	personal pronoun	445 (95%)	personal pronoun	293 (78,8%)
2.	kinship term	11 (2,5%)	kinship term	25 (6,7%)
3.	last name	7 (1,5%)	common noun	14 (3,8%)
4.	last name + first name	2 (0,4%)	other pronoun	11 (3%)
5.	nickname	2 (0,4%)	first name	9 (2,4%)
6.	professional title	1 (0,2%)	last name + <i>-san</i>	5 (1,3%)
7.			status term	5 (1,3%)
8.			nickname + <i>-chan</i>	4 (1%)
9.			professional title	2 (0,5%)
10.			professional title + <i>-san</i>	1 (0,3%)
11.			last name	1 (0,3%)
12.			first name + <i>-sama</i>	1 (0,3%)
13.			<i>o-</i> + first name + <i>-san</i>	1 (0,3%)
		TOT: 468 (100%)		TOT: 372 (100%)

Now, if we compare the above table with table (1), displaying all the overt terms (bound, "intermediate" and free) referring to the first and second person in my data, an interesting picture emerges. These tables clearly indicate that, out of all the first person-designating terms occurring in the five Japanese films examined for this study, a large majority, roughly 93%, are so-called personal pronouns. This figure is almost identical to that of first person pronouns appearing as bound forms (95%). However, when we take a look at the second person, a clear difference emerges: so-called personal pronouns represent only approximately 46% of the totality of overt second person referents, whereas the percentage of personal pronouns occurring as bound forms of address is much higher, nearly 80%. Also, while, in total, there are 11 different ways of referring to the first person found in our data, second person reference displays a much wider array of different types of overt reference terms, 24 in number. However, as far as strictly bound forms of person-designating terms are

concerned, the selection appears to be more restricted: overt reference to the first person is carried out by use of 6 types of first person reference terms and 13 different types in the second person. Interestingly, the relative frequency of appearance of diverse first and second person referents does not change, with the frequency for the the second person being roughly twice that for the first person.

It has been advanced that so-called (personal) pronouns do not differ formally, syntactically or functionally from nouns in Japanese and therefore should not be considered as a separate category:

Since the so-called Japanese personal pronouns in the narrow sense do not form an independent word group either morphologically or functionally, there is no reason for treating them separately (Suzuki 1978: 115).

[Les *ninjô daimeishi* (sic) "pronoms personnels"] ne présentent aucune caractéristique formelle ou fonctionnelle qui autorise à les distinguer des noms (Garnier 1994: 29).¹⁸

... il est sans cesse apparu impossible de traiter à part une catégorie de "pronoms personnels", sans en faire une catégorie accessoire non opératoire (ibid., 34).

However, as the above tables clearly demonstrate, a quantitative analysis of terms employed to refer to the first and second person reveals that there are some distributional differences. If we distinguish a class of bound forms of (first and) second person terms, so-called personal pronouns surface as a functionally relevant category. In comparison with nouns, they constitute the main type of overt (first and) second person reference terms employed as bound forms in Japanese discourse.¹⁹

¹⁸ The standard Japanese term for personal pronouns or "pronoms personnels" is "*ninshô daimeishi*".

¹⁹ Interestingly, as regards the issue whether or not pronouns in Japanese constitute a separate class, Hinds (1983: 83-84) demonstrates that they have a specific role in topic continuity: "The fact that pronouns fall into an intermediate position between full noun phrases and ellipsis . . . demonstrates that they do in fact constitute a unique grammatical category."

6.3. Topic marker *wa* deletion with overt first and second person-designating terms

6.3.1. Theoretical considerations

In Section 6.2, the focus was on what I refer to as bound forms of first and second person-designating terms in the framework of this study. However, as was demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the dichotomy of bound and free forms as suggested for categorising second person-designating terms (address terms) by Braun (1988) cannot be applied to Japanese spoken language without difficulties. It was shown that, if one wishes to account for the extremely common phenomenon of ellipsis of the topic marker *wa*, an "intermediate" group of overt person-designating terms needs to be added to the two initial categories. This is the category of person-designating terms with zero particles, having both "free form-like" and "bound form-like" characteristics. In this section, I concentrate on this particular group and take a look at overt first and second person-designating terms which occur without the topic particle *wa*.

Let us first consider the first person, that is, terms referring to the speaker. It must first be pointed out that an analysis of first and second person referents occurring with the topic marker *wa* as contrasted to those appearing without it yielded an unexpected result. Contrary to what was presented in the previous chapter, as a suggestion forwarded by Kai (1991), the likelihood for *wa* deletion seemed to be higher with second person referents than with first person terms. Kai's schema for the possibility of *wa* deletion looks like:

Figure 10: Possibility of *wa* deletion (1) (reproduction)

higher possibility		>		lower possibility
1st person	>	2nd person	>	3rd person

adapted from Kai (1991: 121)

As can be seen, it was hypothesised that *wa* deletion would take place more easily with first person terms than with second person terms. However, my data do not support this claim. On the contrary, a quantitative analysis revealed that, in the first person, overt person-designating

terms followed by the topic marker *wa* are actually quite common. In fact, in my data first person terms without *wa* occur only slightly more frequently than corresponding first person referents with *wa* (\emptyset : 137 occurrences; *wa*: 112 occurrences). With regard to the second person, overt person-designating terms without *wa* appear much more often than corresponding terms followed by *wa* (\emptyset : 205 occurrences; *wa*: 72 occurrences).²⁰

How should the abovementioned result, then, be explained? After all, it seems to suggest that *wa* sentences regarding the speaker him/herself are not subject to pragmatic constraints comparable to those regarding the second person. Although, relying on my data, this appears to be the case, a word of caution is in order: comparing the number of utterances containing overt person referents with *wa* to that of utterances containing overt person referents without *wa* is naturally an oversimplification. If one wishes to obtain a more reliable picture of the relative proportions of these terms, a detailed analysis of contexts in which *wa* deletion is less likely to occur (e.g., contrast) should be carried out in the same manner.²¹ However, such an investigation is outside the scope of the present work. Instead, I will content myself with the conclusion, obtained through simple numerical comparison, that ellipsis of *wa* (as compared to non-ellipsis) seems to take place more often with second person terms than with first person terms. I will also attempt to propose a theory which could be used to explain this (unexpected) result.

If we take into consideration what was said earlier about indexical progression, it is plausible to propose that, in Japanese discourse, the deletion or non-deletion of the topic particle *wa* has something to do with the degree of the speaker's commitment to and responsibility for what s/he is saying. (This, of course, would be the case in the first person with utterances having an overt person-designating term referring to the speaker.) In Section 5.2, we saw that a speaker asserting his/her point strongly is likely to be convinced about the truth of his/her statement. An assertion of this kind can be represented by the topic-comment (X *wa* Y) structure, in which the appearance of the topic particle *wa* connotes a strong tie between the topic (X) and the comment (Y). Moreover, as suggested in Section 6.1, a speaker indexing

²⁰ See Section 6.3.3 below.

²¹ For more details, see Chapter 5.

his/her statement explicitly to himself/herself, by use of an overt first person pronoun, would be displaying a high degree of commitment to his/her statement. And, taking into consideration the "function" of *wa* as a "bond" between the speaker as (X) and the comment (Y) s/he is making about himself/herself, it is possible to claim that, through loosening the contrast between (X) and (Y), the act of deleting the particle can be seen as a means of "lowering" the degree of commitment on the part of the speaker. In other words, maintaining *wa* with an overt reference to the speaker him/herself can be felt as tightly organised and a more "processed" expression regarding the speaker, thus having a higher degree of commitment from his/her part (i.e., the expression would be strongly marked for responsibility for the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects of what s/he is saying) than a corresponding (but more inexplicit) utterance with a zero particle.

Additional support for our hypothesis can be found in Maynard (1987: 62). In reference to Maynard's discussion of the difference between Mio's *genshoobun* and *handanbun*, it was pointed out earlier that *genshoobun*, generally containing NPs marked with *ga*, "express phenomena perceived and reflected emotionally" and they "are arrived at without the process of judgement".²² Furthermore: "Since there is no subjective view to intrude between the phenomenon and the expression, *there is no responsibility on the part of the user in regard to their [genshoobun] contents* (emphasis mine)." In the case of *wa* sentences of the *handanbun* type, by contrast, there *is* some responsibility on the part of the user in regard to their content. As these utterances reflect the speaker's judgement, s/he is, in a way, more responsible for what s/he is stating.

Furthermore, it was proposed earlier that a zero marked first person term, having a less explicit status than a sentence topic marked by *wa*, provides a means to focus on the events and actions described by the speaker. Overt reference to the speaker puts him/her on stage, but s/he is to be seen more as an active participant rather than a mere reference point of action. In the case of overt second person NPs (i.e., when the speaker is referring to the interlocutor), the speaker either displays him/herself as a commentator of the interlocutor or as someone more

²² See Section 5.3.

interested in the actions performed by and events related to the interlocutor, depending on whether s/he uses a second person term with or without *wa*. Using *wa* reflects the speaker's process of organising the information s/he wishes to convey and gives the impression of a higher degree of distance between the two parties than omitting *wa*. Omitting *wa* switches the focus of attention from the interlocutor him/herself to his/her actions. It reflects the speaker's wish to highlight his/her involvement with the events related to the interlocutor. This idea, in turn, can be linked to politeness. Maintaining a certain psychological distance vis-à-vis one's interlocutor is a characteristic of negative politeness. Dropping *wa* with second person terms, on the other hand, reflects the speaker's heightened attention toward the actions performed by his/her interlocutor, an attitude which can perhaps be associated with a feeling of closeness, a characteristic of positive (solidarity) politeness.

6.3.2. Sentence-initial (middle) first person-designating terms (with and) without *wa*

In Japanese discourse, overt first person referents with and without the topic marker *wa* tend to occur sentence-initially. As regards the sentence types in which these terms appear, utterances with first person NPs are naturally most frequently assertives, and they range from simple juxtapositions to more complex sentences. Compare the following:

33) Atashi Atami... (B: 27)

'I [went to] Atami...'

34) Atashi kowai... (W: 65)

'I['m] scared...' (Ba: 224)

35) Honto wa ne onee-san, atashi, yonjuu ni mo natte, mada hitori de burabura shiteiru yoona otoko no hito tte, anmari shin'yoo dekinai no. (B: 60)

'You know, frankly I can't really trust a man who, at the age of forty, is still living alone.'

- 36) Atashi ne otoo-san, mada mada o-yome ni nanka ikanai tsumori de iru no yo. (S: 354)
'Listen Dad, I have no intention of rushing off and getting married yet.'
- 37) Otoo-san ne, yokeena koto datta kamo shirenai kedo, Miura-kun ga omae no koto doo omotteru ka, nii-san kara kiite moratta n da yo. (S: 361)
'You know, I didn't mean to interfere, but I had Kooichi ask Miura what he thinks about you.'
- 38) Atai, doo shiyoo kashira, Akemi, doo shitara ii no kashira... (K: 98)
'What should I do, Akemi, what [do you think] I should do...'

Here examples (33) and (34) represent simple juxtapositions of two elements, the pronoun *atashi* 'I' with the place name Atami and the adjective *kowai* 'scared'. No pause is audible between the two elements in the film. The other examples, by contrast, demonstrate how first person nominals can seek distantly located predicates. In example (35), *atashi* is followed by a distinct pause, and it seeks its predicate *shin'yoo dekinai* 'cannot trust' at the end of the utterance. While in the English translation of (35) the predicate immediately follows the first person subject *I*, the hearer of our Japanese sentence has to wait until the end of the utterance before s/he will be able to judge how the speaker is to be related to "a man who, at the age of forty, is still living alone". All this, of course, stems from the Japanese SOV word order as contrasted to the SVO order of English. And further, it is a widely reported fact that sentence topics marked with *wa* often jump over immediately following (verbal) elements and seek their predicates further away in the sentence.²³ The same is true for our example (37), where an entire subordinated clause (*yokeena koto datta kamo shirenai kedo*) and an indirect interrogative clause (*Miura-kun ga omae no koto doo omotteru ka*) precede the predicate to be connected to the first person nominal *otoo-san*, literally 'father'. Also, examples (36) and (37) show that sentence- or clause-final particles such as *ne* (appearing alone or inserted between a first person term and an overt second person-designating term) can be placed after sentence-initial first person referents. Finally, example (38) shows how "wa-less" first person referents may appear

²³ See Shibatani (1990: 272).

also in interrogatives. Sentences of this type can often be uttered by a speaker who is talking to him/herself.

What is especially noteworthy of "*wa*-less" first person referents appearing in the five movies examined in the present study is that a great majority are produced by female speakers. Out of a total of 137 occurrences, 103, or approximately 75%, are spoken by women.²⁴ And, conversely, out of a total of 112 occurrences of overt first person NPs with the topic marker *wa*, 81, or approximately 72%, are spoken by male speakers. These figures offer strong support for particle ellipsis patterns reported in Shibamoto (1991: 89). She found that, in taped conversations between informants originating from a middle to upper middle class suburb of Tokyo, women deleted *wa* and *ga* 35,7% of the time, whereas the rate for men was much lower, 11,1%. According to Shibatani, this difference cannot be directly accounted for by the syntactic difference in the speech of Japanese men and women. Rather, it seems to be related to women's sensitivity to what she calls functional/interpretive features promoting particle ellipsis. Men, on the other hand, appear to be more sensitive to ellipsis-promoting structural characteristics (ibid., 99). Interestingly, my data seems to suggest that *wa* deletion is a characteristic of female speech in particular when it takes place with first person NPs. That is, examination of "*wa*-less" overt second person referents did not reveal any significant differences between male and female speakers employing these terms when addressing their interlocutors.²⁵

What can we learn if we take a look at women's tendency to delete *wa* with first person referents in the light of indexical progression? It was advanced above that a Japanese speaker indexing his/her statement explicitly to him/herself by use of an overt first person pronoun with *wa* would be displaying a slightly higher degree of commitment to the content of his/her statement than a speaker using a first person term without *wa*. Given the large number of "*wa*-less" first person terms used by female speakers in my data, it appears that women are less inclined to display themselves as having an extremely high degree of commitment to the content

²⁴ This figure includes also postposed terms. See section 6.3.4 for further discussion.

²⁵ Also, Suzuki (1993: 141) refers to a "large number" of "zero-marked" (not followed by postpositional particles) first person terms *watashi* and *atashi* appearing as topics in her data, collected from the speech of three women informants.

of their statements than men (i.e., their expressions would be less strongly marked for responsibility). We may therefore be tempted to claim that this is due to the fact that women are less willing to make statements which could be interpreted as strong assertions, and that they prefer to avoid "taking too much responsibility" for the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects of their utterances.²⁶ These stereotypes, namely, that "men are held to converse about objective, public matters in an assertive fashion, and women are held to chatter about trivial matters close at hand", come up frequently in linguistic literature (Shibamoto 1991: 95). However, there is also another side of the coin. It was mentioned above that maintaining *wa* with overt first person-designating terms could also be seen as a sign of consideration for others, because a high level of commitment to one's statements would leave more "leeway" to the other participants to think differently. The speaker would thus avoid including the addressee in his/her statements and way of thinking, and we could say s/he would be maintaining a certain "psychological" distance vis-à-vis the interlocutor. Thus, the concept of distance reemerges and offers an attractive link to negative politeness.²⁷ And, conversely, ellipsis of *wa* (and everything it implies) with first person referents could therefore be seen as a form of more positive politeness. Thus, as women tend to be more positively polite than men, it is only natural that they produce more first person-designating terms without *wa* than do men.²⁸

6.3.3. Sentence-initial (middle) second person-designating terms (with and) without *wa*

As mentioned above, the data used in the present study suggest that the second person is more likely to be accompanied by omission of the topic marker *wa* than the first person. In my

²⁶ At least from a *male* perspective it might look like this.

²⁷ See Section 5.3 for more details.

²⁸ Cf. also children's tendency to drop postpositional particles vis-à-vis (young) women's aspiration to sound "*kawaii*" 'cute' and Loveday's (1986: 16-17) comments on the "affected" speech style in cases when baby-talk (in which the omission of grammatical particles is usual) is used to address adults: "This 'affected' speech style seems widespread among teenage girls and those in their early twenties. It inversely symbolizes child-like innocence and calls for the protection of the speaker, tending to occur where the receiver is seen as adopting a caretaker role. This adult-to-adult form of baby-talk emphasizes the perceived passivity and dependence of its producer."

data representing five Japanese films, there are in total only 72 utterances with overt second person-designating terms in which the topic marker is retained. This figure is to be contrasted to 205 utterances with overt second person NPs without *wa*. These 205 utterances include both terms followed by a short pause in the flow of speech and those which appear without a clear juncture. In most cases, the former should actually be analysed as belonging to the category of vocatives, while the latter should be likened to sentence topics. However, in this section, I discuss both types (i.e., utterances in which the "NP+ deleted topic marker" with or without a pause corresponds to the subject of the predicate clause), leaving "true" vocatives (which do not correspond to the subject of the predicate clause) for a later analysis.²⁹

Let us first take a look at a few interesting examples. In the pairs that follow, forms appearing in the original film scripts are marked as (a), while the actual forms occurring in the films are marked as (b).

39 a) Okaa-san, anta wa damatte suwattoreba ii no yo. (O: 151)

39 b) Okaa-san, anta damatte suwattoreba ii no.

'Mother, you had better sit down and keep quiet.'

40 a) Daijoubu yo, anata. Anata wa itsu datte umaku iku n dakara. (O: 140)

40 b) Daijoubu yo anata. Anata itsu datte umaku iku n dakara.

'You'll do just fine. I mean, you always do.'

41 a) Baa-chan wa doo na no. (O: 40)

41 b) Baa-chan doo na no.

'(Grandma) what do you think?'

42 a) Okaa-san wa minai? (O: 145)

42 b) Okaa-san minai?

'(Mom) don't you want to take a look?'

²⁹ See Section 6.4.

43 a) ... Demo... anata wa otoo-san o... (W: 58)

43 b) ... Demo... anata otoo-san o...

'But... you are going to do that to Father...?' (Ba: 212)

44 a) ... Ja... nii-san wa Nishi o... utta no? (W: 64)

44 b) Nii-san Nishi o... utta no?

'Then did you shoot Nishi after all?' (Ba: 223)

45 a) Ja... nii-san wa Nishi no tokoro e itta n ja nai no. (W: 64)

45 b) Ja... nii-san Nishi no tokoro e itta n ja nai no.

'Then... you didn't go to where Nishi is?' (Ba: 223)

46 a) Nii-san... nii-san wa nani o kangaeteru no. (W: 65)

46 b) Nii-san... nii-san nani o kangaeteru no.

'Tatsuo... What are you thinking?' (Ba: 224)

All these examples demonstrate that, even if the topic particle appears in the movie scripts, it is sometimes deleted in the actual films. Is this a coincidence or could there be some reason for this phenomenon? If we take a closer look at examples (39a/b-46a/b) and examine who the speakers and addressees in these contexts are, we find that all these examples are similar with respect to two common factors: 1) the speaker in each case represented above is a woman, and 2) the speaker and the addressee in these examples have a close relationship with each other. Examples (39a/b), (41a/b) and (42a/b) are all spoken by Chizuko, who is addressing her own mother, Kikue. In example (40a/b), we have the same speaker, Chizuko, but this time her interlocutor is her husband, Wabisuke. Example (43a/b) represents another case of a wife-husband relationship, the speaker this time being Yoshiko addressing her own husband Nishi. Finally, as with Chizuko and Kikue, in examples (44a/b), (45a/b) and (46a/b) we are dealing with a blood relationship, the speaker being Yoshiko and the interlocutor her elder brother, Tatsuo.

It was stated above that, in general, women tend to delete the topic marker more often than men, but, in my data, this fact was not clearly visible in the second person. Utterances containing a "wa-less" second person referent produced by men were almost as frequent as those produced by women. (This should be taken with caution, being a simplified comparison of the total number of "wa-less" expressions produced by male and female characters). However, conversely, out of the total of 72 occurrences of overt second person-designating terms which retained *wa*, 60 (83%) were produced by male speakers, whereas women uttered second person terms followed by *wa* only at 12 (17%) occasions. Thus, women appeared to be less inclined to produce utterances which include an overt second person-designation term with *wa* than were men.

Apart from this, another interesting factor emerged from the data. Examination of all the 72 utterances having second person NPs occurring with the topic marker *wa* indicates that *wa* tends to appear in the speech of interlocutors who do not have a particularly close relationship (and who, therefore, often resort to relatively formal style), and, conversely, except for structurally "constrained" contexts (contrast, emphasis, etc.), it usually does not accompany overt second person referents directed to such interlocutors as the speaker's friends or close family members.³⁰ The following table displays speaker-addressee relationships in conversations where overt second person NPs followed by *wa* occurred in the analysed films.³¹ The horizontal double line in the middle separates cases in which the conversations are characterised by non-close relationships from those characterised by a close relationship.

³⁰ See examples (47-49) below.

³¹ In addition, the following cases (which also had occurrences of NP + *wa*) were disregarded due to the indeterminable nature of the relationship: Kooichi (*kimi*) → Nishiwaki (B); Wabisuke (*Okumura-san*) → Okumura, Wabisuke (*Fuku-chan*) → Fuku-chan, Shige (*ama*) → Akira, Satomi (*oji-san*) → Amemiya (O); Hirayama (*kimi*) → Susako, Hirayama (*kimi*) → Yooko (S); Sudoo (*kimi*) → unknown man, Ushijima (*omae*) → Shinba (K). In each case, the speaker is a male. Since all of them personify extremely marginal speaker-addressee dyads in the films, they were not included in the table.

Table 4: Relationships in which overt second person-designating terms occur in the data with the topic-marker *wa*

speaker	term used	addressee	relationship (non-close)
Sakuma (m)	<i>anata (anata-gata)</i>	Kawai (Hirayama, Horie, etc.) (m)	former high school teacher (at present a noodle shop keeper) - former pupil(s) (S)
Sakuma (m)	<i>Horie-san</i>	Horie (m)	former high school teacher - former pupil; noodle shop keeper - university professor (S)
Sakuma (m)	<i>kimi, Hirayama-san</i>	Hirayama (m)	former high school teacher - former pupil; noodle shop keeper - client, controller (S)
Hirayama (m)	<i>anata, anta</i>	Sakamoto (m)	former army superior - former army subordinate (S)
Sakamoto (m)	<i>anta</i>	Hirayama (m)	see above (S)
Okakura (m)	<i>anata</i>	Wada (m)	detective - interrogated suspect (W)
Wada	<i>anata</i>	Itakura	prisoner - kidnapper (W)
Wada (m)	<i>anata (anata-gata)</i>	Nishi (Itakura) (m)	prisoner - kidnapper(s); former assistant of contract section chief - former secretary to vice-president (in the same company) (W)
Nishi (m)	<i>kisama, kimi, anata</i>	Wada (m)	see above (W)
Shirai (m)	<i>anata</i>	Nishi (m)	prisoner - kidnapper; former section chief - former secretary to vice-president (W)
Nishi (m)	<i>kisama</i>	Shirai (m)	see above (W)
Wada (m)	<i>anata</i>	Shirai (m)	assistant - contract section chief (W)
Shirai (m)	<i>anta</i>	Moriyama (m)	contract section chief - principal administrative officer (W)
Moriyama (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Shirai (m)	see above (W)
Nishi (m)	<i>kisama</i>	Moriyama (m)	prisoner - kidnapper; former secretary to vice-president - principal administrative officer (W)

Iwabuchi (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Shirai (m)	vice-president - contract section chief (W)
Iwabuchi (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Moriyama (m)	vice-president - principal administrative officer (W)
Kaneko (m)	<i>anata-tachi</i>	Iwabuchi and Moriyama (m)	managing director - vice-president and principal administrative officer (W)
Itakura (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Tatsuo (m)	Itakura is Tatsuo's sister's husband's friend (they have never met before) (W)
Sudoo (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Karumen (f)	artist - model (K)
speaker	term used	addressee	relationship (close)
Kawai (m)	<i>omae</i>	Horie (m)	friends; former high school classmates (S)
Kawai (m)	<i>omae</i>	Hirayama (m)	friends; former high school classmates (S)
Fumiko (f)	<i>anata</i>	Noriko (f)	sisters-in-law (B)
Tami (f)	<i>omae</i>	Kenkichi (m)	mother - son (B)
Noriko (f)	<i>oba-san</i>	Tami (f)	future daughter-in-law - mother-in-law (B)
Kooichi (m)	<i>omae-tachi</i>	Fumiko, Noriko (f)	husband/elder brother - wife/younger sister (B)
Shinkichi (m)	<i>Kooichi</i>	Kooichi (m)	father - son (B)
Shinkichi (m)	<i>omae</i>	Kikue (f)	husband - wife (B)
Tatsuo (m)	<i>anata</i> ³²	Iwabuchi (m)	son - father (W)
Itakura (m)	<i>omae</i>	Nishi (m)	close friends (who have changed identities) (W)
Akemi (f)	<i>anta</i>	Karumen (f)	close friends (K)
Karumen (f)	<i>omae</i>	Akemi (f)	see above (K)
Sudoo (m)	<i>kimi</i>	Chidori (f)	fiancés (K)
father (m)	<i>omae</i>	Sudoo (m)	father - son (K)

³² See ex. (14b) in Section 6.5.3.3 for an analysis of Tatsuo's use of the second person pronoun *anata* when addressing his father Iwabuchi.

Kikue (f)	<i>anta</i>	Chizuko (f)	mother - daughter (O)
Chizuko (f)	<i>kaa-san</i>	Kikue (f)	see above (O)
Chizuko (f)	<i>anta</i>	Wabisuke (m)	wife - husband (O)
Wabisuke (m)	<i>kimi-tachi</i>	Yoshiko (f), Aoki (m)	Wabisuke and Yoshiko are secret lovers, Aoki is Wabisuke's subordinate (O)
Yoshiko (f)	<i>anata</i>	Wabisuke	see above (O)

m = male; f = female

Although most of the overt second person terms with *wa* occurred in *non*-close relationships, as the above table demonstrates, some did also appear in the speech of interlocutors having a close relationship. The majority of these cases can, however, be explained by structural constraints. Let us first examine the following examples. In example (47), the speakers are two young women, Noriko and Fumiko, sisters-in-law. Example (48) depicts a conversation between Wabisuke and his (secret) mistress Yoshiko, and (49) involves two young women, Karumen and Akemi, who are close friends.

- 47) Noriko: (handing out a plate and a fork) Hai, doozo.
Fumiko: Anata wa?
Noriko: Un, atashi ii no. (B: 29)
Noriko: 'Here you go.'
Fumiko: 'What about **you**?'
Noriko: 'I won't have any.'
- 48) Yoshiko: Anata wa noranai no ne.
Wabisuke: Ore wa noru wake ni ikanai ja nai ka. (O: 92)
Yoshiko: '**You** won't get in, I guess.'
Wabisuke: 'I can't get in, can I now?'
- 49) Karumen: Un denaoso.
Akemi: Anta wa geejutsu no tame ni sa, watashi wa akanboo no tame ni ikiru yo... (K: 98)
Karumen: 'Yeah, let's make a fresh start.'
Akemi: '**You** will live for art and I will live for my baby.'

Examination of examples (47), (48) and (49) reveals that they all have something in common. They are manifestly all dealing with contrast, a factor which generally inhibits particle ellipsis. Another factor which seems to be involved here is criticism. As examples (50) and (51) below demonstrate, *wa* is often maintained with second person-designating terms appearing in critical remarks or other expressions connoting a nuance of criticism or dissatisfaction expressed by the speaker towards the addressee.

- 50) Sudoo: Hakkiri iu ne, kimi wa... Soo iu mondai ni wa furenai no ga echiketto da yo.
- Chidori: Demo ne, **anta ga** kanchigai shiteru to ikenai kara...
- Sudoo: Fuufu ni narya sonna koto doo datte ii ja nai ka.
- Chidori: Uwaki no hoo wa ii kedo, okane no hoo wa betsu yo.
- Sudoo: Shikashi ne kimi, kimi wa ne, *boku no* okage demo tte ne sanbyaku tsubo no tochi mo moraeru n da ze.
- Chidori: *Watashi datte*, soo demo nakya imasara **anta nanka** to kekkon shiyashinai wa yo, otoko ni komatteru wake ja nashi....
- Sudoo: *Boku datte* onna ni nanka komatchainai yo.
- Chidori: Shitteiru wa yo, okane ga hoshii kurai.
- Sudoo: Kimi wa *boku o* bujoku suru no ka?
- Chidori: Bujoku shiteru no wa **anata yo**...
- Sudoo: *Boku datte* ne, kore dake ni naru ni wa sootoo motode ga kakatteiru n da yo, kekkon suru nara jisankin gurai atarimae da, demodori ni...
- Chidori: Sono demodori ni iyotta no wa dare na no yo?
- Sudoo: Niyaniya shita no wa **kimi ja nai** ka! (K: 112)
- Sudoo: 'Well, you're certainly straightforward... You know it's called etiquette not to touch upon problems like that.'
- Chidori: 'But it's because you should not misunderstand...'
- Sudoo: 'But as we're getting married, things like that shouldn't matter, right?'
- Chidori: 'I don't mind you having affairs, but money is a different matter.'
- Sudoo: 'But, Chidori, you know that it's thanks to me that you'll get three hundred *tsubo*.'
- Chidori: 'If that wasn't the case I would not be marrying someone like you now. After all it's not like I'm having problems with men...'
- Sudoo: 'Well, it's not like I'm having problems with women either.'
- Chidori: 'I know that, it's just that you want money.'
- Sudoo: 'Are you trying to insult me?'
- Chidori: 'You're the one who's doing the insulting here.'
- Sudoo: 'You know, it has cost me quite some capital to get where I am now. So, if I marry you, it's only natural to receive a dowry, even though you're a divorced woman...'

Chidori: 'And who was the one that made amorous advances to that divorced woman?'
Sudoo: 'Wasn't it you who was grinning at me in the first place?!'

51) Noriko: Demo soko ga echiketto tte mono yo.
Kooichi: Doko ga?
Noriko: (acting as if she does not hear Kooichi) Onee-san, tempura oishii?
Fumiko: Totemo oishii.
Noriko: Soo. (starts eating)
Kooichi: Omae-tachi wa ne, nani ka tte iu to, sugu echiketto echiketto tte, maru de otoko ga onna ni shinsetsu ni suru hooritsu ka nan ka mitai ni omotteru kedo, sorya soo iu mon ja nai n da. . . . (B: 13)

Noriko: 'But that's where it's a matter of etiquette.'
Kooichi: 'Where?'
Noriko: 'Fumiko, is the *tempura* good?'
Fumiko: 'It's very delicious.'
Noriko: 'Really?'
Kooichi: 'You know, it looks like you [two] can only think about etiquette and etiquette all the time and you seem to think that etiquette equals some kind of an obligation for men to be kind to women. But that's where you're all wrong, it's not like that. . . .'

In example (50), Sudoo is talking to his fiancée Chidori, and the two are having a heated discussion. The second person-designating term *kimi* occurring with the topic marker *wa* appears underlined in the text, and, given the fact that the excerpt contains a large number of overt references, other overt terms referring to the first and second person are also indicated. (Second person terms employed by Chidori in addressing Sudoo are in bold-face and first person designating-terms used by both Chidori and Sudoo appear in italics.) As mentioned above, arguments and discussions in which participants resort to an extremely assertive form of speech often display a high frequency of overt references to the speech participants, a fact which is once more evidenced in example (50). On the one hand, the participants attack each other directly, resulting in a large number of overt references to the second person, and on the other, defending oneself and one's position against the attacks launched by the other party necessitates the use of overt first person terms. It is in contexts like these that overt second person-designating terms often appear with the topic marker *wa*, even between interactants with a close relationship.

Example (51) depicts a conversation between Noriko and Fumiko, sisters-in-law, and Kooichi, Noriko's elder brother and Fumiko's husband. All through the scene the two young women have been teasing Kooichi, but finally, after Noriko deliberately ignores his question, Kooichi seems to have had enough and decides to say a few words himself. Actually the overt second person referent *omae-tachi* 'you (pl.)' shifts the topic of the conversation to Noriko and Fumiko and Kooichi's dissatisfaction vis-à-vis their behaviour and ideas about etiquette.

In total, out of 72 utterances with overt second person-designating terms in which the topic marker *wa* appeared, 22 (31%) were spoken in conversations between people with close relationships. However, among these 22 utterances, 10 included a contrast of the type displayed in examples (47), (48) and (49), in 7 cases second person terms with *wa* occurred (as topics) in accusations, arguments or critical remarks, in one case a second person term appeared in a recollection of the past,³³ and in 4 utterances second person terms were postposed and occurred in positive or negative evaluations of the interlocutor.³⁴ In more "neutral" contexts between close participants, on the other hand, overt second person-designating terms which retain the topic marker *wa* appear to be relatively infrequent.

The situation is quite different in non-close relationships, however, at least in contexts where speakers employ rather polite language. Hinds (1982a: 178) suggests that "the retention of particles may be one way of showing deference to the addressee", which, he concludes, stems from the fact that speech with overt particles is more "precise" than speech without particles, and this concern with precise speech thus "indicates respect toward the addressee". To me Hinds's statement appears rather vague, and I would like to argue that it can be made more precise by taking into account the idea of the role of *wa* in indexical progression. It is natural that researchers prefer to examine phenomena such as *wa* deletion from a wide perspective, including it in a discussion on particle ellipsis in general (e.g., Hinds 1982a) or analysing its occurrence with all kinds of NPs (e.g., Shibamoto 1991), but such perspectives do not necessarily allow the highlighting of the discourse-functional aspects of *wa* deletion as linked to overt first and second person terms in face-to-face conversation.

³³ See Section 5.2.

³⁴ See examples (52), (53) and (54) below. One of the postposed terms had also a slight nuance of contrast.

The following examples seem to have two points in common. In each, the speaker is evaluating the interlocutor, either positively or negatively, and overt second person terms with *wa* occur in a sentence-final position. In (52) Kawai is talking to his close friend and former classmate Horie, in (53) Tami is addressing her son Kenkichi, and in (54) we again have Akemi and Karumen, two young women and good friends. Since in the majority of cases in which postposed first and second person-designating terms occur in my data *wa* is ellipted, this topic will be addressed in detail in Sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.5, dealing with postposed "*wa*-less" referents.

- 52) Kawai: Shiawasena yatsu da yo omae wa.
 Horie: Soo na n da. Mattaku tanoshii yo. (S: 328)

Kawai: 'You're a lucky fellow, I tell you.'
 Horie: 'That's right. I'm really enjoying myself.'

- 53) (Tami is talking to her son Kenkichi)
 Ja, motto yorokondara ii ja nai ka, o-yorokobi yo. Henna ko da yo, omae wa... (crying and laughing at the same time) (B: 51)

'Well, shouldn't you be happier then, show that you're happy. What a strange boy you are...'

- 54) Akemi: Sorya soo ne, panpan ni natta tte ii n da mono ne.
 Karumen: Baka da ne omae wa, anna no onna no kuzu da yo, . . . (K: 114)

Akemi: 'That's the way it is, I don't care if I have to prostitute myself.'
 Karumen: 'You're such a fool, women like that are scum, . . .'

Also, in non-close relationships, second person-designating terms with *wa* occurred frequently in narratives, accusations, interrogations, and the like, as is exemplified by the following two excerpts. In (55), Nishi, secretary to vice-president and Moriyama's kidnapper, is strongly accusing Moriyama, principal administrative officer, of a corporate crime in a narrative-like manner, in (56) Okakura, detective, is interrogating Wada, suspect, at a police station, and in (57) Tatsuo is accusing his father, Iwabuchi.

55) Moriyama: ...
Nishi: Sorekara, moo hitotsu... Dairyuu kensetsu ga gasa o kui, Wada-san ga hipparareta yokujitsu da... Kisamawa aoku natte fukusoosai shitsu e tonde kita... Ano toki... sonna mono gurai omae ga shimatsu shiro! to iu Iwabuchi no dosee ga kikoeta... Sorekara kisamawa, jissatsu hodo yokin tsuuchoo o kaban ni oshi komi nagara dete kita. (W: 52)

Moriyama: '...'
Nishi: 'And one thing more... Just the day after the raid on Dairyuu Construction and Wada's arrest... You went flying into the Vice-President's Office with a pale face... At that time... I heard Iwabuchi shout at you that you should take care of such incidentals... And you came out with about ten bank books which you were shoving back into your briefcase.' (Ba: 202)

56) Okakura: (controlling his anger, speaks quietly) Wada-san, ittai anata wa kono hatsukakan, dare no tame ni, mokuhiken o tsukatte orareru n desu?
Wada: ...
Okakura: Anata wa koodan no o-kata desu. Kanri to onajiku mazu kokumin no rieki o mamoranakereba naranai tachiba desu ne? . . . Anata wa kokumin ni taishite, shitteru koto o shoojiki ni mooshi noberu gimu ga arimasu yo!
Wada: Wa... watashi wa...
(The secretary picks up his pen and waits in expectation. But Wada shuts his mouth tightly again and doesn't say anything else.)
Okakura: (sighing) Anata wa koodan no keeyakuka no kachoo hosa desu. Nyuusatsu ni kansuru ikan naru koosaku mo, anata o toosazu ni wa dekinai hazu desu. . . . (W: 14)

Okakura: 'Mr. wada, just who is it you are trying to protect by maintaining the right of silence for these twenty days?'

Wada: '...'

Okakura: 'You are a member of the Public Corporation. Just like a public official, you must protect the welfare of the people. Isn't that right? . . . It is your duty to the people to tell honestly what you know!'

Wada: '... Uh... I...'

Okakura: 'You are an Assistant to the Contract Section Chief of the Public Corporation. Anything that has to do with bids for construction would have to pass through your hands. . . .' (Ba: 129-130)

57) Tatsuo: Mite kudasai, kono Yoshiko o... Anata wa, Nishi o korosu to dooji ni kono Yoshiko made koroshita!

...

Chikayoru na!! Yoshiko wa moo anata no musume ja nai!! Boku mo, moo anata no musuko ja nai!! Futari tomo, nido to anata no kao wa mitakunai!! Sore o ii ni kita n da. (W: 68)

Tatsuo: 'Look at Yoshiko... Just at the moment you killed Nishi, you killed Yoshiko too!

...

Stay away from her!! Yoshiko is no longer your daughter!! And I am no longer your son!! Neither of us ever want to see your face again!! That's what I came here to say.' (Ba: 231)

In the films used for my data, there are also some examples of second person-designating terms which had no particle in the scenarios, but to which *wa* was added in the actual film dialogues. I will present two examples here. In (58a/b) Noriko is talking to her brother's colleague's mother (and her future mother-in-law) Tami, and in (59a/b) Iwabuchi, a company vice-president, is addressing Moriyama, the principal administrative officer of the same company.

58 a) Oba-san, itsu irassharu no? (B:49)

58 b) Oba-san wa itsu irassharu no?

'When will you go [move] there?'

59 a) Kimi, Shirai no uchi wa, shitteru ne. (W: 38)

59 b) Kimi wa Shirai no uchi o shitteru ne.

'You know Shirai's house, right?'

A closer examination of the contexts of (58) and (59) reveals that we are again dealing with a contrast. As a matter of fact, in the utterance immediately preceding (58), Tami explains that her son Kenkichi will move to Akita prefecture the following day. In Noriko's question, "Tami" (*oba-san*) is therefore naturally contrasted with "Kenkichi". Being a bound form, (58b) is to be distinguished from (58a) which is followed by a comma connoting a juncture in the flow of

speech and is therefore perhaps closer to a free form, that is, a vocative. As for (59), here the "vocative-like" character of *kimi* 'you' in (59a) is even more pronounced. However, in the film, Iwabuchi chooses to add *wa* to the second person pronoun. Again it appears that what he wishes to communicate is an idea of contrast. This becomes evident, as, immediately after (59), Iwabuchi asks Moriyama to draw him a map. It is clear Iwabuchi himself does not know where Shirai lives, but he is convinced Moriyama does.

6.3.4. Postposed first person-designating terms without *wa*

As we have seen, first and second person reference terms without the topic marker *wa* tend to occur in sentence-initial position.³⁵ However, they can also appear at the end of an expression, as seen in the examples below. A detailed examination of postposed (right-dislocated) first and second person-designation terms occurring in my data showed that some of them can be linked to specific communicative functions. In this section and the section that follows (6.3.5), I therefore discuss characteristics of postposed terms separately. First, consider the following:

- 60) Makenai wa yo, atashi. (B: 60)
'And me, I won't lose, you know.'
- 61) Yoku shitteru wa nee anta. (B: 56)
'You really know [the Akita dialect] well, don't you.'
- 62) Nani o shiteru n da kimi? (W: 28)
'What are you doing?' (Ba: 154)

³⁵ In Japanese topics generally occur sentence-initially.

This construction, generally termed "postposing", permits elements to be placed after the sentence final verbal, and it occurs mainly in spoken Japanese.³⁶ Example (60) has a postposed first person-designating term, personal pronoun *atashi*, and examples (61) and (62) display postposed second person-designating terms, namely, the personal pronouns *anta* and *kimi*.

Constructions of this type have often been referred to as "after-thought" constructions (Clancy 1980: 195; Martin 1975: 1043; Shibatani 1990: 259)³⁷. Hinds (1986: 166) states the following:

The motivation for postposing is that the speaker initiates an utterance with a set of assumptions about how the addressee will comprehend the flow of speech. In midstream, the speaker recognizes from some type of verbal or nonverbal feedback, or as a result of some type of internal monitoring, that the addressee is unable to comprehend in the way originally thought. This requires that the element or elements which the speaker now believes to be incomprehensible be inserted into the utterance at the earliest possible place.

In this sense, there is, of course, an inevitable link between postposing and ellipsis, for postposing may have the function of replacing an infelicitously omitted element (Hinds 1980: 284). The same is pointed out by Shibamoto (1985: 116), who concurs with Hinds and refers to this function as the "primary function" of postposed elements. Many kinds of elements can be postposed in Japanese, but in this section our main concern is with postposing of (topicalised) noun phrases.³⁸ Hinds (1986: 161) demonstrates that postposed nominal elements can also appear without the topic marker *wa*:

³⁶ According to Clancy (1982: 69), postposed constituents "can be found in certain types of personal, informal writing . . . such as friendly letters". In formal written Japanese, however, "postposing after a sentence-final verb form is not permitted".

³⁷ Martin (1975: 1043) notes that what he refers to as afterthoughts are "tacked on at the end of the sentence intonation, usually with a lowering of the voice register and a flat 'vocative' type of intonation". See also Shibatani (1990: 259).

³⁸ See Hinds (1982) and Shibamoto (1985) for details on other elements which can be postposed.

63) Aru wa yo, watashi.

'[I] have [some pictures like that], I [do].'

His English translation of the above example sentence suggests that, in this context, we are dealing with some kind of a contrasting expression: perhaps the previous speaker has just said that no one has the kind of pictures they have been talking about. Then the following speaker produces example (63), stating that, as a matter of fact (and probably contrary to what the others had expected), she does have such pictures.³⁹

Hinds is certainly right about the fact that postposed elements are often added to the utterance in order to make them clear to the addressee. However, as my examination of the postposed first and second person-designating terms occurring in the Japanese movies indicates --and as also Hinds himself acknowledges (1980; 1982a; 1986)--there is something more to postposing than just this. Let us first consider the following examples with first person terms:

64) Kaeru wa yo atashi. (B: 21)

'I'll go home.'

65) Taberu no yo atashi. (B: 38)

'Oh, I **will** eat [it].'

66) Omoshiroi no yo onee-san atashi-tachi. Atsumaru desho, itsumo futa gumi ni wakarechau no, oyome ni itta kumi to ikanai kumi to. (B: 29)

'You know, it's funny, everytime we get together we end up being divided into two camps, those who are already married and those who are not.'

67) Furarechatta no yo, atashi-tachi... (B: 35)

'We have been abandoned [by them]....'

68) Yokubari ka nee, atashi... (B: 40)

'I wonder if I want too much...'

³⁹This sentence would be most naturally uttered by a female speaker.

69) Jishin aru no, atashi. (B: 60)

'Me I'm confident.'

70) Makenai wa yo, atashi. (B: 60)

'And me, I won't lose, you know.'

It should first be noted that the postposed first person-designating terms in examples (64), (65) and (66) are added to the phrases without a pause, while those in examples (67), (68), (69) and (70) follow a (clear) pause in the flow of speech.⁴⁰ Examples (64) and (65) are comparable in that *atashi* 'I' in both examples seems to be contrasted to what was said previously. *Atashi* in example (64) is in contrast with the second person-designating term *Noriko* (FN) appearing in the speaker's preceding utterance, *Noriko, mada iru?* 'Noriko, are you still going to stay?'. The speaker wishes to point out that, even if Noriko is still going to stay, *she* will leave. Similarly, *atashi* in example (65) should be contrasted to the speaker of the previous utterance *Oku-san, meshiagaranaï n desu ka, sore. Meshiagaranakya itadakimasu yo* 'Madam, aren't you going to eat it? If you're not, I'll have it'. In this example the speaker is eager to signal that she *does* want to eat the piece of cake in question herself and not give it to the preceding speaker.⁴¹

Further, it seems that only the first person reference term in example (66) should be interpreted as Hinds suggests, its only function being that of making the referent of the utterance clear to the hearer. *Atashi-tachi* 'we' in (66) is exclusive and therefore does not include the hearer. The speaker feels the need to point out clearly to whom (or what) she is referring as *omoshiroi* or 'funny, interesting'. Just before her utterance, the conversation comes to a momentary halt, and (66) marks a shift to a new topic of discourse. Clancy (1980: 160) points out that in contexts where there is a switch in reference, subject positions may turn out to be problematic for the hearer. Thus, in example (66), it might be difficult for the hearer to interpret the new subject correctly without an overt term of reference.

⁴⁰ In these examples a pause is marked by a comma in the Japanese transcription. Some cases may differ from the film scenarios in which a comma does not always stand for an actual pause in the film dialogues.

⁴¹ See also Hinds (1982a: 203).

On the other hand, *atashi-tachi* in the following example, (67), is inclusive, including both the speaker and the hearer. Example (67) is uttered after a distinctive pause in the conversation, but it seems to serve as a reply to a question raised in the addressee's preceding utterance: *Dooshite konai n daroo...* 'I wonder why they don't come...'. The two young women in this scene are wondering why their mutual friends did not show up for their previously planned meeting. The speaker, producing (67), seems to want to suggest that the reason lies in the fact that these two friends are already married, whereas the speaker and the hearer are still single. Given the context, it should not be too difficult for the hearer to infer to whom the predicate is referring. Nevertheless, the speaker decides to add an overt first person term, *atashi-tachi*. What is noteworthy in example (67), however, is that *atashi-tachi* in this utterance is preceded by an audible pause in the flow of speech. Contrary to the first person referents in examples (64-66), which are uttered quickly without a pause, *atashi-tachi* in (67) is uttered slowly and distinctly and it is clearly detached from the rest of the utterance. Actually, (67) could probably also be uttered by a speaker talking to herself, in which respect it resembles example (68). *Atashi* in (68) is also preceded by a pause and, although there are others present, it appears to be directed to the speaker herself. Because one of the participants has previously overtly referred to the speaker of (68) (*Okaa-san sukoshi yokubari sugite yashimasen ka* 'Don't you want a bit too much?': *okaa-san* = the speaker of [68]) the referent of *yokubari ka nee* should be clear from the context. In summary, unlike *atashi-tachi* in example (66), postposing *atashi-tachi* and *atashi* in (67) and (68) does not seem to serve the function of adding some necessary information to the utterances. Could it therefore be suggested that they are added for some kind of an emphasising effect?

Support for the emphasis function of postposed NPs can, in fact, be found in a number of previous studies. Actually, in spite of putting the focus of the possible functions associated with postposing on the reparation of infelicitous ellipses, Hinds (1980: 267) also hints at another conceivable function, namely, that of emphasis. In a later paper, he discusses emphasis and also other possible functions of postposition. Emphasis, Hinds (1982a: 192) states, "is related to the function of postposing . . . since the item in question has been moved into the

sentence final position, a position reserved for the most rhematic elements in the sentence".⁴² Shibamoto (1991: 90-91) echoes Hinds in stating that, in her study of *wa* and *ga* ellipsis, all focal NPs as well as postposed NPs were held to be the most emphatic element in the clause. According to her, this, in turn, results in a high degree of focus and inhibition of particle ellipsis.⁴³ As will be discussed later, this claim could not be shown to be valid in the present study. Although particle ellipsis appears frequently both with first and especially with second person NPs in my data, I could find no examples of first person NPs in which the topic marker *wa* is retained, and, in the second person, such NPs occur only ten times, a figure which is much smaller than that for the case of "*wa*-less" second person NPs, which occurred 69 times.⁴⁴

Curiously, other researchers have linked the function of postposing to a totally opposite kind of effect. Clancy (1982: 69) discusses "defocus" (cf. Shibamoto's "high degree of focus" mentioned above) and Maynard (1989: 36) refers to "backgrounding". While Hinds links *post*positioned elements to emphasis on the grounds that the sentence-final position is reserved for the most rhematic elements, Maynard (1989: 37) claims that more salient information can, in fact, be placed *earlier* and thus foregrounded, an effect which is related to the "immediate verbalisation" of such elements. Less salient information is, then, postposed and, consequently, backgrounded. In addition, Hasegawa (1993: 167, fn. 6) suggests the following: when the "signality" of an NP which is picked/pointed out in an utterance becomes weaker, the NP may be postposed. Thus example (71a)

71 a) Watashi o ikanai.

'I won't go.'

⁴² Because "emphasis has become a waste basket into which any nonneutral utterance is thrown", Hinds (1982a: 192) uses the term "to refer to something which has been brought into special prominence, or which becomes the information focus of the sentence".

⁴³ What is curious in Shibamoto's statement, however, is that, although the Emphatic Element Condition is supposed to *inhibit* particle ellipsis, she gives an example of a postposed NP with a zero particle.

⁴⁴ See section 6.3.5.

with a sentence-initial *watashi* 'I' (and, presumably, with no perceptible pause in the flow of speech) would not differ from its counterpart (71b) which has a postposed first person term:

71 b) Ikanai, watashi.

Although these claims appear to contradict those posited by Hinds and Shibamoto, Clancy and Maynard go on to explain that the defocusing and backgrounding functions are, in fact, associated with specific features of pronunciation and sound. Thus, Clancy (1982: 69) suggests that, in her data of spoken narratives, postposed elements, which were "produced quite fluently with no pause and an unbroken intonation contour with lower, level pitch", were "apparently used to defocus either familiar or easily deductible information which was in some way semantically subordinate to the material preceding the main verb". These kinds of postposed elements are to be distinguished from "afterthoughts" which occurred in her data "after sentence-final falling pitch and an audible pause". Maynard (1989: 36) presents a similar picture and links backgrounding to postposed elements which are produced without phonological prominence. In a footnote (*ibid.*, fn. 13) it is added that postposed elements which are pronounced *with* phonological prominence may, in fact, be foregrounded. Further, although Hasegawa does not state it explicitly, the fact that her example sentence (71a) has no comma in the transcription seems to suggest that this sentence is produced fluently without a pause in the flow of speech and, thus, should be seen as an example of weakened "signality".

Now, if we return to the examples above, following Clancy, it can therefore be said that *atashi-tachi* in (67) and *atashi* in (68) represent easily deducible information in the contexts of the speech where they occur. Nevertheless, they are produced following an audible pause, a factor which does not fit Clancy's definition of defocused information. On the other hand, the pitch with which these terms are produced--as well as all the other first person terms presented in this section--could be characterised as a "lower, level pitch" in accordance with Clancy's definition. On one hand, examples (67) and (68) differ from (64) and (65) in that they do not carry the same nuance of contrast, and on the other, they should be distinguished from (66) in which the postposed NP is needed to specify the referent. It can therefore be assumed that the

functions of postposing that are at work in examples (67) and (68) are linked to emphasis: by postposing the first person referents, the speakers manage to emphasise the emotional message of the utterances, namely, the "poorness" of *atashi-tachi* and *atashi*, the first person.

In examples (69) and (70) as well, *atashi* follows a short pause in the flow of speech. The hearer of (69) has just been expressing how worried she is about the speaker's unexpected decision to marry a much older man with a child from a previous marriage. The speaker, on the other hand, is trying to convince her that everything will go just fine. The speaker's first person term *atashi* could be interpreted here as a marker of a contrast: "you seem to be having some doubts, but me I'm confident". However, at the same time, by adding *atashi* to the end of her utterance, the speaker appears to want to put more weight on her words, thus making a particularly strong assertion. Example (70), reproduction of example (60), carries a similar connotation. The speaker has just suggested, jokingly, that after the hearer's wedding, it will become a competition between the two: which one of them will manage to run the house better, the speaker or the hearer? The speaker is clearly referring to herself when she pronounces *makenai wa yo* '[I] won't lose', and *atashi* seems to be added in order to emphasise her determination.

It should also be pointed out that all the examples presented in this section are spoken by female characters. And, interestingly, the example sentence (63), provided by Hinds, is produced by a female speaker as well. Should the postposing of (topicalised) first person NPs therefore be considered a characteristic of female talk? As I was unable to find any other examples of postposed first person-designating terms in the films I am using for my analysis, it is of course hard to say--with such a restricted sample--whether women actually use more postposed first person NPs than men in natural discourse.⁴⁵ However, as regards postposing in general (and not solely of first and second person NPs), Shibamoto (1985: 147) offers figures suggesting that our speculations might actually be warranted: female speakers postpose elements (occurring at least once in a string) 12,7% of the time, whereas male speakers

⁴⁵ Hinds (1982a: 185, ex. [c]; 203, ex. S-6) provides also examples with a postposed masculine pronoun, but, interestingly, the first person pronoun *boku* in his examples is followed by the topic marker *wa*. Perhaps it could be hypothesised that male speakers postpose topicalised first and second person NPs less than women, and when they do postpose, they tend to retain the topic marker *wa*.

postpose only 5% of the time.⁴⁶ In the same study, Shibamoto (ibid., 141) states: "Whereas the frequency of application of Right Dislocation is sex-related, there are no sex-related differences in the specific nominal and adverbial forms to which it applies." If this is indeed the case, the tendency of female characters to postpose first person terms, as evidenced in the present study, should be seen as a consequence of the higher frequency of application of postposing in general by female speakers. However, as it is unclear whether Shibamoto's data contain any occurrences of (topicalised) first person NPs in sentence-final position, I feel inclined to answer the question raised above in the affirmative: female speakers appear to produce more postposed first person-designation terms than male speakers. The validity of this constation, however, needs to be verified with more data.⁴⁷ Also, since the emphasis (or focusing or foregrounding) function of postposing obviously has relevance to such factors as phonological prominence, intonation and pausing, analysis of any data should preferably be carried out with the help of technical measuring devices.

6.3.5. Postposed second person-designating terms without *wa*

Let us now move on to the second person. In my material, utterances with "*wa*-less" postposed second person-designating terms occurred much more frequently than utterances with first person terms, in total 69 times. The emphasis function suggested above for certain first person NPs appears to be linked even more clearly to postposed second person NPs. This can be pointed out by the following examples:

72) Warui *wa* yo Horie-san... (laughing) (S: 363)

'You are terrible, Mr. Horie...'

⁴⁶ See also Shibamoto's (1985: 147) note: Since postposing (Right Dislocation) is applied iteratively by more female speakers than male speakers, in terms of number of applications per total number of utterances, these figures rise to 14,2% and 5,2% respectively. Cf. also Shibamoto (ibid., 140) on Peng's findings and Clancy (1982: 69) who comments on one female informant who made use of postposing in 20% of her clauses in spoken narratives.

⁴⁷ Note also that all the postposed first person terms presented here occur in the film *Bakushuu*.

- 73) Shitsuree yo senmu-san! (B: 47)
'That's unpolite, sir (Mr. director).'
- 74) Kiree da na Michiko... (S: 365)
'You look so beautiful, Michiko...'
- 75) Zuibun nomeru no ne Noriko-san. (B: 13)
'Well, [I must say] you can really drink, can't you?'
- 76) ...Baka na... omae... (W: 68)
'You're so stupid...'
- 77) Erai wa nee, anta... (K: 114)
'You're really admirable...'

All the examples above are clearly similar in the way they are used to *evaluate* the hearer, either positively or negatively.⁴⁸ If we examine the contexts in which these sentences are spoken, in most cases the second person terms seem redundant because it is clear from the context to whom the speaker is talking. In examples (73) and (77) the speaker and the hearer are the only people present. In (76) there is also a third person present, but she is in a state of shock and does not utter a word. Thus it is obvious that the speaker cannot be talking to her. In (74) the speaker sees the hearer for the first time in her wedding dress and it should be evident from the context that the adjective *kiree* 'beautiful' can refer only to the hearer. In (75) the speaker has just refused to accept more beer offered to her by her husband, but the hearer does accept more. It should therefore be clear from the context without adding *Noriko-san* that the speaker can be talking only to her. It is only our first example here, example (72), where *Horie-san* 'Mr. Horie' could be interpreted as also having the status of salient information as it functions to disambiguate the addressee from the other people present. However, given the large number of entirely "redundant" second person-designation terms, it seems plausible to state that postposed

⁴⁸ See also example (61).

terms of this type can often be used in order to emphasise the speaker's evaluation of the hearer.

In total, evaluative assertives of this type (i.e., with second person NPs used only as emphasising devices or as disambiguation and emphasising devices simultaneously) accounted for approximately 33% (23 occurrences) of all the utterances having a postposed second person NP without the topic marker *wa*, and for about 72% of all the "*wa*-less" assertives (in total 32 occurrences) with sentence-final second person NPs. All of these included sentence-final particles, such as *yo*, *wa*, *na*, *ne(e)*, or combinations *no yo*, *wa yo*, *wa ne(e)*, and *no ne*.

Other types of assertive sentences include the "teasing" or "criticism/reproach" type (8 occurrences) which takes one of the following forms:

78) Suki na no yo! Horechatta no yo anta! Honhore yo! (B: 57)

'You like him! I mean you're really in love with him. It's real love, I tell you!'

79) Genkin ne anta. (S: 350) (stress on *anta*)

'You only think of your own interest.'

80) Osshaimasu wa ne, ninjin joshi... (B: 28)

'Oh, look who's talking, Mme Carrot...'

81) Sanjuu oku no ribeeto to ossharu ga anta... Mada juugo oku shika o-dashi ni natte oran. (W: 35)

'You talk about a three thousand million rebate, but the fact of the matter is that you still have only given us one thousand and five hundred million. (Ba: 167)

82) Nani? Suimasen tte kimi... Tonikaku dete oide yo. Akeru yo! li kai? (K: 89)

'What do you mean... Anyway, just come out, ok? I'm going to open [the door]! Ok?'

In example (78) we have only two people present, the speaker and the hearer, and *anta* 'you', produced with some phonological prominence, appears to be employed distinctively for emphasis. The fact that the speaker is arguing strongly with the addressee offers further support for this kind of analysis. What comes to the form, examples (78), (79) and (80), with sentence-final particles, resemble the evaluative sentences described above. *Anta* in (79) is spoken with

distinctive prominence, quickly and in an extremely reproaching manner. *Ninjin joshi* 'Mme Carrot' in (80), on the other hand, is spoken teasingly, after a short pause. Another type in this category is represented by (81). This type (2 occurrences) is characterised by the appearance of an adversative conjunction (*ga, kedo*) just before the person-designating term. The third type, illustrated here by (82), has the quotative construction *to itte* or *-tte* (3 occurrences).

The above examples suggest that, in a number of cases, postposing of second person NPs should, in fact, be linked to specific utterance types, such as evaluations, criticisms, reproaches and teasing. This is a strong counter-argument to those who have been eager to promote alleviation of ambiguity as the primary function of postposing. Hinds (1982a: 220-221), for example emphasises that:

Conversations are an interactional process. Speakers are capable of planning what they intend to say, but mistakes occur. One common mistake is to misjudge the ability of an addressee to comprehend the referent of an ellipted item. Because conversations are interactional, speakers receive various types of feedback which alert them to the fact that their addressees may need more information to understand a particular referent or to comprehend the relationship of a specific utterance to the rest of the conversation. Postposing allows the speaker to add this information as an afterthought without destroying other sentence internal relationships which may have been planned earlier.

Associating postposing with particular utterance types would seem to propose that, contrary to what Hinds is stating, speakers may also "plan" to make use of postposed terms in the first place. In other words, in evaluations or critical remarks, for instance, speakers seem to be inclined to plan to add a second person-designating term sentence-finally from the start. Thus postposing can be seen as a special characteristic of these expression types. This is a fact which is ignored also by Suzuki (1993: 171, 242), who attempts to propose a number of discourse functions for postposed phrases in her dissertation on topic and presupposition in Japanese, but ends up confessing that "what makes a speaker postpone a topical phrase is still mysterious (*ibid.*, 294)".⁴⁹ Taking into account the tendency of postposed second person NPs to appear in

⁴⁹ The discourse functions of postposing suggested by Suzuki (1993: 171, 242) include, for example, elaboration on the entity which has already been introduced in the sentence initial position, avoidance of two

specific expression types can certainly provide some leads to the task of working out this mystery. Naturally this is a characteristic of postposed person-designating terms which can be detected solely by collecting a sufficiently large sample of examples, a reason why it has probably gone unnoticed in previous studies dealing with more restricted data.

Other sentence types with "wa-less" postposed second person reference terms include interrogatives (18 occurrences) and imperatives (18 occurrences). The reader is reminded that when the subject of an utterance can be identified through a grammatical construction, it is usually omitted in conversational Japanese.⁵⁰ Given the fact that the subject of interrogatives and imperatives is generally the addressee, it can therefore be deleted relatively easily. However, as the following examples with postposed second person NPs demonstrate, deletion does not always occur as expected. Terms referring to the addressee can, of course, be used for disambiguation as in

83) Oi, doo suru no Yasutaroo? (O: 119)

'Hey, what are you going to do, Yasutaroo?'

where the speaker is directing his question specifically to Yasutaroo. On the other hand, they can to be repeated at the end of utterances when the addressee shows no reaction to a sentence-initial second person-designating term:

84) Nii-san!! Doo shita no nii-san!! (W: 49)

'Tatsuo!! What is it? Tell me, what is going on Tatsuo (big brother)!!'⁵¹

However, again, some kind of an emphasis of the speaker's emotional message would seem to be a conceivable interpretation in expressions of the following type:

topic-encoding expressions being placed next to each other, and placing an old activated topic (a topic which is in the consciousness of the addressee) after the comment.

⁵⁰ See Section 4.4 for a more detailed discussion.

⁵¹ In example (84), the first occurrence of *nii-san* 'elder brother' functions also as a directive: the speaker tries to stop her brother Tatsuo, who is threatening her husband with a rifle. See vocative category (b) in section 6.4.2 for further details on second person terms of this type. Note also that the postposed *nii-san* is pronounced with prominence, a feature which appears to emphasise the speaker's wish to get a reply from her brother.

- 85) *li ja nai no Michiko-chan, mada...* (S: 350)
'Can't you stay a bit longer, Michiko...'
- 86) *Nani o shiteru n da kimi.* (W: 28)
'What are you doing?' (Ba: 154)⁵²
- 87) *Atchi itterasshai, Isamu-chan!* (B: 26)
'Get out, Isamu!'
- 88) *li kagen ni shite kudasai yo otoo-san.* (W: 48)
'Come on, father, won't you stop it?!' (Ba: 193)

In all the above examples the speaker is showing some type of dissatisfaction with the addressee. The most clear case is probably example (87), where Fumiko, Isamu's mother, is ordering him to get out of the room. In this scene, Fumiko is having a serious discussion with her husband, and Isamu (who is six years old) enters the room. As Fumiko and her husband want to finish their conversation in private, they order Isamu to leave the room. However, Isamu does not react to the initial command and remains. Finally Fumiko orders him to leave again, and this is where she produces (87). *Isamu-chan* is added in order to emphasise the imperative.

In my data there were also ten occurrences of postposed second person-designating terms in which *wa* is not omitted. Eight of these were produced by male speakers and two by women. As has already been noted, contrast, for example, may function as a factor inhibiting particle deletion. However, in some cases, the emphasis function hypothesised for "*wa*-less" terms can also result in the appearance of expressions which contain the topic marker:

- 89) *Shiawasena yatsu da yo omae wa.* (S: 328)
'You're really a lucky fellow, I tell you.'

⁵² Example (86) is a reproduction of example (62).

In (89) the speaker is not only contrasting the addressee to himself (and the others present) (because the addressee has recently gotten married to a beautiful young girl of the speaker's daughter's age), but he is also emphasising his evaluation of the addressee. The addressee is the one who, still at the age of 57, was lucky enough to marry a young woman more than 30 years his junior.

The aim of this section is to demonstrate what kind of functions can be linked to postposed first and second person-designating terms occurring in Japanese discourse. It seems obvious that previous studies dealing with these terms have tended to focus excessively on the "grammar of postposing". Typically, the sentence-initial position of (topicalised) noun phrases has been seen as the "normal" case, and postposing has been treated like some kind of a deviation from this *status quo*. This is the reason linguists studying Japanese have been engaged in looking for (structural) reasons which might help to explain why speakers sometimes challenge the *status quo* and choose to postpose these terms. There are, of course, many reasons for postposing, one of them being the elementary need of making the referent of the utterance comprehensible to the hearer, as Hinds suggests. In this case it might be warranted to treat postposed noun phrases as some sort of "recyclable" elements which may be repositioned at the end of an utterance when the need arises. However, in this section we have seen that, in many cases, postposing should not be considered as a deviation from the norm. On the contrary, in expressions of reproach and critical remarks, for instance, postposing of second person-designating terms should be seen as the first option in speakers' minds. What is important here is not the "grammaticality" of speech, but its *rhythm*. Contrary to what often appears to be the conviction of linguists, speakers are not "grammatical machines", which produce utterances following the lines of linguists' hypotheses and, sometimes, accidentally or deliberately, deviate from the "rules" or make "mistakes". Clearly, in the case of postposing of first and especially second person referents--and perhaps in the case of postposing in general--it is the rhythm of the utterances that counts, be it contrary to the usual sentence-initial position of topicalised noun phrases. Placing the NP in a sentence-initial position would break the rhythm of the utterance, to the detriment of its effectiveness and expressiveness.

6.3.6. Pragmatic functions of "intermediate" second person-designating terms

Assuming that "wa-less" second person-designating terms often have "vocative-like" characteristics implies that they should share at least some of the functions performed by "true" vocatives (i.e., free forms) in conversational interaction. They can, of course, be placed after an initial "true" vocative, as was demonstrated in examples (39b) and (46b) earlier. In (39b) the speaker first makes use of a kinship term as a true vocative. This is followed by the second person pronoun *anta*. In (46b), on the other hand, the same kinship term is employed both as the initial true vocative and as the following "wa-less" second person term. Actually a "double" kinship term would generally be the norm in situations like these, as in both of them the speaker is addressing a socially superior (elder) relative. However, as is pointed out by Neustupny (1990: 109), "existing usage contradicts . . . categorical rules" and overt second person pronouns are used in addressing elder relatives after initial vocative addresses and in relationships where the interlocutor is "a frail old parent, patronized by his child".

The question of "true" vocatives will be raised in Section 6.4, but I would like to touch upon the issue of their conversational functions briefly here. In Section 6.4, I will rely mainly on a pragmatic typology of vocative functions set up by Haverkate (1984). He suggests the following four main roles for vocatives in conversational interaction: a) attention-getting devices, b) substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices, c) allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects, and d) obligatory honorific forms of address. Of these four main functions (b) must be disregarded immediately, because vocatives belonging to this category are not embedded in a larger syntactic structure. That is, they always occur alone.⁵³ As for the remaining three categories, "vocative-like" second person terms with zero particle may be included in all of them. Let us consider the following:

90) *Anta*, tokee maitoite yo. (S: 347)

'Wind the clock, will you.'

⁵³ See Section 6.4.2 for more details.

Although Japanese imperatives are usually automatically associated with the second person, in my data, imperatives frequently include an overt reference to the addressee. Generally, overt second person-designating terms occurring in imperatives do not retain a particle, but some researchers present examples like *Taroo-san ga ikinasai* 'Taroo, you go' (Martin 1975: 959) and *Gimeeshi, omae wa Nandee no kuukoo e ike* 'Gimeeshi, you go to Nandee airport' (Nitta 1991: 230). In general, overt reference may be due to disambiguation purposes, for instance, but overt terms also appear in conversations with only two participants present. The expression (90) above is one example. There are only two persons present, and the speaker, Akiko, is ordering her husband to wind the clock. In this context it should be clear that an imperative uttered by Akiko cannot be directed to anyone other than her husband, since he is the only one present. However, as Akiko is talking from another room, she first employs a second person pronoun *anta* as an attention-getting device in order to alert her husband. This usage could thus be included in Haverkate's first category of vocative functions, category (a), that is, attention-getting devices.

Let us next consider another example:

91) *Baa-chan* doo na no? . . . (O: 40)

Soo yo. Yappari koko de nookan shimashoo yo. Okaa-san, sore de ii n desho? (O: 43)

'(Grandma) what do you think?' . . .

'That's right. So, let's lay him in the coffin here. Mom, that's ok, isn't it?'

In this example, the speaker, Chizuko, calls her mother *baa-chan*, 'Grandma' (a so-called fictional kinship term from the viewpoint of her own children, i.e., her mother's grandchildren). This is the only occurrence of the affectionate suffix *-chan* in her speech to her mother, her usual address term being *(o)kaa-san* 'mother'. In this scene, she is discussing details of her father's funeral (when the deceased should be put in the coffin) with her mother, sister, husband, uncle and the undertaker. The situation seems quite delicate and, after the undertaker's suggestion, Chizuko wants to ask her mother's opinion. By making use of *baa-chan* she appears to be showing tenderness and empathy toward her mother in order to soften the burden of the situation. This example manifests that the use (and non-use) of suffixes of

this type (-*sama*, -*san*, -*kun*, -*chama*, -*chan*) is not necessarily linked to factors such as who else is present at the context of speech, etc. They can also be altered within a single interactional unit in order to express varying attitudes and feelings toward the interlocutor. Thus this example could be included in Haverkate's category (c), substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices.⁵⁴ The difference between the variants, (*o*)*kaa-san* and *baa-chan*, employed by Chizuko is not only the "viewpoint" of the speaker (i.e., the speaker is looking at her mother from her own viewpoint as the daughter of her mother or from the viewpoint of her own children, i.e., her mother's grandchildren), but also the connotative (pragmatic) meaning. *Baa-chan*, with the affectionate suffix -*chan*, expresses more empathy and closeness and thus, perhaps, has the function of consoling and tying the family closer together at the moment of grief.

The remaining category (d), obligatory (or quasi-obligatory) honorific forms of address, can be illustrated by example (92):

- 92) Noriko: Ojii-sama, o-tsukare ni naranai?
 Mokichi: ... Soo kai... Noriko-san, ikutsu ni nattai?
 Noriko: Nijuu-hachi desu.
 Mokichi: Uumu... moo yome-san ni ikanya ikan naa.
 Noriko: (teasingly) Ojii-sama, ii toko arimasen? Yamato ni...
 (Mokichi does not seem to hear)
 Noriko: Totemo okanemochi de, isshoo nanni mo shinaide asonderareru
 yoona toko... Ojii-sama go-zonji arimasen? (B: 17)
- Noriko: 'Grandpa, aren't you getting tired?'
 Mokichi: '...Mmmm... how old are you again now?'
 Noriko: 'Twenty-eight.'
 Mokichi: 'Hmm... you should get married soon.'
 Noriko: 'Don't you know anybody? Somewhere in Yamato?'
 Noriko: 'A very wealthy house, where I would never have to work and I could just enjoy myself... Don't you know a place like that (Grandpa)?'

In the context of certain culturally or socially determined institutions, it may be compulsory to use honorific vocative forms when addressing one's superior. In general, this is true, for

⁵⁴ See Section 6.4.3. for more details.

example, for the formalised interaction found in the army. Furthermore, there are also contexts where, although speakers of a lower rank are not *obliged* to address their superiors with honorific vocatives, they may be *expected* to do so. In Japanese discourse, this may be illustrated by the frequent occurrence of terms referring to the addressee's position, status, etc. (e.g., *kachoo* 'section chief'). As evidenced by example (92), kinship terms referring to one's social superior also have the tendency to be repeated (sometimes seemingly "unnecessarily") in Japanese. In this short excerpt, Noriko is addressing her father's elder brother Mokichi three times by making use of *ojii-sama* 'grandfather' including the honorific suffix *-sama*. The first and the third occurrences of *ojii-sama* correspond to the subject of the predicate clauses, *o-tsukare ni naranai* and *go-zonji arimasen*. In fact, these overt references to the second person seem completely redundant for two reasons. First, since there are only two persons present, Noriko and Mokichi, Noriko's interrogatives are automatically seen to be directed to Mokichi. In addition, Noriko's use of honorific verb forms should also be a factor inhibiting overt second person-designating term use. After all, honorific forms can be directed only to the addressee (or the third person). In spite of all this, overt reference does take place. Actually, the functions of the "vocative-like" occurrences of *ojii-sama* could be specified even further. For example, the first *ojii-sama* appears to function as an attention-getting device, used perhaps to draw Mokichi's attention to the change of topic: Noriko wants to make sure that he is not getting tired. Change of topic and other possible "sub-functions" of vocatives will be discussed in detail in Section 6.4.2.

6.4. Pragmatic functions of free forms of address (vocatives) in Japanese discourse

6.4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the main focus will be on pragmatic (communicative) functions of so-called free forms of address, or vocatives, in conversational interaction. I carry out my examination by analysing vocative term use depicted in the five Japanese films used as a source for data in this study. As regards the study of address terms, it was pointed out above that the distinction between *bound forms of address* and *free forms of address* has been introduced to address theory only quite recently. Traditionally, it is the bound form of address that has been examined more rigorously by sociolinguists, cultural anthropologists and others. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to provide an analysis of the basic functions of those forms which clearly appear as independent constituents. I demonstrate how free forms of address, or vocatives, function in Japanese conversational discourse not solely as attention-getting devices, but also as devices to mark speaking intention (creation of a conversational situation), draw attention to changes in discourse topics, maintain conversation, emphasise certain conversational elements, etc.¹ In my analysis, I make use of a typology of vocative functions set up for Spanish by Haverkate (1984), investigations related to Japanese vocatives carried out by Onoe (1975; 1986), as well as previous research related to address terms in Finnish, my native language.

Although vocatives obviously have functions other than simple attention-getting, their study has never played an important role in linguistic research. This lack of interest is pointed out by Haverkate (1984: 67), who asserts that it "may result from the fact that most linguists are not primarily concerned with the analysis of constituents not inherent in the basic structure of the proposition". Haverkate himself also devotes a few pages of his examination of Spanish speaker and hearer reference to vocatives.

With regard to syntactic and semantic phenomena related to vocatives, Haverkate commences his examination by pointing out the following. As far as the surface level is

¹ See Hinata (1983: 34-35).

concerned, "vocatives typically fill the peripheral slots at the beginning or the end of the sentence. Furthermore, they are marked with special intonation contour, including an optional pause, which separates them from the rest of the sentence, even if they do not occur in initial or final position". Secondly, "with regard to semantic structure, vocatives have no influence whatever on the well-formedness of the sentence in which they occur" (ibid., 68). Thirdly, he suggests the following pragmatic typology of vocative functions:

- a) In order to ensure that normal input conditions obtain, speakers may use vocatives as attention-getting devices.
- b) Vocatives may be used as substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices.
- c) Vocatives may serve as allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects.
- d) Within the context of certain social and cultural institutions, speakers may be obliged to use vocatives as honorific forms of address.

In Japanese, some aspects of free forms of address, or, vocatives, have been addressed by Onoe (1975; 1986: 569-570). Although he suggests an extensive classification of different types of vocative terms, for the most part his discussion is limited to Haverkate's categorie (a). Onoe bases his classification of vocative terms on the following kind of reasoning. First of all, if we hear a plain vocative such as *Taroo (yo)!²* 'Taroo!', for example, the vocative alone, abstracted from the context, cannot reveal to us anything other than that the speaker wishes to express his/her will or wish in an assertive manner to a concrete interlocutor, in this case Taroo. Thus it does not tell us what exactly it is that the speaker wishes to communicate, what is the actual content of his/her will or wish. However, in the case of a directive utterance such as *Taroo (yo)! Koi!* 'Taroo! Come!', also the vocative *Taroo (yo)!* itself can be considered to carry a part of the directive meaning expressed in a direct manner by the latter part of the utterance. Despite the fact that the imperative verb form *koi* 'come' alone has no overt subject, it still carries the subject Taroo (of *Taroo ga kuru* 'Taroo comes') in its deep structure. An overt expression of the performer of the action by a vocative *Taroo (yo)* then indexes the verb form

² See Section 5.2, fn. 18 for the function of the suffix *-yo*.

koi to Taroo rather than any other interlocutor, and *Taroo (yo)* alone could be interpreted as a kind of "noun directive" (*meeshi no meereehoo*). Whereas a simple directive (without a vocative) emphasises the contents of the demanded action, a directive with a vocative puts the focus on the interlocutor to whom the demand is directed (Onoe 1986: 569). According to Onoe, the same principle holds for other types of speech acts as well, resulting in a total of twelve vocative categories: 1) order (*meeree*), 2) prohibition (*kinshi*), 3) demand (*yookyuu*), 4) request (*irai*), 5) interrogative (*toikake*), 6) evaluation of the interlocutor (*aite joutai hyooka*) (e.g., praise/admiration, encouragement, reproach, protest/objection), 7) complaint, appeal (*uttae*), 8) attention-getting device, teaching (*chuui kanki, oshie*), 9) pledge, declaration, verdict, pronouncement (*chikai, sengen, senkoku*), 10) agreement check (*dooi kakunin*), 11) invitation, persuasion (*kan'yuu*), and 12) greeting (*aisatsu*) (e.g., apology, expression of gratitude). For more examples and the speaking intentions underlying the aforementioned utterance types, see Onoe (1975: 72-78).

Another categorisation proposed by Onoe (1986: 569) involves what he refers to as genuine vocatives (*genjitsuteki yobikake*) and hypothetical vocatives (*kasooteki yobikake*). Genuine vocatives are used in addressing actual interlocutors who are present at the moment of speech, who can understand the meaning of the utterance, and who are in a position to carry out the action demanded by the speaker. Hypothetical vocatives, on the other hand, are used in addressing interlocutors who cannot carry out the action demanded by the directive (e.g., "interlocutors" who are not present, interlocutors who are demanded to do something impossible, etc.). In the former case we are dealing with genuine directives (*meeree*), whereas the latter case actually constitutes nothing but a wish (*ganboo*) on the part of the speaker.

By applying Haverkate's classification to free forms of address, or vocatives, occurring in Japanese discourse, I will attempt to demonstrate that the categorisation offered by Onoe, albeit detailed, does not take into account all aspects of vocative forms. I will show that Onoe's classification can help us to understand the subfunctions contained in Haverkate's categories (a) and (b), but in order to gain a more thorough and coherent view of vocative functions, Haverkate's categories (c) and (d) should also be included.

6.4.2. Vocative categories (a) and (b): Attention-getting devices and substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices

In my analysis, I apply a slightly modified version of Haverkate's typology to examples of Japanese free forms of address. Following his order, I start with a discussion of category (a), attention-getting devices. According to Haverkate (*ibid.*, 69), the attention-getting function of vocatives must be set apart from their other functions. The reason this category must be distinguished from the other functions depends on whether or not the vocative functions are related to the internal structure of the speech act: the attention-getting function of category (a) has no relation to the internal structure of the speech acts within which it appears.

Let us first take a look at the most rudimentary type of attention-getting devices, namely, vocative terms appearing alone, as in

1 a) Chidori! (K: 86) (FN)

Here a first name alone is employed as an attention-getting device. Terms of this type are often followed by an immediate reaction from the addressee. The reaction can be vocalised:

- 1 b) Kenkichi: Ne, okka-san...³
Tami: Nani? (turns around)
Kenkichi: Hanashi ga aru n da.
Tami: Nan dai?
Kenkichi: Chotto suwatte kure yo.
Tami: Nan da yo. (sits down) (B: 45)
- Kenkichi: 'Listen, mother...'
Tami: 'What is it?'
Kenkichi: 'I'd like to talk to you about something.'
Tami: 'About what?'
Kenkichi: 'Sit down for a while.'
Tami: 'What is it now?'

In (1b) Tami reacts to her son's Kenkichi's initial attention-getting device not only by turning around but also by responding with a simple interrogative *nani* 'what'. The reaction can, of

³ See below for a discussion on attention-getting terms such as *ne(e)*, *ano (nee)*, *oi*, etc.

course, also consist of a nonverbal act performed by the addressee, such as stopping and turning around to listen to what the speaker wishes to say:

1 c) (Michiko bows and is about to leave)

Kawai: A, kimi, Hirayama-kun...

(Michiko turns around and looks back to Kawai.)

Kawai: Otoo-san ne, kyoo kurasukai iku tte itteta kai.

Michiko: Hai.

Kawai: Soo. (S: 333)

Kawai: 'Oh, Miss Hirayama...'

Kawai: 'Did your father say that he'd go to the high school reunion today?'

Michiko: 'Yes.'

Kawai: 'Oh really?'

As for vocatives that are not used for attention-getting, Haverkate (*ibid.*) suggests that they can be divided in two categories, depending on whether or not the vocative is embedded in a larger syntactic structure. In his typology, the latter group is represented by category (b). The difference between categories (a) and (b) can be further illustrated by the following examples:

2 a) Onee-san! Irasshai! Ii kimochi yo. (B: 61)

'Fumiko! Come! It feels really good.'⁴

2 b) Mamiya-sensee go-menkai desu. (B: 23)

'Doctor Mamiya, a visitor for you.'

2 c) Soo da, atai, honmono no geejutsuka ni naroo. Akemi, atai honmono no geejutsuka ni naritai yo, sutorippu nanka doomo hen da yo. (K: 98)

'That's it, I'll become a real artist. Akemi, I'd like to become a real artist, striptease is so weird.'

⁴ In English the Japanese kinterm *onee-san* 'elder sister' would most probably be substituted by the addressee's first name.

2 d) Wada-san... futari de ne... koojoo de junkatsuyu ni tsukatteta shushiyu o riyakaa de hakobi dashite, Shoonan no bessoochi e mottetara, totan ni urikirechatte ne... (W: 53)

'Mr. Wada... The two of us... We hauled seed oil that was used as lubricant oil at the factory to the Shonan summer house area, and it sold like hotcakes... (Ba: 204)

3 a) (Hatano stands up and greets Iwabuchi.)

Hatano (comp. president): O-jama shimashita.

Iwabuchi (vice-president): Iya, doomo...

Hatano: Ja, kimi! (to Kaneko, managing director) (W: 35)

Hatano: 'I'm sorry to have bothered you.'

Iwabuchi: 'Oh, no. Think nothing of it...'

Hatano: 'Come on now...!' (Ba: 167)

3 b) (An abandoned baby was left at the door of the Sudoo house and the father of the family was already thinking that it was his son's illegitimate child.)

Father: Aa yokatta yo, uchi no mago ja nakute...

Mother: Anata! (K: 76)

Father: 'Ah what a relief that it wasn't our grandchild...'

Mother: 'You!'

3 c) Hirayama: Moo shitsuree shimasu kara...

Sakuma: Mada ii... Mada yoroshii... Oi Hirayama-kun!

Hirayama: Ha?

Sakuma: Hirayama!

Tomoko: Otoo-san. (S: 337) (Tomoko is clearly embarrassed because of her father's drunkenness and rude manners.)

Hirayama: 'We really have to go now...'

Sakuma: 'No, it's still ok... it's still alright... Hey, Hirayama!'

Hirayama: 'Yeah.'

Sakuma: 'Hirayama!'

Tomoko: 'Father.'

3 d) (Chizuko enters with her husband and children.)

Ayako: Onee-san, onii-san.

Chizuko: Ayako... Osamu, Tetchan... Ki'ichi. . . . (O: 35)

Ayako: 'Sis, Wabisuke.'⁵
 Chizuko: 'Ayako... Osamu, Tetchan... Ki'ichi. . . .

Here examples (2a-d) represent "usual" attention-getting devices of category (a), while (3a-d) function as substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicators belonging to category (b). Illocutions (or illocutionary speech acts) are generally defined to be conventional social acts which take place when sentences are uttered, e.g., a request is made, an order issued, an advice given, and so forth. Thus, making a request, issuing an order or giving an advice are all specific locutionary acts performed with a specific illocutionary force. Now, if we compare examples (2a-d) with examples (3a-d), the following difference becomes evident. Examples (2a-d) are used to ensure that normal input conditions hold and the listener is paying attention to the speaker. The sentence-initial position of *onee-san* 'elder sister', *Mamiya-sensee* 'Doctor Mamiya', *Akemi* (FN) and *Wada-san* 'Mr. Wada' can be interpreted as reflecting their function as attention-getting devices: their main function is, undoubtedly, to draw the attention of the interlocutor to the message they introduce.⁶

However, if we compare these uses of vocative terms to examples (3a-d), it is clear that in (3a-d) the functions of *kimi*, *anata*, *otoo-san*, etc., are somewhat different. They do not occur as integrated parts of sentences. On the contrary, they appear alone, without a predicate. If we take a closer look at the contexts in which they are uttered, it turns out that, quite surprisingly, such minimal entities as single vocative terms can actually be uttered with diverse illocutionary forces and hence perform various conversational functions. In (3a), we are clearly dealing with a personal pronoun, *kimi* 'you', which is used instead of an order or a request (e.g., 'You too, lets go.'). (Simultaneously, Hatano indicates nonverbally at whom he is directing his words: he points at Kaneko with the cigar he is holding in his hand.) Similarly, in examples (3b) and (3c) the free forms of second person-designating terms can be interpreted as functioning as substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicators: both *anata* 'you' in (3b)

⁵Since Chizuko is Ayako's real sister, I have used the kinship term 'sis' in the English translation. However, the term *onii-san* (lit. 'big brother') directed by Ayako at her brother-in-law (i.e., Chizuko's husband) is replaced by his first name.

⁶However, they can also be interpreted to have more specific "sub-functions" within the category of attention-getting devices. This point will be elaborated below.

and *otoo-san* 'father' in (3c) appear to replace a reproach. Interestingly, Ikkai (1979: 6) mentions that informants interviewed for her study on "different terms for 'you' and 'I' in Japanese" reported a usage of the second person pronoun *anata* "with the meaning of 'get out of here'". Unfortunately she does not elaborate her statement, but it seems plausible to assume that her informants are referring to situations where they employ *anata* as the kind of an order or reproach illustrated in examples (3a-c). Vocatives of this type can also be used instead of a greeting, as in (3d).

Sifianou (1992: 154) refers to vocative expressions illustrated in examples (3a-d) as "elliptical constructions". According to her (as requests) they generally occur in "emotionally loaded situations, and have the force of a plea or a threat". Given the fact that, in vocative category (b), we are often dealing with "emotionally loaded situations", it can be expected that vocatives belonging to this category are in most cases uttered with special--or marked--intonation and stress. Such is the case in our examples (3a-d) as well. As a matter of fact, paralinguistic features are of utmost importance when trying to infer the function, or, in other words, the illocutionary force and the "real meaning" behind vocatives belonging to category (b). Without knowledge of the paralinguistic features of examined terms and the extralinguistic context in which they are uttered, interpretation of their conversational functions would be impossible. Once more we cannot do without a specific context; illocutionary functions expressed by vocatives in category (b) are, as Haverkate (1984: 68) puts it, "to be inferred by the hearer from the context or situation of utterance". Or, to put it differently, vocatives of category (b) "rely on what has been said before or on the shared knowledge of the participants" (Sifianou 1992: 154).

Quite logically, then, category (b) could be further divided into more subcategories according to diverse illocutionary forces, that is, depending on various speech acts performed using vocatives of this type. Despite Onoe's (1975) suggestion for a classification of speech acts, it must be said, however, that counting all imaginable speech acts would be an enormously difficult, if not impossible task. Certainly, Onoe's classification of twelve different types of speech acts can help us to interpret and understand the functioning of vocatives belonging to category (b), but, as Lyons (1981: 187) remarks, there is no point in "trying to establish a

watertight classification of all possible speech acts in terms of the necessary and sufficient conditions that they must satisfy in order for them to count as instances of one class rather than another". This holds, quite naturally, for our category (b) as well.

There would, nevertheless, be some point in investigating whether vocatives functioning as substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicators are a universal phenomenon, and, if so, whether they can or tend to be used as indicators of the same kinds of illocutionary forces behind speech acts. Even though most speech acts are, perhaps, culture-specific, there are some, such as making statements, asking questions and issuing commands, which are believed to be universal--or basic (Lyons 1981: 187-188). I am in no position to make conclusions as to whether vocatives belonging to category (b) are universals or not, but it would seem that single vocative terms functioning as substitutes for orders, requests or reproaches occur in such a diverse set of languages as Japanese, English, Finnish and Greek, for example (Lämsäsalmi 1997: 94; Sifianou 1992: 154).

Furthermore, although Haverkate fails to point it out, category (a) can also be considered to comprise a number of subcategories such as "genuine" attention-getting devices, disambiguation devices, turn-taking and turn-allocating devices, devices to indicate that the producer of the item has a new topic to introduce once s/he has gained the attention of the hearer, emphasising devices, etc. For example, if we take a closer look at examples (2a-d) above, it is evident that these attention-getting devices have subtle differences of nuance. While *onee-san* 'elder sister' in (2a) is employed to draw the hearer's attention to the fact that the speaker wants her to join her on the beach, *Mamiya-sensee* 'Doctor Mamiya' is used by the speaker also for disambiguation (there is a third person present) and it precedes an announcement. In example (2c), the speaker at first appears to be talking to herself, but when she wants to announce her decision to her friend Akemi, she directs her announcement at her by the initial mention of the latter's first name, *Akemi*. She wants to make sure Akemi realises that she is no longer talking to herself. In (2d) the function of directing one's words at a specific hearer is even clearer. In this scene there are three persons present, Nishi, Itakura and Wada. In the beginning, Nishi and Itakura are talking to each other and Wada does not participate in the conversation. It is only at the moment of the utterance represented in (2d) that Wada is drawn in

as a listener. Itakura attempts to attract his attention by the sentence-initial *Wada-san* 'Mr. Wada' and starts telling an anecdote directed specifically at him.

As for other possible subcategories of the attention-getting function of category (a), observe the following examples:⁷

- 4 a) Wabisuke: Ya, soo ja nakute, o-kan no mama anchisuru wake desu. Soo desu yo ne Ebihara-san.
Ebihara: Hai. O-kan no mama de gozaimasu. (O: 41)
Wabisuke: 'No, not like that, we should lay him in state in the casket. Isn't that right, Mr. Ebihara?'
Ebihara: 'Yes. In the casket.'
- 4 b) Iwabuchi: Ma... Shirai no koto wa o-makase negaimashoo... Soo koodan no naibu no koto made ni tachi irareru no wa, doomo...
Kaneko: Kimi, kimi... Hayai hanashi ga... Shirai ga yake ni nattara doo naru. . . . (W: 35)
Iwabuchi: 'Well... Please leave Shirai's handling up to me... We can't have you meddling in the internal affairs of our Public Corporation ...'
Kaneko: 'Listen to me now... Just what would happen, for instance, if Shirai were to get desperate? . . . (Ba: 166)
- 5 a) Tami: . . . Kesa Tsuchiura kara okutte maitta n de gozaimasu yo.
Shige: Maa, nan deshoo, itsumo itsumo...
Tami: Iie, tondemo nai. ... Kesa ne oku-sama, myoona hito ga maitta n de gozaimasu yo, taku e.
Shige: Hee, donata? (B: 30)
Tami: '. . . They were sent to me from Tsuchiura today.'
Shige: 'Oh, what is this, you always bring me something...'
Tami: 'Don't mention it. ... You know, Madam, a strange person came to my house this morning.'
Shige: 'Oh, who?'
- 5 b) Kooichi: Niteru ka naa... Nitemasen yo.
Hirayama: Uumu, yoku mirya, daibu chigau ga ne, dokka niteru yo.
Kooichi: Soo ka naa... De, otoo-san, sono otoko doo datta n desu. (S: 358)

⁷ Note that possible nonverbal reactions to vocative terms from the addressee often differ depending on the type of the speech act. Thus, an attention-getter generally makes the addressee look up and face the speaker, whereas a vocative occurring in the middle of a longer turn elicits a nod from the addressee (cf. Onoe 1975: 75).

- Kooichi: 'I wonder if she really looks like Mom... She doesn't, you know.'
 Hirayama: 'Well, if you look at her carefully, she looks quite different, but still, there is something in her that resembles Mom.'
 Kooichi: 'I wonder if you're right... But what about that man, Dad, what's going on with him?'
- 5c)** Seeji: Tabun... Etchan yori hitotsu shita ka. Tonikaku sonna mon.
 Emiko: Un. Seechan, motto gohan o-kawari wa?
 Seeji: Tashite kite. Mooshiwakenai kedo.
 Seeji: 'Probably (he was) one (year) younger than Etchan. Anyway (his age was something) like that.'
 Emiko: 'Yeah. Seechan, (do you want) more rice for seconds?'
 Seeji: 'Go and add (rice). Sorry (for the trouble), but.' (Okazaki 1994: 191-192)⁸
- 6a)** Akiko: Miura-san, anta oshiuri ni kita no?
 Miura: Joodan ja nai, chigaimasu yo. Kore oku-san, honto ni ii desu yo. Hoka no yatsu ni watashitaku nai n da. (S: 349)
 Akiko: 'Mr. Miura, did you come here to try to force us to buy them?'
 Miura: 'No, this is not a joke. Madam, these are really good. I wouldn't like to give them to anybody else.'
- 6b)** Ebihara: Desu kara, soko wa o-kokorozashi desu kara ne, maa, juuman de nijuuman de mo ii n ja nai desu ka.
 Satomi: De mo sa, juuman demo nijuuman demo tte itte mo Ebihara-san, juuman to nijuuman dewa bai desu yo. (O: 59)
 Ebihara: 'Well, because it is a present, I guess around one or two hundred thousand would be enough.'
 Satomi: But, you know, if you say one or two hundred thousand, Mr. Ebihara, what does it help, two hundred thousand is the double of one hundred thousand.'
- 6c)** Hirayama: Shikashi ne, mada ii, mada ii tte itteru uchi ni, itsu no mani ka toshi o toru n da. Otoo-san, tsui omae o benri ni tsukatte, suman to omotteru n da yo.
 Michiko: Dakara, doo shiro tte iu no yo. Atashi ne otoosan, mada mada o-yome ni nanka ikanai tsumori de iru no yo. . . . (S: 354)

⁸ Okazaki's own translation is reproduced here.

Hirayama: 'But, while you're saying you still have time, you'll end up getting older. I've been taking advantage of you and I'm sorry for that.'
 Michiko: 'So, what to do then? You know Dad, I have no intention of rushing off and getting married yet. . . .'

In examples (4a-b) we are clearly dealing with turn-taking and turn-allocating devices: In (4a) Wabisuke asks for Ebihara's consent and uses his last name in combination with the suffix *-san* to allocate him the following turn in the ongoing conversation, whereas in (4b) Kaneko, using *kimi kimi* (lit. 'you you'), interrupts and takes Iwabuchi's turn. With respect to (4a), it could also be said that, instead of "allocating" the turn to Ebihara, Wabisuke is actually *assigning* him to take the following turn. It would be very hard for Ebihara not to respond. Examples (5a-c), on the other hand, illustrate how vocatives can be used in discourse in order to mark boundaries. *Oku-sama* 'Madam', *otoo-san* 'father' and *Seechan* (NN + suffix *-chan*) function as devices to indicate that the speaker has a (new) topic to introduce into the conversation.

Example (5c) does not appear in the analysed films but is taken from Okazaki (1994: 191-192), who utilises it to explain how, according to her, interactive frames can be changed by using ellipsis:⁹

[Example (5c)] shows changes of interactive frames, which correspond to the knowledge schema of "dinner" and "funeral". During dinner, Seiji and Emiko are watching a Japanese TV drama, "The funeral", which prompts Seiji to talk about his cousin's funeral. In the middle of the conversation about Seiji's cousin's age, the interactive frame is changed when Emiko asks him if he wants more rice by using ellipsis. . . . Emiko uses ellipsis to ask Seiji about the rice by saying *motto gohan okawari wa?* ('more rice for seconds?'). The part for *iranai?* ('don't you want?') or *ikaga?* ('would you like?') was deleted since these expressions (and their variations) are routine patterns of exchange at the dinner table, stored as knowledge schemas in memory. Her utterance results in the change of topics and frames from a rather sad conversation about Seiji's cousin's death to a mechanical exchange of information about appetite.

⁹ See Section 6.5 for a detailed discussion on interactive frames.

Surprisingly Okazaki makes no mention of the sudden appearance of the nickname *Seechan* in the middle of the conversation, although earlier in her dissertation, she devotes a considerable number of pages (Okazaki 1994: pp. 113-120) to the explanation of what she refers to as unmarked ellipsis in Japanese. Citing Hinds (1982) she (*ibid.*, 115) maintains that, when a deleted noun phrase can be identified through grammatical construction, we are dealing with unmarked ellipsis. Given the fact that interrogatives are generally taken to be directed at the hearer, the subject of an interrogative sentence is usually omitted in Japanese.¹⁰ Thus, if we follow her reasoning, *Seechan* in example (5c) should be interpreted conversely as a marked noun phrase. But how is it marked? Since there are only two persons present, Seeji and Emiko, it should be clear that Emiko's interrogative can be directed only to Seeji, and *Seechan* cannot be inserted for disambiguation. Then, why is it used? Would not the obvious answer be that it is used for attention-getting and, more specifically, for drawing Seeji's attention to the change of discourse topic (and frame)? Therefore, would it not be more likely that it is not the ellipsis of expressions such as *iranai?* or *ikaga?* in Emiko's interrogative which marks the change of topics and frames in this context, but rather the insertion of *Seechan*?

In the examples that follow, on the other hand, vocatives belonging to category (a) appear to co-occur with emphasis. *Oku-san* 'Madam' in (6a) is added in order to make sure that the hearer is listening, and what follows is emphasised: the quality of the golf clubs Miura is trying to sell is *really* good. Similarly, the speaker in (6b) wants to stress the fact that there is actually a huge difference between the two sums of money suggested by Ebihara. He is clearly not happy with Ebihara's vague reply and wants a more precise answer. It is easy to sense the dissatisfaction felt by the speaker. Also in (6c) the speaker, Michiko, is dissatisfied with her father, who, suddenly, seems to be in a hurry to get her married. She is shown to emphasise the assertion of her own position (namely, that she is not thinking of getting married yet) by marking it with an overt reference term, *otoo-san* 'father'. In other words, the addressee, her father, is alerted by a vocative in order to secure the input of her determined message. Although Japanese vocative second person terms are overwhelmingly sentence-initial, interestingly,

¹⁰ See Section 4.4 for further details.

attention-getting devices of this type often occur in the middle of an utterance. It would therefore appear to be a position marked for emphasis.

Vocative category (a) also naturally comprises such attention-getting devices as (*chotto*) *su(m)imasen* 'excuse me' and interjections *oi*, *ne(e)*, *ano(o)*, etc. See for example *ne, okka-san* 'listen mother' in (1b) and *oi Hirayama-kun* 'hey Hirayama' (in Sakuma's utterance) in (3c) above. Fischer (1964: 120-121) reports that studies conducted on person-designating terms in a number of families living in Fukuoka and Tokyo show a clear difference between the use of these interjections by male and female speakers: while men tend to use the rather intimate and brusque *oi* to their wives, women, on the other hand, prefer the more polite *ano(o)* and *ne(e)* when talking to their husbands. Hinata (1983: 29, 32) cites an investigation of vocative address terms carried out by NHK and reports, interestingly, that while 25% of vocatives employed by men to their wives consisted of *oi*, in wives addresses to their husbands, corresponding attention-getting devices *nee*, *chotto*, etc., comprised only 3%. *Oi* and *ne(e)* can also be found to occur together with a second person-designating term, as demonstrated by our two examples above.¹¹

These tendencies can be seen in my data as well. As a more concrete example, let us take a look at the uses of the attention-getting device *oi* in *Samma no Aji*. In this film, *oi* appeared in 16 different dyads, which are displayed in the table below.¹²

¹¹ However, when *oi* is used independently without a second person term, as it is often in particular from husbands to wives, instead of categorising it as an attention-getting marker, it should perhaps rather be seen as a "genuine" term referring to the second person itself.

¹² The number of lines in the table is 18, but since use of *oi* in two of the dyads displayed in the table is reciprocal, the actual number of speaker-hearer pairs is only 16.

Table 5: Occurrences of *oi* in *Sanma no Aji*

speaker	role (sex)	hearer	role (sex)
Kawai	client (m)	<i>okami-san</i> 'madame of the restaurant'	restaurant keeper (f)
Hirayama	client (m)	<i>okami-san</i>	restaurant keeper (f)
Sakamoto	client (m)	girl in bar	waitress (f)
Sakamoto	client (m)	Sakuma	noodle shop keeper (m)
Hirayama	father (m)	Michiko	daughter (f)
Sakuma	father (m)	Tomoko	daughter (f)
Hirayama	father (m)	Kazuo	son (m)
Kooichi	husband (m)	Akiko	wife (f)
Kawai	employer (m)	Michiko	employee (f)
Sakuma	former school teacher (m)	Hirayama	former pupil (m)
Sakuma	former school teacher (m)	Kawai	former pupil (m)
Kooichi	<i>senpai</i> 'senior' (at work) (m)	Miura	<i>koohai</i> 'junior' (at work) (m)
Kawai	friend, former classmate (m)	Hirayama	friend, former classmate (m)
Hirayama	friend, former classmate (m)	Kawai	friend, former classmate (m)
Kawai	friend, former classmate (m)	Horie	friend, former classmate (m)
Horie	friend, former classmate (m)	Kawai	friend, former classmate (m)
Kazuo	younger brother (m)	Michiko	elder sister (f)
Kazuo	son (m)	Hirayama	father (m)

m = male; f = female

As can be seen in this table, *oi* is generally employed either in a vertical power relationship from a superior to an inferior or between equals. The only exceptions to this rule in *Sanma no Aji* are the two last dyads of the table. Although Kazuo is Michiko's younger brother, he is shown to utilise *oi* to her. However, in this case the fact that Michiko is a woman

might be a more relevant factor than her seniority, resulting in the usual pattern of male speakers being allowed to use *oi* to female addressees. As a matter of fact, in our table, there is no example of a female speaker making use of *oi*. In *Sanna no Aji* it is employed solely by males to females or by males to other males. The other exception to the aforementioned "from a superior to an inferior" rule can be found in the last dyad of our table: Kazuo is utilising *oi* when speaking to his father, Hirayama. However, here, as well as in the previous dyad, we are dealing with members of the same family. Thus, within the in-group of one's family, consideration for superiority may apparently sometimes be overridden by other factors such as closeness, for example.

Another interesting point demonstrated by the above table is that, depending on the context and other interactants, the same people may have a number of different roles. If we take a look at Sakuma's case, for example, in *Sanna no Aji* he uses *oi* himself in addressing some of his interlocutors, while others use it in addressing him. Thus, in the role of Tomoko's father or Hirayama's and Kawai's former high school teacher (when he is drunk), he is authorised to employ *oi* when addressing them. However, as he resumes the role required by his present profession as a noodle shop keeper, he "descends" to a position where he can be expected to receive the same *oi* from his customers non-reciprocally.¹³

6.4.3. Vocative category (c): Allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects

Given the fact that subcategories presented for vocative category (a) are often overlapping, and, in spite of Onoe's (1975) suggestion, one could go on forever distinguishing more and more subcategories based on nothing but extremely subtle differences, it is, naturally, more creditable to stick to clearly distinct categories. Therefore, let us now move on to category (c), that is, allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects. Perlocutionary is a notion which, in speech act theory and pragmatics, is generally associated with acts which create some kind of an effect resulting in the use of an utterance, e.g., the listener is persuaded

¹³ See example (10) in Section 6.5.3 for a detailed analysis.

to do something according to the speaker's wish. The effect can be intentional and thus planned from the part of the speaker, but it may as well be completely unintentional.

Haverkate (1984: 70-71) observes that, in Spanish, this category is related to common nouns and proper nouns showing morphological variation. It is therefore indispensable to draw a line between basic forms and derived forms. He suggests the following for Spanish:

- 7 a) ¿Qué te pasa? ¿Qué te ocurre?
'What happens, what is the matter with you?'
- 7 b) ¿Qué te pasa? ¿Qué te ocurre Dolores?
'What happens, what is the matter with you, Dolores?'
- 7 c) ¿Qué te pasa? ¿Qué te ocurre Lola?
'What happens, what is the matter with you, Lola?'
- 7 d) ¿Qué te pasa? ¿Qué te ocurre Lolita?
'What happens, what is the matter with you, Lolita?'

This set of examples constitutes, as Haverkate (ibid., 72) puts it, "a scale of increasing intensity as far as the parameter of empathy is concerned". What differs is the connotative (pragmatic) meaning of the variants: the vocativeless variant (7a), the variant (7b) with the basic form of the listener's first name, the variant (7c) with the hypocoristic form of the listener's first name, and the variant (7d) with the diminutive of the hypocoristic form.¹⁴ Thus, it could be said that, compared to (7a), in example (7d) the speaker is trying to express a higher level of empathy toward the addressee. And this is done by adding not only the addressee's actual name, *Dolores*, but a "second-level transformation", *Lolita*, that is, the diminutive of the hypocoristic form *Lola*.

¹⁴ In many languages, hypocoristic forms are contracted from full names, which has prompted Brown and Levinson (1978/1987: 112) to suggest that association of contraction with endearment might be related to the idea of smallness, "perhaps partly because of the contrast with negative politeness where one tries to increase the metaphorical size of [one's addressee]".

In Japanese, this kind of variation appears to be linked, for example, to shifts in nouns or pronouns of address and to the use (or non-use) of name suffixes. However, this is where I would like to part from Haverkate's typology and suggest that, instead of relying on such complex definitions as "allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects", terms belonging to this group can perhaps better be analysed within the framework of interactive frames and seen as markers of frame and footing shifts. This kind of approach is more advantageous in two respects: first of all, it permits the analysis of first person-designating terms as well, and, second, it is not restricted solely to free forms (vocatives), but bound forms of address can also be included.

Considering that the speaker's intention in examples (7c) and (7d) is to express empathy for the addressee, Dolores, we may assume that s/he is doing this in order to attain a specific goal. Perhaps the speaker wishes to make sure that Dolores will share her thoughts with him/her and tell him/her exactly what is bothering her. As is pointed out by Smith (1993: 148), following Goodwin and Goodwin, "human beings frame forms of talk such as everyday arguments and narratives according to interpersonal goals". In example (7d), the speaker adopts the alignment (or footing) of an extremely empathic and concerned participant toward Dolores. Perhaps s/he wishes to emphasise his/her role as Dolores's caring parent. In order to express this alignment, s/he makes use of the diminutive of the hypocoristic form of Dolores's first name, *Lolita*. In other words, s/he is using a specific discourse strategy in order to shape--or frame--the social organisation of the speech activity both s/he and Dolores are participating in (Smith *ibid.*).

This topic, with the incorporation of bound forms of address as well as first person reference terms, will be the focus of Section 6.5, and, therefore, only a few examples are discussed briefly here. Observe the following:

8)

- ...
Tatsuo: Moo ii, yosoo konna hanashi... Omae mitaina akanboo ni, hito o ukagae to itte mo muri da.
Yoshiko: Atashi, akanboo ja nai wa.
Tatsuo: A, kore wa, shitsuree shimashita, oku-san.

(Yoshiko suddenly looks sad and lowers her eyes.)

Tatsuo: Doo shita Yoshiko.

Yoshiko: E?
... (W: 24)

...
Tatsuo: 'That's enough. Let's change the subject... It's impossible to convince a baby like you to suspect people.'

Yoshiko: 'I'm not a baby!'

Tatsuo: 'Oh, I'm sorry to have insulted you, Madam!'

Tatsuo: 'What's wrong, Yoshiko?'

Yoshiko: 'Huh?!'
... (Ba: 147)

This is the only time in the film *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* that Tatsuo addresses his younger sister Yoshiko as *oku-san* 'madam'. Normally he employs the colloquial second person pronoun *omae* or *Yoshiko*, his sister's first name. In this sequence, Tatsuo has just referred to Yoshiko as an *akanboo* 'baby'. Yoshiko does not seem to appreciate his remark and she protests, jokingly: *Atashi, akanboo ja nai wa* 'I am not a baby!'. This is where Tatsuo notices that calling her sister a baby was probably a mistake and, in order to make amends, he switches to an overtly polite form of speech. He uses here the polite *-desu/masu* verb form and addresses Yoshiko as an "adult lady", *oku-san* (which she actually is since she was recently married). He is clearly joking with Yoshiko and teasing her in a friendly, brotherly manner. However, a couple of lines later, the tone of the conversation changes again. Suddenly, after hearing the term *oku-san*, Yoshiko looks down with a sad expression on her face. Tatsuo becomes worried and questions her: *Doo shita Yoshiko?* 'What's wrong, Yoshiko?'. This marks the return from joking back to the initial, more serious tone. And how these changes in "attitudes and feelings" resulting in joking or a more serious tone can be seen as changes in footings and frames is discussed in Section 6.5 on interactive frames (see in particular example 6 in Section 6.5.3.1).

Friendliness, solidarity and empathy are, of course, not the only attitudes that can be expressed by different variants. Especially in impositive speech acts, "vocatives may also serve the purpose of stressing the power or authority the speaker has over the hearer" (Haverkate 1984: 72). Haverkate goes on to state that, as far as Spanish is concerned, nonempathizing

vocatives are usually realised by the basic form of the proper noun. However, as the following Finnish example demonstrates, the interlocutor's full name (or FN + LN) may also mark the speaker's authority:

- 9) Kuule, Matti Parkkinen, sinulle ei kunnian kukko laula. (Ylivakkuri, 1989: 45)

'Listen, Matti Parkkinen, you may get into trouble (lit. the rooster of honour will not crow to you; saying).'

Whereas languages like Finnish, Spanish and English tend to utilise nouns as vocatives of this type (and as vocatives in general), Japanese relies also on (so-called) personal pronouns. As a telling example of a personal pronoun marking the speaker's power and authority over the interlocutor, observe the following repeated use of *kimi* 'you':

- 10) Shikashi kimi... Are wa, kondo no nyuusatsu ni yabureta gyosha no iyagarase to shika omoen ga...

...
Shikashi kimi... Nakanaka te no konda karakuri da ga, sore dake kimi no tachiba wa kurushii na. (W: 27)

'But, listen... I can't believe that was any more than a mean prank of a jealous business competitor who lost in the bidding...

...
But, listen... With all the difficult tricks you used, your position becomes even painful, doesn't it?' (Ba: 151-152)

Common nouns can also serve to express various degrees of empathy as well as other feelings, positive or negative, toward the interlocutor. They can be employed independently, or, as for example the Finnish expression *Maija-kulta* 'Maija darling' demonstrates, in combination with personal names (Länsisalmi 1997: 98). In Japanese, however, the number of affective common nouns seems to be rather small. As a matter of fact, what often catches one's eye in the Japanese subtitles of foreign movies is the translation of all the various affective terms (e.g., *darling*, *honey*, *sweetie*, *my love*, etc. in English), used for instance by a wife to her husband, into a single Japanese word: *anata* (lit. 'you') (see also ex. 3b above). Neustupny

(1990: 107) discusses what he calls the vocative usage of *anata* 'you' used by wives to their husbands and remarks that an English speaking wife would not start her utterance with a vocative *you* unless she were angry (see ex. 3 in Section 5.1). Thus, he concludes, vocative address with the pronoun 'you' is subject to stronger politeness constraints in English than in Japanese.

Here I find it quite difficult to agree with Neustupny's reasoning. Of course it is true that *anata* is generally considered to be one of the equivalents of the English pronoun *you*, but should not the special usage of this term by Japanese wives to their husbands be distinguished from other usages? Neustupny's translation of the example he provides certainly seems questionable: *Anata, doko ni iru no?* 'You, where are you?'. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 157) suggest that a more correct translation, *anata* being a marked use,¹⁵ would run something like 'Hello there! Where are you?' or 'Hi Johnny! Where are you?'. Unfortunately we cannot know what kind of an intonation or tone of voice was used to utter the sentence suggested by Neustupny, but, in certain circumstances, 'Darling, where are you?' might also prove to be a suitable translation.¹⁶

Common nouns can, of course, be used to express also negative or depreciatory feelings of the speaker toward the interlocutor. "Obviously, speakers employing this kind of vocative display a nonaccomodative or, in most cases, a conflictive form of verbal behavior" (Haverkate 1984: 73). For the present purposes, consider the following:

- 11) Usotsuke! (W: 58)
'Liar!' (Ba: 211)

¹⁵ Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 157) state the following: "In Neustupny's translation there are two occurrences of *you*, the second making explicit, as English must, the zero-pronominal implication of the Japanese sentence. *Anata* is therefore a marked use." This is based on the theory that "in Japanese neither unmarked anaphoric person denotation nor unmarked person indexicality is carried by pronouns. Unmarked reference is determined contextually". According to Mühlhäusler and Harré, so-called Japanese pronouns function always as a sign of markedness.

¹⁶ Neustupny discusses "a vocative usage of *anata* 'you'", and makes no reference to the possibility of *wa* deletion. However, as he adds a comma after *anata*, we can conclude that it must stand for a short pause. Therefore a vocative analysis is perhaps warranted here (rather than analysing *anata* as the topic of the utterance, as in *Anata wa doko ni iru no?*).

6.4.4. Vocative category (d): (Obligatory) honorific forms of address

Finally, let us proceed to our last category of vocatives, category (d), that is, (obligatory) honorific forms of address. To quote Haverkate (ib. 76), this category "consists of ritual formulae that are used within the context of certain socially or culturally determined institutions". In general, we are dealing here with asymmetrical relations (superior rank - inferior rank) and, "according to the degree of specificity of the institution, speakers are either obliged or expected to make use of vocative expressions in addressing their superiors". As the following Finnish example demonstrates, a representative example of this category is the ritual interaction found in the army:

- 12) En tiedä, herra vääpeli. (Ylivakkuri, ib. 53)
'I don't know, Sergeant-major.'

The use of vocatives of this type can thus be compulsory in certain contexts, such as the army. I have been informed that in Japan, utterances directed at the emperor and the empress should preferably contain the honorific title *heeka* 'Your Majesty'.¹⁷ In other contexts, interlocutors of lower rank need not obligatorily address their superiors with vocatives, although they may be *expected* to do so. Let us take a look at the following type of vocative expression use in asymmetrical relations:

- 13a) Doo desu. Kanchoo, hitotsu tsukiatte kudasai. . . .
Nee kanchoo, dooshite Nihon maketa n desu ka nee. . . . (S: 342)
Kedo kanchoo, kore ga moshi Nihon ga kattetara, doo nattemasu ka nee? . . .
Kattetara, kanchoo, ima goro wa anata mo watashi Nyuu Yooku da yo. Nyuu Yooku. . . .
(S: 343)
'Captain, won't you have a drink with me? . . .'
'Hey captain, why do you think Japan lost. . . .'
'But captain, if Japan had won, what would it be like now? . . .'
'If Japan had won, captain, both you and I, we would be in New York now, I tell you.'

¹⁷ Personal communication from Chihiro Shirakawa. He reported to me that when he once had the chance to talk to the empress at some kind of a special gathering, before the actual meeting, he was first instructed by a member of the imperial household agency to add the honoric title *heeka* to his initial and final replies to the empress. For example, *Shirakawa Chihiro to mooshimasu. X de X o yatteorimasu, heeka*. 'My name is Chihiro Shirakawa and I am doing X at X, Your Majesty.'

Ide (1982b: 137) remarks that frequent use of the interlocutor's name forms an important part of the positive politeness strategies employed by English speakers. As pointed out above (see ex. 7a-d), compared to a vocativeless variant, in many cases, adding the interlocutor's name to the utterance marks a higher degree of empathy expressed by the speaker toward the interlocutor. This is to say that the psychological distance between the interlocutors diminishes. On the other hand, Japanese as well as Finnish, my native language, are generally considered to be languages relying mainly on so-called negative politeness strategies. Compared to (American) English, Finnish tends to employ the interlocutor's name rather infrequently. As for Japanese, Ide notes that using the addressee's name does not constitute an effective "empathy strategy" comparable to the English use of names. In Japanese, common nouns referring to the addressee's position, status, etc., such as *sensee* (lit. 'teacher') and *kachoo* 'section chief', for example, occur frequently, but this phenomenon should be distinguished from the frequent use of names in English. Still, according to Ide, making use of *sensee* and the like often has nothing to do with empathy. On the contrary, common nouns of this type are generally used to mark politeness and to increase the psychological distance between the interlocutors. However, if the same *sensee* is repeated continuously, it may, indeed, function as a device to decrease the psychological distance between the two parties. The difference with (American) English lies in the fact that, while in English names are often used between equally ranked persons in a horizontal relationship or by higher ranked persons to lower ranked ones, in Japanese the direction is opposite: *sensee* is employed from lower ranked persons to higher ranked ones and reflects a dependent *amae* (indulgence, dependence) relationship. Observe also the frequent occurrence of *sensee* (lit. 'teacher', but translated here as *sir*) in the following excerpt:

- 13b) Hirayama: Sensee, ikaga desu. (offers beer) (S: 334)
 Sakuma: Aa, biiru desu ka, hai hai doomo... (S: 335)
 Watanabe: Shikashi sensee, ojoo-san to o-futari jaa o-sabishii desu naa...
 Sakuma: Hai. . . .
 . . .

Kawai: Maamasensee, doo desu, moo hitotsu...

Sakuma: Hai. Kore wa doomo.

...

Sugai: Nan desu.

Sakuma: E, watashi no booshi...

Hirayama: Sensee, mada ii ja arimasen ka.

...

Nakanishi: Sensee, booshi wa shita desu yo.

Sakuma: A, soo ka, kore wa, kore wa... Yaa, soo deshita.

...

Sugai: Sensee, kore o-mochi kudasai. (offers Sakuma a bottle of whisky)

Sakuma: Ya, soo desu ka. . . .

Hirayama: 'Sir, how about some beer?'

Sakuma: 'Oh, beer, thank you...'

Watanabe: 'But, sir, it must be a little sad to live like that, just with your daughter...'

Sakuma: 'Yes. . . .'

...

Kawai: 'Come on, sir, how about one more [drink]...?'

Sakuma: 'Yes. Oh, yes, thank you.'

...

Sugai: 'What's the matter?'

Sakuma: 'Oh, it's just my hat...'

Hirayama: 'Sir, can't you stay a bit longer?'

...

Nakanishi: 'Sir, your hat is downstairs.'

Sakuma: 'Oh, really, well, well... That's right.'

...

Sugai: 'Sir, please take this with you.'

Sakuma: 'No, really. . . .'

6.5. Overt first and second person-designating terms and framing in Japanese discourse

6.5.1. Remarks on previous studies

In Japanese, shifts of first and second person-designating terms have traditionally been the focus of sociolinguistic studies concentrating on such variables as age and sex of the speaker/hearer, formality of the situation, in-group/out-group distinction, and the like. One of the tools used in the analysis of person-designating term shifts in general has been the flow chart model introduced by Ervin-Tripp (1972/1986). Her model has inspired Japanese linguists as well: Ide (1979/1991) applied it in her analysis of person references utilised by Japanese and American children, Ishikawa et al. (1986) used it to examine address term use in modern Japanese as reflected in twenty-five Japanese plays, and Jinnai (1986) employed it to examine Japanese vocatives (*kokakuteki yoohoo*). Among these, Jinnai's work could be characterised as the most restrictive in that it deals solely with vocatives limited to a formal style. Following the example set by Brown and Gilman (1960/1972), Ishikawa et al. assume power semantics to be the most fundamental property of the address system, the main selectors for address term choice being age, sex, institutionalised role within the family, and institutionalised role in a hierarchical group (1986: 131). Elaborated further, their analysis suggests following types of selector features for address term choice: +/-status-marked setting, +/-names of addressee previously known, +/-child centered setting, +/-prestigious profession, +/-acquaintance, +/-formality, +/-kin, +/-friend or colleague, +/-general polite forms of address, age, sex, etc. As can be seen, the number of selectors is indeed very large for Japanese, and, as a foreign learner of Japanese, one ends up wondering whether this sort of an analysis can actually contribute much to understanding the functioning of Japanese address terms in natural discourse.

The works of Jinnai and Ishikawa et al. are representative of Japanese person-designating term studies in that they focus on the *inter-personal* factors of address term choice. As Ide (1979/1991: 46) puts it, inter-personal factors are "concerned with the social attributes of each dyadic partner (the hearer)", such as sex, age, etc. Being static, these factors are

generally easy to study, for example with the help of questionnaires. However, by concentrating solely on these factors, (socio)linguists tend to neglect another important element of verbal communication, its dynamic side. This side is often visible only in conversational interaction and it is therefore more difficult to examine. In the present study, I have no intention to analyse my data from the viewpoint of static inter-personal factors. This kind of analysis could hardly bring about anything new in the field. However, I will attempt to take a look into the less studied *dynamic* side of conversational interaction. Following Tannen and Wallat (Tannen 1993: 58), I would like to stress "the duality of what emerges in interaction: the stability of what occurs as a consequence of the social context, and the variability of particular interactions which results from the emergent nature of discourse".

Ishikawa et al. (1986: 137) touch on this aspect by noting the existence of "emotional exceptions" of address term choice in what they refer to as –child centered settings. According to them, "emotional exceptions are divided into devaluating cases, such as showing contempt, and elevating cases, such as joking and flattering". Thus addressing a parent viewed with contempt by using the pronoun *anta* is a case of devaluation, whereas the use of *danna-san* and *oku-san* between husband and wife is an example of elevative usage. Jinnai (1986: 150), on the other hand, limits his observation to cases where the speaker can be considered to display a "neutral mood"¹ (*chuuritsutekina shinri jootai*). No "emotional exceptions" are therefore discussed.² Hijirida and Sohn (1983: 161), however, are among those who consider "emotional exceptions", but they prefer to speak of "marked situations, such as when the speaker is drunk or angry". For example, when angry, speakers of Japanese display a tendency to downgrade second person-designating terms as their anger intensifies. As an example, Hijirida and Sohn present the following scale of terms referring to the addressee ('you'): *sensee* (lit. 'teacher') → *anata* → *omae* → *temee* → *kisama*. However, when interactants are in what Hijirida and Sohn refer to as "an intimacy/condescension relationship"--and, therefore, employing for example *omae* or *kimi* to their addressees in unmarked situations --there is often

¹ The English term "mood" is given by Jinnai himself as a counterpart for the Japanese term *shinri jootai*.

² Personally, I think it is quite amazing that concepts like these have lingered on through years and years of sociolinguistic study. After all, what kind of a mood could be characterised as "neutral"? And if such a "neutral mood" should exist, are all the other emotions displayed by human beings to be labelled as *exceptions*?

preference for a slight upgrading of second person-designating terms, which marks a desire for increased psychological distance: *omae/kimi* → *anata*. In the same vein, Ikkai (1979: 6) notes that, although *anata* is generally "considered to be the most polite and the most proper word for a pronoun 'you' in dictionaries", many of her informants³ reported to have recourse to *anata* in order to display distance or contempt vis-à-vis the interlocutor.

Although "emotional exceptions" appear to play rather an insignificant role in the analysis of Japanese address terms provided by Ishikawa et al., Ide (1979/1991: 46), contrastingly, pays more attention to what she refers to as the *intra-personal* factor of person-designating terms. Ide's analysis makes a clear distinction between the aforementioned hearer-oriented inter-personal factor (i.e., social attributes of the hearer) and the speaker-oriented intra-personal factor. The intra-personal factor designates "the speaker's psychological or behavioral attributes" and thus encompasses speaker-oriented traits such as "self-assertion", "dependency", etc. In Ide's study, these attributes were either determined by Ide herself or given in a questionnaire by the parents of the children she was observing in the course of her research. She further reports that "for the first person designations, it would be convenient if the inter-personal should precede the intra-personal factor and that for the second person designations those attributes of the intra-personal factor would best serve the purpose in the routines if they interpose between two sets of attributes of the inter-personal factor" (ibid.). Thus, for example, a Japanese boy following a path through such selectors as –adult, +family, +junior (inter-personal attributes), +consciousness of seniority and –self-assertion (intra-personal attributes) would end up referring to himself as *onii-chan* 'elder brother'.

Given the fact that the intra-personal traits suggested by Ide are based on her own observation of Japanese and American children at nursery schools and kindergartens or on the parents' evaluation of their own children, one cannot help wondering whether her list of attributes can actually be considered exhaustive. She does attempt to link certain selectors to popular Japanese cultural traits, "dependency" being correlated to the concept of *amae* for example. If we enumerate here all the intra-personal attributes appearing in her flow charts for

³ "Japanese students at Cal. who have been living in the U.S. or using English in daily life for less than three years (Ikkai 1979: 2)."

Japanese children, we get the following list for boys: consciousness of seniority, consciousness of solidarity, self assertion, active play, boyish conversation, swaggering, bashfulness and dependency in first person reference, and consciousness of junior, dependency, swaggering and advantageous position in second person reference. For girls the same list looks like this: consciousness of seniority, dependency, affected maturity, self assertion, formal attitude, imitating boys in first person reference, and consciousness of junior, dependency, advantageous position and formal attitude in second person reference. Ide's lists appear to be quite limited as long as only children's behaviour is concerned, but what if one tried to enumerate intra-personal attributes in the same way for adult speakers? The list might turn out to be much longer or, at least, quite different with varying speakers (if relying on introspection) or observers. Therefore, I would like to suggest that, instead of hypothesising with regard to the multitudes of behavioural or psychological attributes speakers may display in conversational interaction, it might, in fact, be more useful to take a look at *what is actually going on* in the context where varying first or second person referents are used--after all, interaction can be understood only in a specific context. I will attempt to do this by applying the notions of *interactive frames*, *knowledge schemas* and *footings* in my examination of first and second person-designating term shifts.

6.5.2. Interactive frames

The concept of frame was introduced by an anthropologist, Bateson, and further elaborated by Goffman in the field of sociology, but, in the present study, I have adopted a more interactive view of the matter. The notion of *interactive frames* was developed by Tannen and Wallat (1993: 59-60) to refer to "a definition of what is going on in interaction, without which no utterance (or movement or gesture) could be interpreted". As explained in Section 3.2.3, this notion is to be distinguished from that of *knowledge schemas*, which, in turn, refers to "participants' expectations about people, objects, events and settings in the world" (ibid., 60). People identify frames in conversational interaction, first of all, by paying attention to *what* is being said and, secondly, by interpreting *how* words are uttered. Furthermore, it is important

to point out that neither one of these notions is meant to be understood as being static: both interactive frames and knowledge schemas are dynamic, constantly evolving as the conversation progresses.

In this section, I examine the functions performed by shifts of first and second person referents in conversational interaction when analysed within the framework of interactive frames. In order to accomplish this, one additional notion needs to be considered, namely that of *footing*. Goffman (1981: 128), who introduced this term, explains it as follows: "A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events." Thus, frames do not change or shift automatically; they can be created by the interactants in the course of interaction and interpreted as resulting from changes of footing (Okazaki 1994: 192). And, as is pointed out by Goffman (1981: 157), it is the task of linguistics to provide us with "the cues and markers through which such footings become manifest".

Using the examples that follow, gathered from a total of five Japanese films, I would like to suggest that, instead of treating shifts of first and second person-designating terms from the usual, unmarked term to an unusual or marked term solely as manifestations of the speaker's psychological or behavioural attributes, they can, in fact, be seen as the kinds of "cues and markers" of footing and frame changes indicated by Goffman. In other words, I will attempt to describe how changes in such discourse elements as first and second person-designating terms can be considered to mark frame and footing shifts in Japanese discourse. Although the aim of the present analysis is to highlight the way person-designating terms can be seen to perform these functions, it is of utmost importance to note that they are naturally not the only elements indicating frame and footing shifts. In a language like Japanese, which has a highly elaborated system for marking different levels of speech, verb forms may also be used to indicate frame shifts. Other lexical choices are also often relevant, and, on the paralinguistic level, intonation, tone and rhythm of speech, laughter, and the like, also provide valuable cues for the task of working out what is actually going on. Another important aspect which should not be ignored in the interpretation of frame and footing shifts is nonverbal communication:

gestures, posture, gaze, facial expressions, distance between the interactants, and the like, are all part of the context of speech and therefore meaningful. As these aspects would not be revealed by audiotaping alone, it is naturally highly recommendable to use visual material in the analysis.

Interestingly, shifts in frame and footing appear to take place on several levels. Takagi (1995), who has examined frame and footing shifts in English language television interviews⁴, presents similar findings. She argues that, in her interview data, it is possible to distinguish two types of frame shifts. First of all, she points out that subtle shifts, such as changes to a joking or teasing frame, can take place *within* the interview frame. Secondly, participants may also shift to a frame *outside* the expected television interview frame. For example, the interviewer may adopt the footing of a comedian and then tease his guest "outside" the initial interview frame, or he may choose to take on a footing as the interviewee's friend and then shift to an interview-external joking frame. These two levels are manifest also in Japanese conversational interaction as depicted in the films analysed for the present study

6.5.3. Analysis of data

6.5.3.1. Frame-internal shifts

Let us now take a look at some concrete examples gathered from the five films analysed for the present study. I first present a number of examples (1-9) which illustrate what was referred to as frame-internal shifts in the discussion above. This type of shift turns out to be the most frequent one in the analysed films. In most cases we are dealing with extremely subtle changes in participant frameworks. What happens is that the initial or literal footing of the participants and, consequently, the frame of the situation is, in a way, put on hold, leading to subtle modifications of the speech situation. However, as will be demonstrated, these modifications are generally temporary, lasting perhaps only a few lines, after which the initial frame is resumed.

⁴ CNN's "Larry King Live" show.

In the examples that follow, I first give the name of the film from which the excerpt was taken. Then, I introduce the speaker, that is, the initiator of footing and frame shifts, and the listener(s). Next, the first and/or second person-designating terms employed by the speaker to the listener(s), both unmarked and marked, are enumerated with the number of occurrences. After this initial information, film excerpts including both unmarked and marked terms are presented with English translations. In the discussion that follows, the focus is on the marked terms and their interpretation as markers of footing and frame shifts, but other elements such as register choices, paralinguistic cues, and nonverbal communication are also included in the discussion when deemed relevant.

Example (1)

- source: *Sanma no Aji*
- speaker: **Kiyotaroo Sakuma (72)⁵** (nickname: Hyootan, 'gourd') (used to be the listeners' teacher in high school, but at present runs a small noodle shop)
- listeners: **Shuuhee Hirayama (57), Shuuroo Kawai (57), Susumu Horie (57), Sugai, Watanabe and Nakanishi** (former classmates)
- first person-designating terms employed by Sakuma: *watashi (2+5)⁶*
kono Hyootan (1)
Hyootan (1)
- ...
- Kawai: Ojoo-san, o-mago-san o-ikutari desu?
- Sakuma: Sore ga ne, watashi wa hayoo ni kanai o nakushimashite na, musume mo mada hitori de oru n desu wa.
- ...
- Sakuma: Moo mina-san, o-ko-san mo rippa ni o-nari daroo ga... (to Horie) Anata o-mago-san wa?

⁵ Indicates the age of the participant.

⁶ Indicates the total number of occurrences in conversations between the designated persons. 2+5 here indicates that *watashi* occurs twice in this particular scene and five more times later on. Only singular person-designating terms are listed in the beginning of each example. Possible plural terms are discussed in the text.

Horie: Haa, iyaa... doo...

Hirayama: Koitsu wa ne, kondo mata mago mitaina wakai nyooboo moraimashite ne.

Kawai: Sore ga mata atarimashite ne. Koko dake no hanashi. Kekkoo ii rashii n desu yo.

Sakuma: Soo desu ka, sore wa omedetai. (laughing) Horie-san wa, tashika, fukukyuuchoo o shite oraremashita na.

Horie: Aha... (laughing)

Kawai: Koitsu wa ima demo fukukyuuchoo desu yo. Uchi e kaereba, nyooboo ga kyuuchoo de ne.
(everybody is laughing)

...

Sakuma: ... iyaa, mattaku yukai deshita. Sakki mo donata ka iwareta yoo ni, mina-san ano chuugakkoo o derarete yonjuunen, sorezore rippa ni nararete, o-isogashii o-shigoto o-ari ni naru noni, sono sanaka, kono Hyootan no tame ni o-atsumari itadaite, kekkoona omote nashi ni azukarimashite...

Kawai: Maa maa sensee, doo desu, moo hitotsu...

Sakuma: Hai. Kore wa doomo. Iyaa, sengo ninjoo hibi ni oroki ori kara desu naa, konseki wa, kaku no gotoki mina-san no onjoo ni sesshite... Aa, Hyootan wa shiawase mon desu... Arigatoo... arigatoo gozaimashita. (starts looking for something)

Sugai: Nan desu.

Sakuma: E, watashi no booshi...

Hirayama: Sensee, mada ii ja arimasenka.

Kawai: Boku no kuruma de o-okuri shimasu yo.

Sakuma: Iyaa, moo oitomasen to... (starts looking for his hat again) . . . (S: 334-335)

...

Kawai: 'How many children does your daughter have?'

Sakuma: 'Well, what happened was that I lost my wife early and my daughter is actually not married yet.'

...

Sakuma: 'But you all must already have grown-up children... (to Horie) What about you, any grandchildren?'

Horie: 'Oh, no...'

Hirayama: 'You know, this fellow just got married to a young woman who could actually be his granddaughter.'

Kawai: 'Yes, he really got lucky. And just between us, it seems to be working out just fine.'

Sakuma: 'Is that right? Congratulations. (laughing) If I remember correctly, you were vice-president of your class, weren't you?'

Horie: 'Uh huh...' (laughing)

Kawai: 'Even now he's still vice-president. When he gets back home, his wife is president, you see.'
(everybody is laughing)

...

Sakuma: '... Well, it was very pleasant. And just like somebody just mentioned, it has been forty years since you left that high school. You have all become important

men and even though you're busy with your work, you took some time out of your busy schedules and got together for this old Gourd and treated him so kindly...'

Kawai: 'Well well, how about one more, sir?'

Sakuma: 'Oh, thank you. Human virtues have disappeared since the war, but the generosity you have offered me tonight... Oh, Gourd is happy... Thank you... thank you all so much.' (starts looking for something)

Sugai: 'What's the matter?'

Sakuma: 'Oh, it's just my hat...'

Hirayama: 'Sir, can't you stay a little bit longer?'

Kawai: 'I'll take you home by car.'

Sakuma: 'No, I really have to go now...' (starts looking for his hat again)

In this example, Hirayama and some of his former classmates have organised a class reunion party, and their former teacher, Sakuma, has also been invited. He was their teacher in their high school days forty years ago, but is now running a small noodle shop with his adult daughter. Sakuma refers to himself by using his schoolday nickname *Hyootan* 'gourd' (+ demonstr.) only in this sequence. Elsewhere, also at the beginning and end of this particular episode, he is using the neutral polite first person pronoun *watashi*. *Watashi* appears to be his standard expression and can therefore be interpreted as being his unmarked first person-designating term to his old pupils. They are all adults now and, contrary to his position as a modest noodle shop keeper, most of them now have good and esteemed professions. It is therefore appropriate to keep a certain polite distance. Sakuma's extremely polite register with a large number of honorific and humble expressions appears to highlight this fact--it is no doubt very different from the language he was using to them as a high school teacher forty years ago. The situation must be quite difficult for everyone involved, after all, much has happened during forty years: the teenagers of those days, Hirayama, Kawai, Horie, and the others, have now gained their positions in society and have children of their own, while Sakuma, their former teacher, appears to have descended from a relatively highly esteemed position of a high school teacher to a mere noodle shop keeper.

Given the fact that Sakuma's ridiculising nickname *Hyootan* was coined by his pupils in their high school days, by referring to himself with this expression, he seems to be showing humbleness, humiliation and a will to lower his position in front of his old students: he is but a mere "old gourd". Addition of the demonstrative *kono* 'this' appears to support this kind of analysis. It could be interpreted to stand for something like *konnalkono yoona tsumaranai*

Hyootan 'a worthless Gourd like this'. Therefore, it can be argued that Sakuma's use of the nickname *Hyootan* in self-reference functions as a sign of a change in his footing within the "class reunion frame": he no longer considers himself equal (or superior) to the other adult men participating in the conversation (*watashi*), nor does he want to emphasise his former position as a *sensee* 'teacher'. (*Sensee* is the second person-designating term employed to him by his former pupils.) On the contrary, he cleverly adopts the ridiculising nickname that was used to refer to him (in the 3rd pers.) by Hirayama and the others at high school and thus, in a way, sees himself through the eyes of his old pupils. At the same time, within the on-going "class reunion frame", characterised by reminiscences of the past, he seems to be shifting to an "expression of gratitude frame": he wants to express his deepest gratitude to his former pupils for inviting him to the class reunion.

Apart from the first person-designating term *Hyootan* adopted by Sakuma, this change is evident also in his shift to extremely formulaic style (i.e., a speech-like monologue in overtly exaggerated formulaic style and with little or no sentence-final particles). His former pupils are clearly embarrassed because of this, and Kawai makes an attempt to disrupt his monologue by offering him some more beer. When Sakuma accepts the beer, for a split second, he seems to be slipping out of the "expression of gratitude frame" only to resume it after a few words of thanks directed at Kawai. It is only at the moment when he starts looking for his hat that he shifts away from the temporary "expression of gratitude frame" and, in a way, takes up his literal footing again. However, as Goffman (1981: 155) points out, the image of "changes in footing as though individuals were involved merely in switching from one stance or alignment to another" is, in fact, "too mechanical and too easy". Participation frameworks are not distinct entities that people enter and exit in some kind of a chronological order. On the contrary, they are layered and mixed, interwoven and embedded in each other in complex ways (Hoyle 1993: 142). As was illustrated in this example, participants in a conversation can switch from one footing to another while putting the first, literal footing on hold. To put it in Goffman's (1981: 155) words: "In truth, in talk it seems routine that, while firmly standing on two feet, we jump up and down on another." In our example it is Sakuma's alignment in the "class reunion frame" with stories of the past high school days that could be characterised as his literal footing. Hence

his shift to the alignment of the humble "old gourd" manifested by the switch to the "expression of gratitude frame" should not be interpreted as an act of terminating the literal footing, it only puts the literal footing on hold to be resumed as soon as he terminates his speech of thanks and starts looking for his hat.

Example (2)

source: *Sanna no Aji*
speaker/listener: **Yoshitaroo Sakamoto** (48) (mechanic, Hirayama's former subordinate in the navy)
listener/speaker: **Shuuhee Hirayama** (57) (controller, used to be Sakamoto's superior in the navy)

second person-designating terms employed by Sakamoto: *kanchoo-san* (1)
kanchoo (10)
anata (1)
anta (2)

second person-designating terms employed by Hirayama: *Sakamoto-san* (1)
anata (1)
anta (3)

(2a)

Sakamoto: Kanchoo! Kanchoo-san ja arimasen ka!
Hirayama: Eeto... anata, donata deshita ka na.
Sakamoto: Sakamoto desu yo! Sakamoto Yoshitaroo. . . .
Hirayama: Aa, Sakamoto-san, soo deshita ka. . . . (S: 341)

Sakamoto: 'Captain! Is it you, sir?'
Hirayama: 'Uh... and you are?'
Sakamoto: 'Sakamoto! I'm Yoshitaroo Sakamoto. . . .'
Hirayama: 'Why, yes... Mr. Sakamoto. . . .'

(2b)

Sakamoto: Doo desu, kanchoo, hitotsu tsuki atte kudasai.

...

Hirayama: Iyaa, shikashi, anta mo o-tassha de...

Sakamoto: He, o-kage-sama de... Atashi wa ne, sugu soko de jidoosha no shuuriya yatteru n desu. . . . (S: 341)

Sakamoto: 'How about it, sir, won't you join me for a drink?'

...

Hirayama: 'Oh, but you seem to be doing just fine yourself...'

Sakamoto: 'Thank you... You know, I have a car repair shop just close by. . . .'

(2c)

Sakamoto: Nee kanchoo, dooshite Nihon maketa n desu ka ne.

Hirayama: Uumu, nee...

...

Hirayama: Anta wa kodomo-san wa sakki no musume-san dake...?

Sakamoto: Ie, ano ue ni moo hitori imasu ga ne, moo katazuke chaimashita yo. . . .

...

Sakamoto: Kedo kanchoo, kore de moshi Nihon ga kattetara, doo nattemasu ka nee?

Hirayama: Saa nee...

Sakamoto: . . . Kattara, kanchoo, ima goro wa anata mo watashi mo Nyuu Yooku da yo, Nyuu Yooku. . . .

...

Hirayama: Kedo makete yokatta ja nai ka.

Sakamoto: Soo desu ka ne. Uumu, soo kamo shirenee na, bakana yaroo ga ibaranaku natta dake de mo ne. Kanchoo, anta no koto ja arimasen yo. Anta wa betsu da.

Hirayama: Iyaiya...

Sakamoto: Sa, doozo. . . .

Hirayama: Yaa... (S: 342-343)

Sakamoto: 'Sir, why do you think Japan lost the war?'

Hirayama: 'Yes, why indeed...'

...

Hirayama: 'And that girl is your only child...'

Sakamoto: 'No, there's also an older one, but I married her off already. . . .'

...

Sakamoto: 'But, sir, if Japan had won, what do you think it would be like now?'

Hirayama: 'I wonder...'

Sakamoto: ' . . . If Japan had won, you and I, we would both be in New York now, I tell you, in New York. . . .'

...

Hirayama: 'But it was perhaps better we lost.'

Sakamoto: 'You think so? Hmm, yes, perhaps you're right. At least in that those arrogant fools have disappeared. But I'm not talking about you, sir, don't get me wrong. You're different.'
 Hirayama: 'No no...'
 Sakamoto: 'How about some more?'
 Hirayama: 'Thank you...'

(2d)

Hirayama: Anta wa daibu onajimi rashii na.
 Sakamoto: Iyaiya, ma, hiiki ni shite yatte kudasai. . . (S: 343)
 Hirayama: 'Well you seem to be an old customer here.'
 Sakamoto: 'Oh no, but I can certainly recommend you this place. . . .'

In this scene it is interesting to observe the fluctuation of second person-designating terms when two persons meet accidentally after a long period of time. Sakamoto, an ancient navy subordinate of Hirayama, recognises him and first addresses him *kanchoo* 'captain' and *kanchoo-san* (with the suffix *-san*). This is the only time when he uses the polite suffix *-san* to Hirayama. At first Hirayama does not seem to remember who Sakamoto is and asks him Anata, *donata deshita ka na* 'and you are?' by using the second person pronoun *anata* combined with the honorific question word *donata* 'who'. When Hirayama finally recognises him, he refers to him as *Sakamoto-san*, using the polite *-san* suffix. This is the only time Hirayama uses the suffix *-san* to Sakamoto.

Later on, Sakamoto addresses Hirayama mainly by using the title *kanchoo*, while Hirayama uses a direct second person-designating term to Sakamoto much more infrequently. As was pointed out earlier, titles and status terms, such as *kanchoo* and *sensee*, are often used with a high frequency by lower status speakers to higher status addressees and such is the case also with Sakamoto: he makes use of the title *kanchoo* in total ten times (+ *kanchoo-san* once in the beginning), mainly as vocatives.⁷ Hirayama, on the other hand, employs *anta* in addressing Sakamoto three times, the more polite form *anata* being used only once in the beginning of the episode.

⁷ See vocative category (d) in Section 6.4.4.

However, on the same page also Sakamoto slips to *anta*, a second person pronoun sounding somewhat too familiar a term to be used in reference to one's superior. After all, normally, the use of personal pronouns to superiors is entirely impermissible. Sakamoto's use of *anta*, however, might be explained in this context by the fact that he gets a little bit carried away and makes a critical remark of the "war fanatics" of the Second World War. He immediately notices his slip of the tongue and seems to be afraid that, by saying this, he has insulted Hirayama. Therefore he turns to Hirayama and quickly goes on to assure him that he is, of course, not talking about him: *Kanchoo, anta no koto ja arimasen yo. Anta wa betsu da* 'But I'm not talking about you, sir, don't get me wrong. You're different'. This is where he slips to *anta*. His footing appears to shift from that of a navy subordinate to someone who wants to show solidarity to Hirayama.⁸ In other words, marked pronoun use can be taken to indicate that his footing changes from the acknowledgement of a vertical subordinate-superior relationship to a more equal standing, with emphasis on a feeling of solidarity: they are both comrades of war. Note in this context also Sakamoto's use of the plain verb form *-da*. After this, the conversation seems to come to a halt and, to save the situation, Sakamoto offers Hirayama some more whisky. His footing now changes to a person who is taking care of his guest and, simultaneously, the "solidarity frame" shifts back to the literal frame of the situation, that is, a former army subordinate and superior having a drink at a bar.

In this example, "a former army subordinate and superior having a drink at a bar" could actually be identified as the outer, literal frame of the ongoing activity. Offering a drink to one's addressee is naturally the action which anchors all the other participation frameworks in the literal world experience of "having a drink at a bar". However, as was demonstrated above, rather than limiting oneself to analysis of the outer frame of activity, what is of more interest in exploring what is actually going on in any particular interaction is how interactants manipulate frames *within* this outer frame. Or, as Hoyle (1993: 142) puts it, "identifying the outer frame of an activity . . . is only a starting point in exploring what is going on. More revealing of the nature of an activity, often, is the way in which participation frameworks, assembled out of

⁸ Cf. Hijiriida and Sohn (1983: 161), who remark: "It seems universal that drunken adults tend to downgrade their usual address terms due to their increased intimacy."

such ordinary discourse elements as address terms and reference forms, are layered and mixed". Thus, in the present example, the aforementioned "solidarity frame", signalled not solely by marked pronoun use but also by switch to a plain *-da* verb form, paralinguistic clues (e.g., faster rhythm than in the previous utterances) and nonverbal communication (Sakamoto turns to Hirayama), can be interpreted as being embedded in the outer frame of "a former army subordinate and superior having a drink at a bar".

Example (3)

source: *Bakushuu*
speaker: **Fumiko** (35) (Noriko's elder brother's wife)
listener: **Noriko** (28)

second person-designating terms employed by Fumiko: *Noriko-san* (6)
anata (5)
anta (1)

(3a)

Zuibun nomeru no ne, Noriko-san. (B: 13)

'You can really drink, can't you, Noriko?'

(3b)

Noriko-san, go-han ni suru? (B: 14)

'Noriko, will you take rice?'

(3c)

Fumiko: Anata wa?

Noriko: Atashi ii no. (B: 29)

Fumiko: 'What about you?'

Noriko: 'I'm ok.'

(3d)

- ...
- Fumiko: Demo, okaa-sama nanka, totemo anata ga kawai soo datte, yuube mo go-han no ato, daidokoro de namida fuiterashitta....
- Noriko: ... Atashi, kodomo daisuki da shi...
- Fumiko: Dakedo otoo-sama okaa-sama, soo o-omoi ni naranai wa. Mikko-chan datte dandan ookiku naru deshoo shi, anata ni akachan demo dekireba...
- Noriko: Daijoobu. Sono koto mo atashi yoku kangaeta no. . . .
- ...
- Fumiko: Erai wa, Noriko-san...
- ...
- Noriko: Demo... atashi ga itchattara, uchi no hoo doo naru kashira...?
- Fumiko: Sonna koto ki ni shinakute ii no yo. Otoo-sama okaa-sama, anata no shiawase dake o kangaete irassharu no yo. Sonna koto shinpai shinaku tte ii no yo.
- Noriko: Dakedo... onee-san taihen da to omou wa, ironna koto...
- Fumiko: Uun, heiki yo. Kyoosoo yo, kore kara anta to.
- Noriko: Naani?
- Fumiko: Yarikuri kyoosoo! Makenai wa yo, atashi.
- Noriko: Atashi mo makenai. . . . (B: 60)
- ...
- Fumiko: 'But mother feels really sorry for you, she was crying again last night in the kitchen after dinner...'
- Noriko: '... But I really like children...'
- Fumiko: 'But father and mother don't think like that, you know. Little Mikko will grow and what if you get children yourself...'
- Noriko: 'That's ok. I've been really thinking about that too. . . .'
- ...
- Fumiko: 'You know, you're really admirable, Noriko...'
- ...
- Noriko: 'But when I leave, what will happen to everybody at home...?'
- Fumiko: 'You shouldn't worry about things like that. Father and mother are only concerned about your happiness, you know. You really shouldn't worry about such things.'
- Noriko: 'But for you it's going to be hard, I think...'
- Fumiko: 'No, I'll be alright. From now on it'll be a competition with you.'
- Noriko: 'What are you saying?'
- Fumiko: 'Competition in economising! And I won't lose, I can tell you.'
- Noriko: 'Neither will I. . . .'

In Fumiko's speech, there is only one occurrence of the rather familiar second person pronoun *anta* to her sister-in-law Noriko. This example strongly resembles the use of *anta* as depicted in our previous example with Sakamoto and Hirayama, only this time the interactants are both women. As a rule, Fumiko is addressing Noriko by employing either *Noriko-san* (FN

+ polite suffix *-san*) or *anata* (polite second person pronoun) all through the movie. The second person pronouns *anata* and *anta* occur strictly as bound forms (co-occurring with *wa*, *ga*, *mo*, *ni*, *no* and *to*), whereas *Noriko-san* is used either as a true vocative or as an "intermediate" term with a zero particle.

On page 60 of the scenario, we are witnessing a scene where Noriko and Fumiko are talking about the former's coming marriage with a certain Kenkichi Yabe, a colleague of Noriko's brother (who is Fumiko's husband). Kenkichi, being in his forties, is several years older than Noriko, 28. His wife died a couple of years ago, leaving Kenkichi alone with their young daughter Mitsuko. He is about to be transferred from Tokyo to Akita prefecture in Northern Honshu. Noriko alone made the decision to marry him after a short discussion with his mother. Noriko's family was very upset that she made such an important decision without asking their opinion. In addition, they had been considering another marriage proposal for her.

In this scene, Fumiko is talking about how worried she and everybody else in the family are about the coming marriage, but Noriko assures her that there is no need to worry. She claims that she knows what she is doing. Toward the end of the scene, it is Noriko who starts worrying about Fumiko and the rest of the family: will they be alright after she is gone? Fumiko tells her not to worry about such things. She will be alright, in fact, after Noriko is married, it will become a competition between the two: which one of them will be able to economise and run the house better, her or Noriko? This is where Fumiko suddenly makes use of *anta*: *Kyoosoo yo, kore kara anta to* 'From now on it'll be a competition with you'. She says this jokingly, emphasising a feeling of solidarity.

Fumiko's footing can be interpreted to change accordingly. In the beginning she is the one doing the "scolding", that is, expressing her worries about Noriko's upcoming marriage as a true *onee-san* 'elder sister' should. After a while the roles change, and now it is Noriko who takes the role of the worrying character. However, instead of adopting a scolding tone, she underlines her role as the person who should be held responsible for causing problems to Fumiko and the rest of the family by getting married and leaving the house. When she becomes personal and refers directly to the problems her marriage will cause to Fumiko, Fumiko quickly changes the tone of the conversation: the serious "worrying frame" switches to a frame of

joking. This switch is signalled by the marked use of the colloquial second person pronoun *anta*, as well as by paralinguistic clues (voice quality, intonation) and nonverbal communication (smile). She no longer wants to underline her position as Noriko's elder brother's wife, a married woman with children and an *onee-san* to Noriko. Since Noriko will also marry soon, from now on, they will both be wives and mothers. Therefore, Fumiko being older than Noriko and thus higher in the social hierarchy, it is she who, in a way, "descends" to Noriko's level by using the solidary *anta*. This coincides with a clear break in the initial frame of the situation: the serious "worrying frame" changes to a frame of joking. She cleverly uses the switch in order to avoid a possibly embarrassing and difficult situation in which Noriko would need to apologise directly to her for the trouble she is causing her by getting married. It is easier to settle the matter with a joke.

Example (4)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
 speaker: **Itakura** (Nishi's partner who has changed identities with him, in reality Nishi)
 listener: **Wada** (assistant of the contract section chief in the company where Nishi is employed)

second person-designating terms employed by Itakura: *Wada-san* (2)
anta (1)
ossan (2)

(4a)

Wada: . . . Ano kata ga kurushindeorareru to omou to, watashi... nanto ka subete odayaka ni... maruku osameru hoo hoo wa nai ka to...
 Itakura: Wada-san... zannen nagara, sonna hoo hoo wa nai ne... Musume ga doo daroo to, oyaji ga warusugiru n da... Amai te o uttara, kotchi ga yarareru dake da yo!!
 (W: 54)

Wada: '... When I think of her being made unhappy... I would try to think of some way to make everything go easy and peacefully for her...'⁹
Itakura: 'Mr. Wada... Unfortunately there is no way to do that... It doesn't matter what the daughter is, the father is just too bad... If we tried to be lenient, we would be the ones that get it!!' (Ba: 204)

(4b)

Itakura: Oi, anta no yatta koto wa donna kikenna koto ka wakatteru no ka.
Wada: Shikashi... watashi wa tada... Nishi-san ya Yoshiko-san ga, anmari kawai soo de...
... (W: 58)

Itakura: 'Do you have any idea just how dangerous what you just did was?!'
Wada: 'But... I just... I felt sorry for Nishi and Yoshiko...'
... (Ba: 211)

(4c)

Wada: Nishi-san... Yoshiko-san no koto wa ii n desu ka... Ano kata wa, anata no hontoo no kimochi o shiranai... Kono mama, otoo-san ga anata no te de tekihatsu sareta to shittara, issloo anata o uramimasu yo.
Itakura: Yose yo, ossan! Nishi tte yatsu wa sonna ninjoo banashi de ii yoo ni soojoo dekiru tama ja nee ze... Ossan mitai na koyakunin to chigatte ne. (W: 57)

Wada: 'Mr. Nishi. Don't you care what happens to Yoshiko?... She doesn't know how you really feel... If she were to know that you had exposed her father as things stand now, she would hate you all her life.'
Itakura: 'Lay off, Old buzzard! Listen!... Nishi's not the kind of guy that you can get to with stories of human kindness... he's not like snivelling little civil servants like you!' (Ba: 209)

Itakura's unmarked address terms to Wada seem to be *Wada-san*, used as a vocative term, and *anta*, which is used as a bound form (with *no*). However, on page 57 of the scenario, he addresses Wada by employing *ossan* 'old man, old buzzard'. Before this, Wada has just pleaded with Nishi to (at least) think about Yoshiko's (his wife's) feelings. Won't she hate him for the rest of her life if she finds out that it was Nishi, her own husband, who exposed her father and turned in to the police? Before Nishi has time to react, Itakura, irritated, strikes back: *Yose yo, ossan! Nishi tte yatsu wa sonna ninjoo banashi de ii yoo ni soojoo dekiru tama ja nee*

⁹ Differs slightly from the original translation.

ze... *Ossan mitai na koyakunin to chigatte ne* 'Lay off, old buzzard! Listen... Nishi's not the kind of guy that you can get to with stories of human kindness... he's not like snivelling little civil servants like you!. Itakura wants to put Wada in his place, because he has already noticed himself that Yoshiko seems to be Nishi's weak point. Nishi is actually starting to fall in love with her, although his initial plan was to marry her just in order to get closer to her father, Iwabuchi, and revenge his father's death.

In this sequence, Itakura's footing appears to change to that of a fervent defendant of his and Nishi's plan, which entails a shift to a frame of overt "despising". *Anta* and especially *Wada-san* would be much too neutral for the situation, as Itakura's intention is to make Wada stop talking about Yoshiko. His anger and threatening attitude toward Wada are further emphasised nonverbally: he steps between Wada and Nishi and practically squeezes Wada against the wall. His concern is well-founded: should Nishi start getting too sentimental, thinking about Yoshiko's feelings at this point, the plan to revenge Nishi's father's death by exposing the men responsible for his death (including Iwabuchi, Yoshiko's father) and their criminal acts would be seriously endangered.

Example (5)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
 speaker: **Nishi** (vice-president's secretary)
 listener: **Moriyama** (principal administrative officer)

second person-designating terms employed by Nishi: *anata* (2)
omae (1)
buchoo no kisama (1)
kisama (6)

(5a)

...
 Nishi: Hahaha... Boyakuna... Uramu n nara jibun o urame... Kisama ga ore no shootai o hojikuri dasanakya, konna tearana me ni awanai de sunda n da... Shikamo,

ore no keekaku ga tsubusarete yowatteiru tokoro e, kisama no hoo kara,
tsukamari ni yatte kita...

Moriyama: Hito o yuukai shite tada de wa suman zo!!

...

Itakura: Fuhoo shinnyuu, kyooohaku, yuukai...

Nishi: Zatto kazoete mo kore dake aru... Kore dake tsumi ga arya, oode o futte jishu
dekiru.

Moriyama: Jishu?

Nishi: Ima, yukkuri setsumee shimasu ga ne... Anata ni hakaseru dake doru o
hakasetara, seedai ni kishakaiken o yaru yotee da.

... (W: 51)

Nishi: 'Ha ha ha... Don't complain... If you've got to hate someone, hate yourself... If
you hadn't dug up my real identity, you wouldn't have gotten this sort of rough
treatment... And just when my plan was about to fall through, you came along
and got yourself caught...'

Moriyama: 'You can't get by with kidnapping people!!'

...

Itakura: 'Illegal entry, blackmail, and kidnapping.'

Nishi: 'That is about the size if you count them... With all that, I could already turn
myself in triumphantly.'¹⁰

Moriyama: 'Turn yourself in?'

Nishi: 'I will explain very slowly... If I can make sure that I can get you to cough up all
the mud you can, I plan to hold a press conference!'

... (Ba: 200-201)

(5b)

Moriyama: ...

Nishi: Sengohyakuman to iya, buchoo no kisama ga nomazu kuwazu de juunen
kakatte yatto tamerareru kane da... Kono kane ga deta dake demo, shuuwai no
butteki shooko no hitotsu ni naru!!

...

Itakura: Soitsu wa osoraku ribeeto no ichibu o awatete bunsan shita mono daroo ga,
sore ga doko ni kakushite aru ka wakareba, kore ijoo no butteki shooko wa
nee ga na.

Nishi: Tokoro ga ore wa na... Sore o Shirai kara tsukitomete!

Moriyama: Ha ha ha... Usotsuke! ... Are wa, ore shika...

Nishi: Omae shika shiran no ka... Tsumari, Iwabuchi mo shiranai n da na. ... (W: 52)

¹⁰ Differs slightly from the original translation.

Moriyama: '...'
 Nishi: 'The only way a department head like you could possibly save up fifteen million yen is by not eating or drinking for a good ten years... The finding of that much money alone would be one concrete proof of embezzlement!!'
 ...
 Itakura: 'That's probably part of the rebate that you had hurriedly tried to dispose of. So all we have to do is find out where that is hidden and we'll have the best possible concrete evidence.'
 Nishi: 'And you see... I located it through Shirai.'
 Moriyama: 'Ha ha ha... Liar!... I'm the only one that knows...'
 Nishi: 'Oh!? You're the only one that knows, huh?!... In other words, not even Iwabuchi knows, right!? . . . ' (Ba: 202)

Unmarked second person-designating terms between Nishi and Moriyama would normally be *buchoo* from Nishi to Moriyama and *kimi* or *Nishi-kun* from Moriyama to Nishi. This is true in the usual hierarchical situation within the company. However, in these examples, Nishi is shown to be using a variety of second person pronouns: *anata*, *omae*, *kisama* and plural forms *anata-tachi* and *kisama-tachi* (he also employs the colloquial pronoun *ore* instead of the unmarked *boku* in self-reference).

On page 51 of the scenario, Nishi at first angrily addresses Moriyama by employing the derogatory *kisama*. He explains to Moriyama how he changed identities with a friend of his and how he now wants to expose all the crimes committed by the company superiors. Moriyama does not seem to get the point and Nishi starts again: *Ima, yukkuri setsumee shimasu ga ne... Anata ni hakaseru dake doru o hakasetara, seedai ni kishakaiken o yaru yotee da* 'I will explain very slowly... If I can make sure that I can get you to cough up all the mud you can, I plan to hold a grand press conference'. This is where Nishi switches from the derogatory *kisama* to the polite *anata*. He seems to be enjoying his position as the man in charge and he wishes to make his point very clear to Moriyama. Being careful of not to look directly at Moriyama, he puts on an act with his comrade Itakura, explaining all the details of his carefully dressed plan. This is done with a nuance of overtly displeasing politeness. However, on page 52, Moriyama protests. He does not seem to be frightened enough and asks arrogantly: *Ore ga nani mo shaberanakattaradoonaru?* 'And what would you do if I refused to speak?'. Unable to control his anger (after all, Moriyama is one of the superiors responsible for his father's death), Nishi switches back to the derogatory *kisama*. Getting angrier and angrier, but still not looking directly at Moriyama, he suddenly comes up with *buchoo no kisama*, literally 'you [piece of

dirt] as department chief'. This contrast, 'department chief' and 'you [dirt]', seems to underline Nishi's powerful position; although he should be addressing his superior politely as *buchoo*, he now is in a position to call him *kisama*. This expression shows how much Nishi now despises Moriyama.

Nevertheless, on the same page Nishi suddenly changes to *omae*. He has just managed to make Moriyama slip an important piece of information and he is now happy that his plot worked out: *Omae shika shiran no ka...* 'Oh!? You're the only one that knows, huh?!'. Just for a brief moment the nuance of the conversation seems to change from accusations to irony and Nishi is shown to take pleasure in his moment of victory. Afterwards, he once more switches back to *kisama*.

This episode offers an example of extremely elaborated second person-designating term use. In short, Nishi appears to be oscillating his footing between an angry accusator and a calm and composed plotter in an atmosphere shifting between anger, role-play and irony. The *overall* frame shift marked by the use of *kisama* from Nishi to Moriyama is evident: we are not dealing with the usual corporation hierarchy anymore, on the contrary, this new situation is entirely dominated by Nishi. Furthermore, a number of finer frame shifts, from role-play to anger through irony and back, take place within this newly defined overall frame of the situation.

This example clearly demonstrates that it is important to distinguish at least three separate frame levels in conversational interaction. First, what can be considered the most radical change, the *overall* frame may be entirely transformed. This is what happens in the present example with the usual corporation hierarchy turning upside down. This modification is decidedly not a temporary one; there is often no going back to the "normal state of affairs" anymore. This example should therefore be distinguished, for instance, from example (10) (which will be presented in Section 6.5.3.2) where we can witness a shift to another frame outside the ongoing "class reunion frame". Example (10) represents a second level frame shift in that there is a switch to an external frame, that of the old teacher-pupil relationship, but this modification is by no means permanent. On the contrary, it is linked to Sakuma's level of drunkenness and, as soon as he is sober again, the initial frame is resumed. Finally, as

demonstrated by a number of examples in this section, subtle frame shifts can take place within these outer frames of interaction.

Example (6)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
speaker: **Tatsuo Iwabuchi** (Yoshiko's elder brother)
listener: **Yoshiko**

second person-designating terms employed by Tatsuo: *oku-san* (1)
Yoshiko (10)
omae (6)

...
Tatsuo: Moo ii, yosoo konna hanashi... Omae mitaina akanboo ni, hito o ukagae to itte mo muri da.

Yoshiko: Atashi, akanboo ja nai wa.

Tatsuo: A, kore wa, shitsuree shimashita, oku-san.

(Yoshiko suddenly looks sad again and lowers her eyes.)

Tatsuo: Doo shita Yoshiko.

Yoshiko: E?

Tatsuo: Omae, shiawase kai? . . . (W: 24)

...
Tatsuo: 'That's enough. Let's change the subject... It's impossible to convince a baby like you to suspect people.'

Yoshiko: 'I'm not a baby!'

Tatsuo: 'Oh, I'm sorry to have insulted you, Madam!'

Tatsuo: 'What's wrong, Yoshiko?'

Yoshiko: 'Huh?!'

Tatsuo: 'Are you happy? . . . ' (Ba: 147)

This example appeared already in Section 6.4.3, but it is reproduced here in order to demonstrate how it can be analysed by taking into account the frames of the situation. As was seen, this is the only example of Tatsuo addressing his sister *oku-san* 'madam'. Normally, when addressing her, he employs the colloquial second person pronoun *omae* or *Yoshiko*, his little sister's first name. In this sequence, Tatsuo has just referred to Yoshiko as an *akanboo*

'baby'. Yoshiko does not seem to appreciate his remark and she protests, jokingly: *Atashi, akanboo ja nai wa* 'I am not a baby!'. This is where Tatsuo notices that calling her sister a baby was probably a mistake and, in order to make up for it, he switches to an overtly polite form of speech. He uses here the polite *-desu/masu* verb form and addresses Yoshiko as an "adult lady", *oku-san* (which she actually is since she is already married). He is clearly joking with Yoshiko and teasing her. The metamessage "this is joking" is encoded not only in Tatsuo's choice of an overtly formal second person-designation term, but in the intonation of his utterance (rising intonation on *oku-san*), voice quality and facial expression (smile) as well. Similar paralinguistic indices are evident also in Yoshiko's preceding expression.

However, a couple of lines later the tone of the conversation changes again. Suddenly, after hearing the term *oku-san*, Yoshiko looks down with a sad expression on her face. Tatsuo becomes worried and questions her: *Doo shita Yoshiko?* 'What's wrong, Yoshiko?'. This marks the return from his brief pretended role as a formal addressor to his literal footing as a caring and protective big brother. The frames within the interaction fluctuate correspondingly from an initial serious conversation between sister and brother to a "joking frame" and, again, back to the more serious tone.

Example (7)

source: *Karumen Junjoosu*
 speaker: **Carmen (Karumen)** (Akemi's friend)
 listener: **Akemi**

first person-designating terms employed by Carmen: *watashi* (1)
atai (21)
 second person-designating terms employed by Carmen: *Akemi-chan* (2)
Akemi (16)
anta (3)
omae (3)

(7a)

...
Carmen: Akemi, sonna akanboo kakaekonde, kore kara doo suru ki dai?

Akemi: Hataraku wa, moo sukoshi ookiku nattara.

...
Carmen: Ja, koo shiyoo, sonna akanboo sutechao yo.

Akemi: Sonna akanboo tte, anta.

Carmen: Kiryoo datte yokanai yo, ne, yoku mite goran, sono hana o... sonna no
isshookenmee sodateta tte muda da yo... Sutechao yo, ne, kantan da yo...

Akemi: Anta o-naka ookiku shita koto nai kara, sonna koto iu kedo.

...
Carmen: Watasha, koi mo jinsee mo gisee ni shita n da, geejutsu dake ga inochi nan da,
kokoro de naite ganbatteru no yo, o-kane datte noo manee sa, anta datte
ashita kara datte hataraitte kurenakerya, doo shiyoo mo nai ja nai ka, setsunai wa
yo, ... (K: 71)

...
Carmen: 'Akemi, what are you going to do from now on with such a baby in your hands?'

Akemi: 'I'll work, as soon as the baby gets a bit older.'

...
Carmen: 'Ok, this is what we'll do, let's get rid of the thing.'

Akemi: 'Are you calling my baby "the thing"...'

Carmen: 'I mean its appearance is not good at all. Look at the nose... There's no use
trying to raise a baby like that... Let's abandon it, yeah? It's really simple...'

Akemi: 'You say such things because you've never been pregnant yourself.'

...
Carmen: 'I sacrificed love and my life and I'm living only for art, I keep on fighting, although
in my heart I'm crying, and money, I've got none, you know. Unless you start
working from tomorrow on, there's nothing we can do. Oh, it's painful, . . .'

(7b)

(Akemi is crying.)

Carmen: . . . Kyuujoo mo chikai shi, ii toko da yo, omae ga sodateru yori shiawase da yo.

(K: 72)

Carmen: ' . . . Also the Imperial Palace is close by, it's really a good neighbourhood. The
baby will be happier here than with you as its mother.'

(7c)

Carmen: Akemi, o-machittara!

Akemi: Iya, atashi moo ano ko o hanashi ya shinai.

Carmen: Akemi! Baka! Sekkaku suteta mono mottainai yo... Kaji to sutego to wa kankee
nai ja nai ka.

Akemi: Yakeshinjau wa yo, shinu nara issho yo.

...

Carmen: Doko e iku n da yo, sotchi wa kaji da yo.

Akemi: Dotchi datta kashira...?

Carmen: Akemi! Omae, hontoo ni sodateru ki kai?

Akemi: Sodateru wa... Ishi ni kajiri tsuitemo.

Carmen: Erai! Nakasu n ja nai yo. (K: 74-75)

Carmen: 'Akemi, wait a moment!'

Akemi: 'No, I am not going to separate from that child again.'

Carmen: 'Akemi! You're stupid! We went through all the trouble of getting rid of it...
A fire has nothing to do with an abandoned baby, right?'

Akemi: 'It will be burned to death. I'd rather die with my baby.'

...

Carmen: 'Where do you think you're going? That's where the fire is.'

Akemi: 'I wonder where it was...?'

Carmen: 'Akemi! Do you really want to raise the baby yourself?'

Akemi: 'Yes I do... At any cost.'

Carmen: 'That's admirable. Now don't make me cry.'

(7d)

Carmen: Maa, ureshii. Akemi-chan, kiita? (K: 77)

Carmen: 'Ah, I'm so happy, did you hear that, Akemi?'

(7e)

Carmen: Atai, shinde mo anta o mamoru yo.

Akemi: Atashi datte soo yo. (K: 87)

Carmen: 'I'll protect you even if I have to die for it.'

Akemi: 'That's how I feel about you, too.'

(7f)

Akemi: Atashi mo yamechatta no yo, o-kami-san to kenka shite...

Carmen: Doose ukiyo wa mama ni naranai no sa, kuyokuyo shitatte hajimaranai yo.

Akemi: Sorya soo ne, panpan ni nattatte ii n da mono ne.

Carmen: Baka da ne omae wa, anna no onna no kuzu da yo, gobu no mushi ni mo
issun no tamashii ja nai ka.¹¹ Onna nya onna no iji ga aru n da, ikura ochibureta
tte. (K: 114)

¹¹ An incorrect version of the proverb *issun no mushi ni mo gobu no tamashii*, equivalent to the English proverbs "The fly has her spleen, and the ant her gall" or "Tread on a worm and it will turn".

Akemi: 'I also quit my job, I had a quarrel with the madam...'
 Carmen: 'Life is full of vexations, there's no use crying.'
 Akemi: 'That's how it is, I don't care if I have to prostitute myself.'
 Carmen: 'Don't be stupid, those kind of women are scum. The art has her spleen, and the fly her gall, right? A woman has a woman's pride, no matter how bad things get.'

Carmen usually refers to herself with the first person pronoun *atai* when talking to Akemi. This form derives from the standard first person pronoun *watashi* and is characteristic of the old sections of Tokyo and the geisha quarters (*Kokugo Daijiten* 1981: 50). However, once she is also shown to employ the more formal pronoun *watashi*. This happens after Akemi has suggested that Carmen does not know what it is like to be expecting, feeling weak and worrying all the time. By making use of *watashi*, Carmen appears to be stressing the fact that it is not only Akemi who has to suffer in life (i.e., to abandon her baby), but that she has also suffered and sacrificed a lot: *Watasha, koi mo jinsee mo gisee ni shita n da, geejutsu dake ga inochi nan da, kokoro de naite ganbatteru no yo, o-kane datte noo manee sa. . .* 'I sacrificed love and my life and I'm living only for art, I keep on fighting, although in my heart I'm crying, and money, I've got none, you know. . .'. Carmen is shown to modify her footing temporarily from a mother-like lecturing character and an audience to Akemi's worries to that of a victim: 'I sacrificed love and my life. . .' The frame therefore shifts briefly to a narration of Carmen's personal sacrifices, but later resumes the initial "preaching" mode.

Carmen's unmarked second person-designating terms to Akemi appear to be the latter's first name *Akemi*, employed mainly in vocative function, and the second person pronoun *anta*. Since Carmen and Akemi are good friends, first name alone and colloquial second person pronoun *anta* seem appropriate for their relationship. Akemi addresses Carmen in an identical manner by using the latter's first name, *Carmen* (*Karumen*), and the second person pronoun *anta*. As for *Akemi-chan* (with the intimate suffix *-chan*), this form is employed by Carmen only in the presence of other people.

In the film, Carmen also uses another second person pronoun, *omae*, in reference to Akemi. This usage appears to be restricted to two marked occasions. In the beginning of the film, Carmen attempts to persuade Akemi to abandon her baby and leave it on a stranger's

doorstep. She thinks that Akemi will never be able to raise the child alone in poverty. Akemi finally gives in and, following Carmen's advice, abandons the baby. This, of course, makes her extremely sad and she cannot stop crying. Carmen, who probably feels responsible for her friend's sadness, tries to comfort her by telling her that the baby will certainly be happier with more wealthy people living in a nice area (p. 72 of the scenario). It appears that she wishes to underline the difference between the lifestyles of Akemi (who, as a single mother, would have to struggle in order to survive and feed her baby) and the people living in the wealthy area where they left the baby. This is where she uses the marked second person pronoun *omae* with the connotation "the baby will certainly be happier here than with somebody like you": *Kyuujuu mo chikai shi, ii toko da yo, omae ga sodateru yori shiawase da yo* 'Also the Imperial Palace is close by, it's really a good neighbourhood. The baby will be happier here than with you as its mother'.

Omae also appears on page 75 of the scenario where Akemi realises that her decision to abandon the baby was completely wrong. A fire suddenly breaks out in the neighbourhood and she worries about the baby: "maybe the poor thing is in danger". She decides to go back and look for it. Carmen, who went through all the trouble of persuading her to abandon the baby, does not seem to be too happy about this unexpected turn of events. Nevertheless, Akemi is convinced: she wants her baby back. As a last try, Carmen asks: *Akemi! Omae, hontoo ni sodateru ki kai?* 'Akemi! Do you really want to raise the baby yourself?' making use of the marked pronoun *omae* again (enforced with the vocative *Akemi*). Akemi answers her that she is ready to do that no matter what happens. Carmen's language here seems to reflect the fact that she is truly worried about Akemi. She not only employs the pronoun *omae*, but also ends her utterance with the question particle *-kai*, a particle often utilised by older persons to younger ones (personal communication from Yasuhiko Nagano) and when urging the addressee strongly to do something (*Kokugo Daijiten* 1981: 420). Carmen thus seems to be taking the role of a worried mother towards Akemi (who, in turn, seems to be in the position of a child).

Carmen's third usage of the marked *omae* can also be linked to her worrying about Akemi. This example can be found on page 114 of the scenario. Akemi has just announced to her that, after a fight with her employer, she has decided to quit her job. Carmen finds this

completely unreasonable and scolds her: *Baka da ne omae wa*. . . 'You're so stupid. . .' This is where she, once more, resorts to *omae*.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the occurrences of *omae* in Carmen's speech addressed to Akemi are marked and seem to reflect switches to a some kind of a "worrying (or scolding) frame". The first example of *omae* appears at the end of a long turn held by Carmen. She is trying to do her best to convince Akemi that abandoning her baby is the right choice. The second occurrence of *omae* coincides with Carmen's footing shift: she is shifting her alignment from a severely opposed critic (cf. *Akemi! Baka!*) to that of a worried but admiring (cf. *Erai!*) partner. With the last appearance of *omae*, we can discern an opposite footing change: Carmen shifts from the role of a narrator (as a self-sacrificing heroine) to the role of a critic (cf. *Baka da ne omae wa*).

Example (8)

source: *Osooshiki*
speaker: **Shinkichi**
listener: **Kikue** (Shinkichi's wife)

first person-designating terms employed by Shinkichi: *boku* (1)
washi (1)

(8a)

Juuku ka hatachi kurai no yo, wakai fujin o, tsukizuki ittee no reekin o ataete da ne, betsu ni nani mo sende mo ee n da wa, tokidoki atte meshi kuttari yo, kooshoona hanashi o shitari yo. Soo iu no ni boku wa akogareteru n da ga. Baa-chan, omae wa doo omou ka. (O: 11)

'A young woman, nineteen or twenty years old, to whom I would pay a fixed fee every month. But we wouldn't have to do anything, really, just meet and have dinner every now and then, talking about refined topics. That's the kind of things I'm longing for. Or what do you think, Kikue?'¹²

¹² The kinterm *baa-chan* 'Grandma' is replaced by the addressee's first name in the English translation.

(8b)

Shinkichi: Oi, baa-chan yo.
Kikue: Nan ne.
Shinkichi: Washi, nanka kibun ga warui de. (O: 12)

Shinkichi: 'Hey, Kikue.'
Kikue: 'What is it?'
Shinkichi: 'I'm feeling unwell somehow.'

Because we have only two examples of the first person pronouns used by Shinkichi in the film, it is difficult to say which is the one he is usually employing when talking to his wife Kikue. However, given the fact that he is quite old, one might expect *washi* to be the unmarked form. This is the pronoun he uses on page 12 of the scenario where he suddenly starts feeling bad. Before this episode, we can see him coming back from Tokyo where he just had his yearly medical check-up. Because everything is fine and the doctors assured him that he is in good health, he feels happy and starts boasting about how he can probably reach 120 years and how he will get himself a young mistress, 19 or 20 years old. This is where he utilises the first person pronoun *boku* which is usually employed by younger males. Since he is feeling so young and healthy, he seems to be identifying himself with a younger generation, a fact which, in turn, appears to trigger the use of *boku*: *Soo iu no ni boku wa akogareteru n da ga* 'That's the kind of things I'm longing for'.

However, as soon as he starts feeling unwell on page 12, and then, when the situation suddenly becomes much more serious, he goes back to using *washi*. The frame can therefore be seen alternating from playful joking, marked here for example by the appearance of *boku*, to a frame more firmly linked to the literal world: Shinkichi suddenly starts feeling ill. This coincides with his footing shift. When *washi* reappears, he is no longer boasting about his good health and youthlike powers. On the contrary, he resumes his "real" footing as a frail elderly man.

Example (9)

source: *Osooshiki*
speaker: **Chizuko**
listener: **Kikue** (Chizuko's mother)

second person-designating terms employed by Chizuko: *okaa-san* (6)
kaa-san (1)
baa-chan (1)
anta (2)

(9a)

Ayako: Onee-san, onii-san.
Chizuko: Ayako... Osamu, Tetchan... Ki'ichi... Okaa-san, daijoubu?
Wabisuke: Baa-chan, daijoubu desu ka?
Kikue: Ee, watashi wa daijoubu yo.
... (O: 35)

Ayako: 'Sis, Wabisuke.'¹³
Chizuko: 'Ayako... Osamu, Tetchan... Ki'ichi... Mother, are you ok?'
Wabisuke: 'Grandma, are you alright?'
Kikue: 'Yes, I am alright.'

(9b)

...
Chizuko: Ima koko de irete itadaite ii wake desu ka?
Ebihara: Sore wa kamaimasen desu yo. Soo nasaru kata mo oo gozaimasu.
Ayako: Demo nanda ka kawai soo ne.
Chizuko: Baa-chan doo na no?
Kikue: Soo nee, anta wa doo na no?
Chizuko: Watashi wa ima irete moratta hoo ga ii to omou kedo. . . . (O: 40)

...
Chizuko: 'Is it alright if we have him put in the coffin now here?'
Ebihara: 'That is quite alright. There are many people who choose to do that.'
Ayako: 'But I feel somehow sorry for him.'
Chizuko: 'What do *you* think?'¹⁴
Kikue: 'Hmm, what about *you*?'

¹³ Since Chizuko is Ayako's real sister, I have used the kinship term 'sis' in the English translation. However, the term *onii-san* (lit. 'big brother') directed by Ayako at her brother-in-law (i.e., Chizuko's husband) is replaced by his first name.

¹⁴ Since there is no pause after *baa-chan*, it is not translated as a vocative term.

Chizuko: 'I think that it would be best to have him put in the coffin now. . . .'

(9c)

Wabisuke: . . . Ano, ame mo futtemasu shi ne. Anmari itai o nurashitari shinai hoo ga ii to omoimasu ga...

Chizuko: Soo yo. Yappari koko de nookan shimashoo yo. Okaa-san, sore de ii n desho?

Kikue: Watashi wa ee.

. . . (O: 43)

Wabisuke: '. . . I mean, it's raining and everything. I think it would be best not to get the body too wet...'

Chizuko: 'That's right. I say it's best to put him in the coffin here. Mother, is that alright with you?'

Kikue: 'To me it's alright.'

. . .

(9d)

Chizuko: Ippai nomoo ka.

Kikue: Osake de... (Kikue tries to get up to take a bottle of sake)

Chizuko: Anta ugokande ee no, moshu dakara.

Kikue: Hai hai. (O: 63)

Chizuko: 'Let's have a drink, shall we?'

Kikue: 'Sake...'

Chizuko: 'You don't have to move, you're the chief mourner.'

Kikue: 'Yes, yes.'

(9e)

. . .

Sakakibara: Sake nai yo, oku-san.

Kikue: Hai hai. (tries to get up)

Chizuko: Kaa-san wa ii no. Moshu da kara. (O: 117)

. . .

Sakakibara: 'There's no more sake, ma'am.'

Kikue: 'Yes, yes.'

Chizuko: 'You don't have to move, you're the chief mourner.'

(9f)

. . .

Kikue: Ano...

Ebihara: Hai hai.

Kikue: Watashi, ano, aisatsu o...
 Chizuko: Okaa-san, anta damatte suwattoreba ii no...
 Chizuko &
 Kikue: Moshu dakara...
 Kikue: Deshoo? Iya, moshu dakara koso, aisatsu gurai se'nya,
 mooshiwakenai to omotte. (O: 151-152)

...
 Kikue: 'Exuse me...'
 Ebihara: 'Yes.'
 Kikue: 'I... I would like to make an address...'
 Chizuko: 'Mother, just keep quiet and sit down...'
 Chizuko &
 Kikue: 'Because you are/I am the chief mourner...'
 Kikue: 'Isn't that so? No, exactly because I am the chief mourner, I think it would be
 unpolite not to make an address.'

First of all, what is surprising in Chizuko's manner of using second person-designating terms when addressing her mother Kikue is the fact that she sometimes employs the rather familiar second person pronoun *anta*. As we have seen repeatedly, in Japanese, second person pronouns cannot usually be employed when addressing one's parents (or other higher status addressees). However, Chizuko addresses her mother with *anta* twice in rather similar circumstances. That is, she wants to stop her mother from doing something: *Anta ugokande ee no, moshu da kara* 'You don't have to move, after all you're the chief mourner' and *Okaa-san, anta damatte suwattoreba ii no* 'Mother, just keep quiet and sit down'. Since Chizuko continues giving orders to her mother, one gets the impression that her attitude toward her mother is rather patronising. Her use of *anta* only seems to support this view. Since Chizuko is a (well-known) actress, she is perhaps used to being in a dominant position and ordering people around.

Neustupny (1990: 109) offers similar examples of second person pronoun use. He cites an example of *anata* used in reference to the speaker's mother and comments on it as follows: "The addressee is a frail old parent, patronized by his child. Obviously, seniority can be overridden by considerations of who is the 'dominant' actor in the situation." As already mentioned previously, Ishikawa et al. (1986: 137) consider addressing a contempted parent with the pronoun *anta* as a case of devaluation. Neustupny (1990: 109) further remarks that

"the second common feature. . . is the discourse structure in which the pronouns occur. The pronouns are used after a vocative address, for which a kinship term is employed". He suggests that this formalistic use of an honorific kinterm in combination with the second person pronoun *anata* involves a politeness strategy specifying that "when politeness is communicated once in a segment of discourse, there is no obligation to communicate it again". Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 158) disagree with Neustupny and suggest that, in cases of this type, *anata* (*anta* in our example) should simply be interpreted as a use marked for patronisation. Their statement can further be elaborated to fit the present framework of frame analysis: in our example Chizuko takes a dominant alignment vis-à-vis her mother, and the second person-designating term use should therefore be interpreted as an internal shift to a frame of patronising.

As for the discourse structure, Neustupny's argument applies to our second example, but in the first example *anta* appears alone. Also note that both occurrences of *anta* are found in indirect directives. The frequent use of directives seems to further emphasise Chizuko's patronising attitude toward her mother. However, indirect directives appear also with single kinship terms: *Kaa-san wa ii no* 'It's ok. You don't have to get up'.

On page 40 of the scenario, the speaker, Chizuko, is shown to address her mother by making use of *baa-chan* 'Grandma', a so-called fictional kinship term used from the viewpoint of her own children, that is, her mother's grandchildren: *Baa-chan doo na no?* 'What do you think?' (9b). This is the only occurrence of the affectionate suffix *-chan* in her speech to her mother, her usual address term being *okaa-san* 'mother'. In example (9b) she is discussing details of her father's funeral (when the deceased should be put in the coffin) with her mother, sister, husband, uncle and the undertaker. The situation is quite delicate, and, following the undertaker's suggestion, Chizuko wants to ask her mother's opinion. By making use of *baa-chan* she appears to be showing tenderness and empathy toward her mother in order to soften the difficultness of the situation. This example manifests that the use (and non-use) of suffixes of this type (*-sama*, *-san*, *-kun*, *-chama*, *-chan*) is not solely linked to factors such as who is present at the context of speech, formality of the situation, etc. They can also be altered within a single interactional unit in order to express varying attitudes and feelings toward the

interlocutor. In other words, in this example, Chizuko's footing alternates from an empathising position, placing her mother temporarily within the "Grandma (*baa-chan*) frame", back to a more neutral footing within their usual mother (*okaa-san*)-daughter frame.

6.5.3.2. Frame-external shifts

Let us now examine how the relatively subtle shifts occurring frame-internally presented in examples (1-9) differ from the second level of analysis, namely frame-external shifts. In examples (10-12) we are dealing with footing changes which generate a shift to another frame outside the initial frame of the situation. These modifications are thus more "drastic" in the sense that the speakers are not manipulating participation frameworks solely for the purpose of humour, irony, empathy, and so forth, within the ongoing frame, but their intention is to create a switch to a different frame, external to the initial frame of the situation.

Example (10)

source: *Sanna no Aji*
speaker: **Kiyotaroo Sakuma** (72) (noodle shop owner, Hirayama's former high school teacher)
listener: **Shuuhee Hirayama** (57) (controller, Sakuma's former pupil)

second person-designating terms employed by Sakuma: *Hirayama-san* (3)
Hirayama-kun (1)
Hirayama (3)
kimi (1)

(10a)

....
Hirayama: Moo shitsuree shimasu kara...
Sakuma: Mada ii... mada yoroshii... Oi, Hirayama-kun!...
Hirayama: Ha.
Sakuma: Hirayama!

Tomoko: Otoo-san.
 Sakuma: Sakki moratta are wa doo shita ka na... Jooshitsu no uisukii...
 Hirayama: Are wa sensee, kuruma no naka de o-nomi ni narimashita yo.
 Sakuma: Umu? Nonda? ... Aa, nonda, nonda, nonde shimoota... Kimi wa mukashi kara kiokuryoku ga yokatta.
 Kawai: (to Tomoko) Ja, doozo, sensee o-daiji ni...
 Hirayama: Ja shitsuree shimasu.
 Tomoko: Honto ni go-meewaku o-kake shite...
 Kawai: Gomen kudasai.
 Hiramama: Gomen kudasai. (leaving)
 Sakuma: Mada ii! Oi, Kawai! Hirayama! (Tomoko takes Hirayama and Kawai to the door and they leave) Tomoko, biiru! ... Aa... yukai... mattaku yukai... Uumu... Oi, Hirayama! Kawai! . . . (S: 337)

...
 Hirayama: 'We really have to go now...'
 Sakuma: 'No, it's still ok... it's still alright... Hey, Hirayama!
 Hirayama: 'Yeah.'
 Sakuma: 'Hirayama!'
 Tomoko: 'Father.'
 Sakuma: 'What happened to that thing I just got... The high quality whisky...?'
 Hirayama: 'Sir, you finished the bottle in the car.'
 Sakuma: 'What? I finished it? ... Oh, yes, I finished it, I finished it alright... You always had a good memory.'
 Kawai: (to Tomoko) 'Please look after him...'
 Hirayama: 'We really must go.'
 Tomoko: 'I am so sorry for all your trouble...'
 Kawai: 'Good bye.'
 Hirayama: 'Good bye.' (leaving)
 Sakuma: 'It's still early! Hey, Kawai! Hirayama! (Tomoko takes Hirayama and Kawai to the door and they leave) Tomoko, beer! ... Ah... it was pleasant... so pleasant... Ah... Hey, Hirayama! Kawai! ...'

(10b)

Yaa, kore wa kore wa Hirayama-san, sa, maa doozo. (recognises) (S: 340)

'Well well, what a surprise Mr. Hirayama, please, take a seat.'

(10c)

Dewa, chotto Hirayama-san... (S: 341)

'Excuse me for a moment, Mr. Hirayama.'

(10d)

Soo ieba Hirayama-san wa kaihee ikareta n deshita na. (S: 341)

'Now that you mention it, Mr. Hirayama did go to the navy.'¹⁵

In example (10a), changes in the use of second person-designating terms employed by Sakuma in reference to Hirayama seem to be linked to the level of his drunkenness. Hirayama and some of his former classmates have organised a class reunion party and their old teacher, Sakuma, has also been invited. As was demonstrated earlier in example (1), in the beginning of the episode, Sakuma is using rather polite language toward his former pupils, calling them *Horie-san* (LN + *-san*), *anata* 'you', *mina-san* 'everybody', etc. However, as he gets more and more drunk during the evening, the politeness level drops dramatically. On page 337 of the scenario, Hirayama and Kawai have taken Sakuma home by taxi and they are still talking. On page 336 Sakuma is referring to them (in the 3rd pers.) as *Kawai-san* and *Hirayama-san* when introducing them to his daughter Tomoko, but on page 337 he is addressing them with *Kawai-kun* and *Hirayama-kun*, later only *Kawai* and *Hirayama* without suffixes. He is also employing plain *-dal-ru* verb forms as well as the attention-getting marker *oi* which may normally be used only in non-reciprocal relationships from superiors to inferiors.¹⁶ On the same page he first addresses Kawai with the second person pronoun *anata*, but, after a few lines, Hirayama becomes *kimi*.

This kind of an evolution of second person-designating terms appears to reflect a shift in the position Hirayama (and Kawai) hold as viewed by Sakuma. The psychological distance conveyed by polite expressions in the beginning of the episode seems to be shrinking and it appears as if Sakuma is shifting back to his old role as a *sensee* 'teacher'. Simultaneously, there appears to be a break in the literal frame of the situation: Sakuma is slipping back to the old high school days and his second person-designating terms should be understood in this new (actually old!) context. The teacher-pupil relationship revisited.

As Bateson (1972) pointed out, the interpretation of any message remains impossible without a metamessage about "what is really going on", that is, how the communication is

¹⁵ It is unclear whether *Hirayama-san* refers to the second or the third person.

¹⁶ See Section 6.4.2 for more details.

intended. His observation of monkeys proved that within a "play frame" they react to a bite, for example, in a non-hostile way. Thus they seem to know "what is going on" and that in that particular context a bite is not intended to be an attack. They realise that in fact it is only part of the play: "The metamessage *this is play* signals the context within which a bite or a slap does not stand for what it is known to mean, namely, aggression (Tannen 1984: 23)." In Japanese communication (and perhaps universally), drunkenness often appears to be one kind of a "play frame" which permits "bites" that communication in normal circumstances would interpret as hostile, impolite, unrespectful or inappropriate in other ways. As became manifest in this example, the level of politeness in Sakuma's speech and behaviour drops drastically with the rising level of his intoxication, and he slips to second person-designation terms he would not use with respect to Hirayama (and Kawai) in a sober state. However, this does not lead to any apparent conflict between them. His drunkenness thus creates a (conventional) frame within which, at least to a certain degree, such behaviour is tolerated and, even, expected. Now if we go back to example (3) presented in the preface, on the other hand, it is clear that this is not always the case.¹⁷ Conflicts arise when participants in communication have different expectations as to appropriate ways of behaviour. Although one participant might expect that a drunken state, for example, permits a more colloquial level of speech and less respect toward his/her addressee as usual, the other one might, in fact, have different expectations.

Example (11)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
 speaker: **Tatsuo Iwabuchi**
 listener: **Kooichi Nishi** (Tatsuo's father's secretary, Tatsuo's little sister's groom/husband)

second person-designating terms employed by Tatsuo: *Nishi* (5)
omae (3)

¹⁷ Cf. also example 7 in Voeglin et al. (1977: 342-343).

omae-tachi (1)

kisama (1)

Itakura (1)¹⁸

(11a)

Oi Nishi! Tanomu zo! Imooto o kawaiatte yatte kure, na! Imooto wa na, kawaisoona yatsu nan da. Ore wa, konna darashi no nai yatsu da ga, imooto ga shiawase ni naru tame nara nan demo suru! Ii ka, Nishi. Imooto o fushiawase ni shitara kisama, korosu zo! (W: 11)

'Hey Nishi! Please take good care of my little sister! Please! She is a very pitiful girl! I'm no good myself, but I'd do anything to help my little sister be happy! If you make my little sister unhappy, I'll kill you! Do you hear me?!' (Ba: 124)

(11b)

Tatsuo: Oi... omae-tachi, doo shite betsu no heya ni neteru n da?

Nishi: Iya... Ima... aru shigoto de, doo shite mo osoku nari gachi nan da... Sore de, yonaka ni me o samasaseru no mo nan da shi na...

Tatsuo: Omae, ittai nani o shiteru n da?! Nanka... yohodo no koto yatteru na! Kakusoo tatte, omae no omote ni chanto dete kuru ze. . . .

Shikashi na, Nishi... oyaji no tame ni omae no mi o haru yoono mane wa yamete kure! . . . (W: 32)

Tatsuo: 'Why are you two sleeping in separate rooms?!'

Nishi: '... Right now... I have some work that makes me get home quite late most of the time... So I would be waking her up in the middle of the night...'

Tatsuo: 'What the hell are you doing, anyway?! It must be... something pretty big! You can't hide it, I can see it written all over your face. . . .'

'But listen, Nishi... Don't do anything for Father that puts you in danger. . . .'
(Ba: 161-162)

In example (11a) Tatsuo Iwabuchi is giving a speech at his younger sister's (Yoshiko's) wedding. Yoshiko is marrying his friend (of one and a half years) and his father's secretary, Nishi. In his speech, he first addresses all the guests in a relatively informal manner (joking, etc.) using neutral polite *-desu/masu* verb forms. However, the tone of his speech soon becomes more serious as he declares he refuses to believe the numerous rumours claiming that Nishi is marrying Yoshiko only because he is interested in climbing the social ladder.

¹⁸ In reality, Itakura is Nishi's real name. Tatsuo uses *Itakura* once, only after he has found out that Nishi has changed identities with the "real Nishi" and is actually called Itakura.

At the end of his speech, he addresses Nishi directly employing rather vulgar language, quite inappropriate for a wedding. This is where he shifts to the plain *-daru* verb forms. He is pleading with Nishi to take good care of his handicapped little sister Yoshiko. However, at the very end, his plead seems to turn into a threat: *Imooto o fushiawase ni shitara kisama, korosu zo!* 'If you make my little sister unhappy, I'll kill you. [Do you hear me?]' This is where he uses the extremely vulgar and, in this context, threatening second person pronoun *kisama*, the nuance of which has been simulated in the English translation by adding *Do you hear me?* Elsewhere he is addressing Nishi mainly by employing the familiar second person pronoun *omae* (three times as a bound form with *no*, or as an "intermediate form") or Nishi's last name (four times as a true vocative).

Tatsuo's words are followed by a silence and all the wedding guests appear to be shocked. They do not know how to react to his threatening-sounding speech.¹⁹ In fact, Tatsuo's behaviour is probably prompted by the fact that he is already a little bit drunk. He is also extremely protective of Yoshiko and seems to be disturbed by the rumours that, by marrying her, Nishi is only looking for a better life. Thus it becomes evident that, in this episode, Tatsuo's footing shifts from a person giving a congratulations speech to a newly-wed couple at the formal context of a wedding to the role of Yoshiko's protective elder brother. This also creates a break in the frame: Tatsuo shifts from the congratulations speech of the wedding frame to an external frame, that is, to a personal plea and threat directed at Nishi.

What is of particular interest in this example is that Tatsuo's obvious plea and threat is further *reframed* by one of the guests, namely, the president of the company for which Nishi is working. In fact, after a distinctive silence following Nishi's speech, the company president starts laughing and thus reframes Nishi's threatening words as some sort of a joke in order to avoid an extremely embarrassing situation:

(A silent chill settles over the room. The president forces himself to put on an easy-going front in order to get things going again.)

¹⁹ Not only are the guests shocked by the actual contents of Tatsuo's speech, but they are also most probably unsettled by the simple fact that he is breaking the "rule of ceremonial performatives". Haverkate (1984: 42) states the following: "The performance of declarations, which are also called 'ceremonial performatives' . . . excludes the development of linguistic strategies. This is due to the fact that the corresponding speakers formally represent certain social institutions which oblige them to make use of codified formulae."

President: Ha ha ha, iya, sukoshi katayaburi ja ga, ooi ni shinjoo ga afureteoru. Kore wa mee'en ja, ha ha ha.

(He claps his hands. Everybody in the room seems relieved and all join in the applause.) (W: 11)

President: 'Ha, ha, ha, ha. Well, this was really a fine speech! A little unusual, but definitely full of sincerity! Ha ha ha.' (Ba: 125)

After this, the other guests are relieved, because framing Tatsuo's threatening speech and his use of the vulgar second person pronoun *kisama* to the bridegroom as a joke fits their expectations better than interpreting Tatsuo's words as they were actually meant to be: a real threat. The embarrassing silence can be taken to prove that the wedding guests have had their expectations, that is, their knowledge schema of a wedding reception violated--after all, if sincere, Tatsuo's behaviour can hardly be considered appropriate for a wedding--and therefore do not know how to react. It is only after the reframing of his speech as a joke that the situation makes sense again and the guests can reinterpret Tatsuo's behaviour accordingly.

Example (12)

source: *Karumen Junjoosu*

speaker: **Joshi** (spectator at a striptease bar, electoral candidate)

listener: **spectator at a striptease bar**

first person-designating terms employed by Joshi: *watakushi* (1)

konna babaa (1)

Joshi: Jitsu wa desu ne, saki hodo kara miteta n da ga ne, anmari yowai mon o ijimeru mon ja nai yo.

manager: Sukkonderoi, babaa! . . .

spectator: Babaa, shikkari!

Joshi: Arigatoo, arigatoo, konna babaa demo, Nippon seeshintoo no, rekki to shita tooin da yo, mina-san, watakushi wa yowai josee no mikata desu. . . . (K: 96-97)

Joshi: 'Actually I've been watching you for a while, one should not abuse weak people, you know.'

manager: 'Get lost, old bat! . . .

spectator: 'Come on, old bat, hang in there!'

Joshi: 'Thank you, thank you, although I'm an old bat like this, I'm a listed *Seeshintoo* party member, you know. [Listen] everybody, I am an ally of weak women. . . .'

In this excerpt, Joshi refers to herself by using the depreciatory term *babaa* 'old woman, old bat', utilised initially as an insult by the manager of the striptease bar she is visiting. After the manager's pejorative usage of the term, the other guests pick it up and repeat it encouragingly in a humorous way. Joshi continues in the humoristic tone and repeats the same term. Although *babaa* was initially meant to be an insult, it gains comical nuances and Joshi decides to exploit the situation and start an election campaign speech. She skillfully uses the apparent contradiction between her being a mere old woman and an electoral candidate for the *Seeshintoo* party: *Arigatoo, arigatoo, konna babaa demo Nippon seeshintoo no, rekki to shita tooin da yo. . .* 'Thank you, thank you, although I'm just an old bat like this, I am a listed *Seeshintoo* party member . . .' As a result, the predicative *konna babaa* 'an old bat like this' should be interpreted as marking the end of the comical frame, whereas the following shift to the extremely formal first person pronoun *watakushi*, together with the vocative *mina-san* 'everybody, you all', clearly indicates the beginning of a completely different external frame: an election campaign speech: *Mina-san watakushi wa yowai josee no mikata desu. . .* '[Listen] everybody, I am an ally of weak women. . .' In this sequence, Joshi's footing can thus be seen to change from a target of insults to a comical figure and, finally, to a political figure delivering a speech.

6.5.3.3. Overall (social) frame shifts

As demonstrated by examples (1-12), the two levels of frame shifts hypothesised by Takagi (1995), namely, frame-internal and frame-external shifts, are manifest in Japanese conversational interaction, but it appears that distinguishing two levels is still insufficient. A third level, namely, that of an overall frame encompassing the interactants as social beings needs to be added. As was already illustrated in example (5) above and as will be further demonstrated by examples (13-16) which follow, this overall frame, too, can be subject to

modifications. Of course it is true that, in everyday life, examples of this type are without doubt more difficult to find than other types of frame shifts, but, nevertheless, they do take place. Surprisingly, this is the level where we are dealing with what is generally referred to as relatively static factors related to speaking, such as the social status of the interactants, traditionally the domain of sociolinguistic inquiry. Sex, age, position, status, profession and the like are generally referred to as permanent sociological properties (van Dijk 1972: 322-323), and normally speakers are aware of the pragmatic constraints regulating speech acts which are open to them in various social situations. However, as will be illustrated by the following examples taken from Japanese films, evidently some factors of this sort are more static than others, and sometimes changes in the less static ones may overpower the other factors involved.

What separates modifications in the overall (social) frame from the other frame levels discussed in this section is the fact that they are not directly linked to any particular interaction. In other words, these frame and footing shifts are *not* created *interactionally*. In example (14), for instance, Tatsuo is the person generating the change in the overall (social) frame encompassing him, his sister Yoshiko and their father Iwabuchi. Although the reason for his anger and denouncement of his own father lies in the fact that his father had Nishi (his sister's husband) killed, his father himself does not directly participate in the creation of the new overall frame. On the other two frame levels, by contrast, we are dealing with shifts created by participants within particular interactions. In situations of this kind, it is not the social properties of the interactants which become subject to modification, but the "roles" or footings the interactants adopt in different contexts. These two levels, that is, shifts from the initial frame to an external frame or finer shifts taking place within the initial frame, embody interactional and dynamic aspects of discourse which can be analysed only within particular contexts.

Example (13)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
speaker: **Shirai** (contract section chief)
listener: **Nishi** (vice-president's secretary)

first person-designating terms employed by Shirai: *watashi* (2)
boku (2)
second person-designating terms employed by Shirai: *anata* (1)
kimi (1)

(13a)

Kimi... boku o... do... doko e? (W: 40)
'Wh... Where are you taking me?' (Ba: 176)

(13b)

Shirai: Na, nan no tame ni... boku o konna tokoro e.
Nishi: Koko de shinde morau. (W: 41)

Shirai: 'Wh... Why are you taking me to a place like this?'
Nishi: 'This is where you'll die.'

(13c)

...

Nishi: Ore wa shiseeji da yo... Kono oyaji to, isshoo hikagemono de owatta o-fukuro to no aida no na.
Shirai: ... Shi, shinjirarenai... Anata wa fukusoosai no...
Nishi: Hahaha... Ano kedomono no futokoro ni tobi komu no ni wa kuroo shita yo. Nishi Kooichi to iu otoko wa hoka ni iru. Ore wa sono otoko to koseki no kookan o shita n da
Hooritsu wa kisama-tachi o sabaki kirenakatta. Shikashi, ore ga kono te de sabaite yaru! Mazu kisama ni, jibun de jibun no kubi o heshi orasete yaru!!
Shirai: Wa, watashi wa tada... I... I... Iwabuchi-san no meeree de... Mo... Moriyama-san to issho ni...
Nishi: Ore no oyaji ni jisatsu o sematta...
Shirai: Chi... chigau... ta... tada watashi wa...
Nishi: Hakkiri shiro!! . . . (W: 42)

Nishi: 'I'm an illegitimate child. Between this man and my mother who was a concubine until the end of her life.'

Shirai: 'I... I can't believe it... You are vice-president's...'

Nishi: 'Ha ha ha... It wasn't easy to get to the bosom of that beast! There is another man named Kooichi Nishi. I traded registrations with him. . . .'

Nishi: 'The law wasn't able to pass proper judgement on you bastards! But I'm going to do it with my own hands! First of all, I'm going to have you break your own neck!!'

Shirai: 'I... I just followed Iwabuchi's orders... together with Moriyama...'

Nishi: 'You forced my father... to commit... suicide...'

Shirai: '... Oh, no... I just...'

Nishi: 'Tell the truth!! . . . ' (Ba: 180)

Shirai's unmarked first person referent to Nishi is most probably *boku*. This is what he is using on pages 40-41 of the scenario, where, to his amazement, he is picked up from the street by Nishi. He is also still addressing Nishi by using *kimi* (unmarked). It seems he does not yet understand what is going on, and this is the reason he is still employing his usual *boku-kimi* pair when talking to Nishi. However, on page 42, he is shown to change to more formal variants, *watashi* and *anata*. This shift takes place only after Nishi has explained him his objective to revenge his father's death and expose the corporation's illegal actions. Nishi threatens to kill Shirai, and this seems to trigger Shirai's switch to the more polite *anata* and *watashi*. Nishi's threatening stance is further underlined by his voice quality and nonverbal signs (e.g., his posture) which make Shirai take back a few steps in fear. He becomes extremely frightened and finally realises that he is no longer in a position to consider as Nishi his mere subordinate. Also, by switching to *anata* and *watashi*, he conveys more distance. He therefore appears to have converted from his initial footing as an amazed superior to that of a person entirely at Nishi's mercy. Moreover, the overall frame can be considered to have reversed from the normal company hierarchy context, with Shirai as Nishi's superior, to the opposite, with Shirai as Nishi's prisoner.

Example (14)

source: *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru*
speaker: **Tatsuo Iwabuchi**
listener: **Iwabuchi** (Tatsuo's father)

second person-designating terms employed by Tatsuo: *otoo-san* (2)
anata (5)

(14a)

Tatsuo: li kagen ni shite kudasai yo, otoo-san.
Iwabuchi: Nan da, ittai?
Tatsuo: Nishi ni abunai shigoto o yaraseru no wa, yamete hoshii na.
... (W: 48)

Tatsuo: 'Come now, Father, won't you stop it?!'
Iwabuchi: 'What the hell are you talking about?'
Tatsuo: 'I want you to stop sending Nishi out on dangerous jobs.'
... (Ba: 193-194)

(14b)

Iwabuchi: ... Omae-tachi... nan da?
Tatsuo: Ryoojuu o motte kureba yokatta.
Iwabuchi: Nani.
Tatsuo: Juu o motteitara anata o uteta no ni, to iu n da.
Iwabuchi: ...Baka na ... omae...
Tatsuo: Mite kudasai, kono Yoshiko o... Anata wa, Nishi o korosu to dooji ni kono
Yoshiko made koroshita!
...
Tatsuo: Chikayoru na!! Yoshiko wa moo anata no musume ja nai!! Boku mo, moo anata
no musuko ja nai!! Futari tomo, nido to anata no kao wa mitakunai!! Sore o ii ni
kita n da. (W: 68)

Iwabuchi: '... What do you two want?'
Tatsuo: 'I wish I had brought my hunting rifle.'
Iwabuchi: 'What?!'
Tatsuo: 'I mean that if I had my rifle with me, I could shoot you down right here.'
Iwabuchi: '... You idiot!!'
Tatsuo: 'Look at Yoshiko... Just at the moment you killed Nishi, you killed Yoshiko too!'
...
Tatsuo: 'Stay away from her!! Yoshiko is no longer your daughter!! And I am no longer
your son!! Neither of us ever want to see your face again!! That's what I came
here to say.' (Ba: 231)

Tatsuo usually addresses his father with the kinship term 'father', *otou-san*. This is undoubtedly his unmarked second person-designating form. As has been pointed out earlier on several occasions, one is usually not allowed to address one's parents (or other older relatives) with second person pronouns. Instead, kinship terms should be used. However, on page 68 of the scenario we have an example of a son calling his own father *anata*. This marked pronoun underlines the unusualness of the situation: Tatsuo is in a rage, since he has just learnt that his father had Yoshiko's (his sister's) husband Nishi killed. Yoshiko herself, who is in a state of shock, can hardly stand on her feet and does not utter a word. Tatsuo accuses his father of the murder and swears that, if only he had a gun, he would shoot him. This is where he makes use of *anata* for the first time. He also tells his father that he no longer considers himself as his son. So, he has no reason to call him 'father' anymore. As was already seen in the previous example, *anata* also functions as a marker of increased psychological distance. Tatsuo wants to distance himself and Yoshiko from their father, who is capable of such horrible acts. His use of the second person pronoun *anata* when addressing his father is in accordance with what is pointed out by Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990: 753, fn. 6): "A son or daughter, even if grown . . . can use [*anata*] to address the parents only at the risk of appearing to treat them as strangers." Accordingly, Tatsuo adopts the footing of an enraged accusator and a break in the overall frame is apparent: he no longer speaks as his father's son. The father-son relationship exists no more.

Example (15)

source: *Karumen Junjoosu*
speaker: **Sudoo** (artist)
listener: **Carmen** (stripper, Sudoo's model)

Example (16)

source: *Karumen Junjoosu*
speaker: **Carmen**
listener: **Sudoo**

first person-designating terms employed by Carmen: *(w)atakushi* (6)
atai (1)

second person-designating terms employed by Carmen: *sensee* (4)
anata (3)

(16a)

Carmen: Kore minna anata ga tsukutchau n de gozaimasu ka?²⁰
Sudoo: Maa ne.
Carmen: Nante suteki kashira! Ii wa! Utareru wa. Ja anata mo atai to onaji geejutsuka
desu wa ne.
... (K: 77)

Carmen: 'Have you made all these?'
Sudoo: 'Well, kind of.'
Carmen: 'Oh, how wonderful! I am flabbergasted, so, you and I, we are both artists.'

(16b)

Sudoo: Asoko no densha doori no toko de ii n daroo.
Carmen: Mada jikan ga aru kara, sensee no iku toko made itchaimasu. . . .
Sudoo: Ja, mata ashita no asa kite kure.
Carmen: Honto ni atakushi, isogimasen no, sensee, o-okuri shimasu wa.
Sudoo: Moo kekkoo da yo.
Carmen: Doozo, irashite kudasai, atakushi, doraibu no tsumori de nottemasu kara.
Carmen: Sensee, mada o-hitori deshoo.
Sudoo: Soo da yo.
... (K: 83-84)

Sudoo: 'Is it ok [if I let you out] at that tramway?'
Carmen: 'I've still got time, I'll go all the way with you. . . .'
Sudoo: 'So, please come again tomorrow morning.'
Carmen: 'No, I'm serious, I'm not in a hurry, sir, I'll take you [home] all the way.'
Sudoo: 'Thanks, but it's quite enough already.'

²⁰ Note the awkward combination of the colloquial verb form *tsukutchau* and the honorific *de gozaimasu*. It is evident that Carmen does not master the honorific register.

Carmen: 'Please, go on, I just think of it as a nice ride.'
Carmen: 'Sir, you're still single, I guess.'
Sudoo: 'That's right.'

...

(16c)

...
Carmen: Atakushi mo ashita kara gozenchuu dake baree o yari ni iku n desu.
Sudoo: Hoo, kookyuu da ne.
Carmen: Moo jidai wa baree desu... Anata ni maken yoo ni, ganbarimasu. (K: 102)

...
Carmen: 'I am also going to start doing ballet in the morning from tomorrow on.'
Sudoo: 'Wow, that's high class.'
Carmen: 'Now it is time for ballet... I'll be working hard to match you.'

As the social relationship between Carmen and Sudoo is modified, Carmen's address terms towards Sudoo change accordingly: On page 77 of the scenario she is still addressing Sudoo with *anata*, but she replaces this second person pronoun by *sensee* (lit. 'teacher') after having started modelling for him. However, *anata* appears again on page 102. This usage seems to mark the end of the temporary artist-model relationship. As a matter of fact, Carmen's career as Sudoo's model turns out to be rather short. On page 102 she announces her future plans to Sudoo: she will start practicing ballet and she wishes to become a "real" artist herself. (Previously she was working as a stripper.) For her, there is no need to employ *sensee* anymore. On the contrary, she wishes to become Sudoo's equal in the world of art and signals this equality (and regained distance) by switching back to *anata*. (Sudoo, however, uses *kimi* to Carmen until the end.) These changes can therefore be considered to reflect shifts in the overall frame of the relationship between Carmen and Sudoo: from strangers to an artist-model relationship and further on to equal artists.

Carmen's first person pronouns shift correspondingly, except that she does not change back to the less formal *atai* anymore after the end of the artist-model relationship. During and after the artist-model relationship she uses the more formal and polite personal pronoun(s) (*w*)*atakushi*.

6.5.3.4. Mismatch of interactive frames

Finally, let us have a look at one more example which exhibits still another interesting characteristic of conversational interaction, namely, mismatch of interactive frames. Without realising it, interactants may be adjusting their behaviour to different frames. This mismatch can, of course, become apparent to the participants at some point of the interaction, or, it may as well not. In our final example, example (17), both Joshi and Carmen go on with their conversation unaware of the fact that Joshi is, in fact, mistaking Carmen for another woman. Although, in this example, the mismatch of frames does not lead to friction between the two parties, things do not always go as smoothly. As Tannen and Wallat (1993: 69) point out, sometimes "conflicts can arise when participants are oriented toward different interactive frames, or have different expectations associated with frames".

Example (17)

source: *Karumen Junjoosu*
speaker: **Joshi** (Carmen's employer's fiancée's mother)
listener: **Carmen**

second person-designating terms employed by Joshi: *anta* (1)
omae (4)

(17a)

Joshi: (looking at Carmen) Anta kono aida no hito da wa ne.
Carmen: Haa, arigatoo gozaimashita. (K: 101)
Joshi: 'You're the one who was here the other day, aren't you?'
Carmen: 'Oh, yes, thank you for that.'

(17b)

Carmen: Nan no koto desu ka?
Joshi: Maa, akireta... Ano tegami wa nan desu?
(Carmen looks down.)
Joshi: Daitai omae nanka suterareta tte atarimae ja nai ka...

Carmen: E?

Joshi: Mibun ga chigau n da yo, mibun ga... Sudoo-san o nan da to omotteru n dai...

Carmen: Atakushi, sonkee shiteru n desu.

...

Carmen: Atakushi, ano hito ga sukina dake desu...

Joshi: Tondemo nai, omae nanka ni sukarete tamaru mon kai... Hajime kara omocha ni sareta n da yo. . . .

...

Joshi: Moo ippen nen oshitoku kedo, hontoo ni tegirekin wa iranai no kai...

Carmen: Sonna mono, irimasen.

Joshi: Ja ittoku kedo ne, ano hito ga ikura omae ni aitagatte mo, ai ni itcha ikenai yo.

Carmen: E? (looks up) Atakushi ni?

Joshi: Onna to geejutsu wa ude da soo da yo, honki ni shicha ikenai yo...

Carmen: Aa, ureshii wa.

Joshi: Henna ko da yo, watashi wa wakarero tte itteru n da yo, omae nanka ga soba ni kuttsuitetara, ano hito no shusse no samatage ni mo naru n da. . . . (K: 105-106)

Carmen: 'What did you want to talk about?'

Joshi: 'Well, I am astonished... What is that letter all about?'
(Carmen looks down)

Joshi: 'Wasn't it to be expected that he would get rid of somebody like you?'

Carmen: 'Huh?'

Joshi: 'Your status is completely different, your social status... What do you think Mr. Sudoo is?'

Carmen: 'I respect him.'

...

Carmen: 'I only love him...'

Joshi: 'That's absurd. It would be absolutely impossible for him to fall in love with somebody like you... You were only his toy right from the beginning. . . .'

...

Joshi: 'I'm going to make sure once more, so you really don't want to take any consolation money...?'

Carmen: 'I don't need anything like that.'

Joshi: 'And I want you to know that, no matter how much he would like to see you, you'll stay away.'

Carmen: 'What? See me?'

Joshi: 'He seems to be skilled in women and art, so you should not take it too seriously...'

Carmen: 'Oh, I'm so happy.'

Joshi: 'You're really a strange girl. I'm telling you that you must separate, if somebody like you should hold on to him, it would be disastrous for his career too. . . .'

Joshi first addresses Carmen with the second person pronoun *anta*. This happens in the beginning in presence of other people. However, when they are alone, as depicted on page 106 of the scenario, Joshi switches to the less polite *omae* (17b). On page 106 Joshi has realised

that Carmen has actually become a nuisance for her. Her daughter Chidori is supposed to marry Sudoo, the painter for whom Carmen was going to model, but now he seems to be interested in Carmen instead. Joshi finds this situation completely unacceptable, and on page 106 she is trying to offer money to Carmen so that she would stay away from Sudoo. Joshi seems to want to emphasise the social differences between her (and Chidori and Sudoo) and Carmen by making use of *omae* frequently: Carmen, being a former striptease artist, comes from a much lower social class, and she should never think that she would be able to marry somebody like Sudoo. Joshi makes her point even more clear by employing the combination *omae + nanka* (three times), literally 'somebody like you'. She wants to put Carmen back in the place where she belongs, the lower classes. Thus Joshi adopts the footing of a dominating social superior who is trying to persuade Carmen to get out of the life of her daughter's future husband.

In reality, there has been a small misunderstanding, and Joshi is mixing Carmen up with another girl, namely, Sudoo's former mistress who is claiming to have given birth to Sudoo's baby. To Joshi's surprise, Carmen, being the wrong girl, displays extremely docile and humble behaviour and she has no demands. In the end, Carmen refuses the money Joshi is offering her, but promises to leave Sudoo alone. Hence in this scene, we are, in fact, witnessing a conflict resulting from a mismatch of frames which, in turn, is due to the fact that Joshi mistakes Carmen for another person. Joshi is expecting a fierce battle, and she is even willing to offer Carmen a large amount of money so that she would leave Sudoo alone. However, Carmen refuses her money and shows no intention to battle over Sudoo. Neither she nor Joshi realises that there has actually been a mistake and their frames (and knowledge schemas) are not matched. The mismatch goes unnoticed, and both parties seem confused. They do not seem to understand what is going on.

With the above examples, gathered from a total of five Japanese films, I attempted to describe how changes in such discourse elements as first and second person-designating terms can be considered to mark frame and footing shifts in Japanese discourse. However, as mentioned previously, they are naturally not the only elements performing this function. Verb forms are also often used to indicate frame shifts. Other lexical choices are relevant as well,

and, on the paralinguistic level, intonation, tone and rhythm of speech, laughter, and the like, also provide valuable cues for the task of working out what is actually going on.

7. Conclusion--Findings and future prospects

The purpose of this study was to look at overt first and second person-designating terms occurring in Japanese conversation from a pragmatic perspective. The analysed data included varying terms, such as personal pronouns, proper names, (professional) titles, kinship terms, status terms, and so forth. Analysis of personal pronouns and other overt person-designating terms in spoken Japanese is an area of Japanese linguistics which has been neglected in the past. Previous studies tend to concentrate on static sociolinguistic factors (e.g., age, sex, social status) related to these terms, or they focus on the anaphoric functions of pronouns to the detriment of their roles as indexical indicators of persons. The present study demonstrates that putting too much emphasis on anaphora is often misleading if one tries to comprehend how personal pronouns are actually used in spoken discourse in relation to terms belonging to other categories. What should be stressed instead is their deictic component and the communicative roles they (and other terms) play in processes of face-to-face interaction. This is the approach adopted in the present investigation. Selecting one term rather than another from a paradigmatic set generates meaning, which is the reason person-designating terms lend themselves to tactical and strategic uses. Although it is generally advanced that the Japanese have a tendency to conform to their nearly automatic *wakimae* (discernment), this constation should not rule out the possibility of strategic exploitation.

It is common knowledge that subjects and many other linguistic elements which are normally present in European languages, for example, are often ellipted in Japanese. This has generated a multitude of studies focusing on ellipsis, a phenomenon which has lead a number of researchers to downgrade the roles of overt person-designating terms in Japanese. Another factor in this downgrading process has been the promotion of the *uchi/soto* 'in-group/out-group' distinction as the Japanese equivalent for the category of 'person'. It is, of course, true that in many cases the *uchi/soto* distinction, encoded, for example, in verbs of giving and receiving, makes overt reference to speech participants unnecessary. However, this does not make overt person-designating terms completely redundant. On the contrary, as demonstrated

in the present study, it is important to consider the functions these terms have in face-to-face interaction, such as common casual conversation. It was shown that these functions can be analysed solely in *specific contexts*, because meanings linked to the use of person-designating terms are created in the *interaction* between speech participants. While formalists are mainly interested in the structural properties of language and the independent nature of meaning, this kind of pragmatic and interactionalist approach, by contrast, looks at meanings from a totally different perspective. They are not seen as something stable and objective, rather, they are constantly shifting, created and interpreted by interactants in specific contexts.

Moreover, rather than overemphasising the fact that *uchi/soto* boundaries are constantly shifting in Japanese discourse, it should not be forgotten that, depending on the context, there is also continuous shifting of boundaries between *group* and *individual* indexicality (cf. also Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 156). While group indexicality can often be associated with formal speech and the public sphere, individual indexicality relates to more informal speech styles and the private domain. This constation, in turn, provides an attractive link to theories of politeness. Although Japanese, with its wide variety of polite expressions, is generally considered to be a language displaying characteristics of negative politeness, among in-group members, by contrast, there is a preference toward positive politeness. In Japanese, positive politeness is evidenced in casual conversation for example in numerous uses of particles and fillers, which "help create a casual, friendly discourse with pleasant emotional appeal to one's partner" (Maynard 1989: 31). To this, it can be added that in casual conversation also frequent direct reference to the second (and first) person can be interpreted as having the function of displaying the kind of "friendly directness" associated with positive politeness. These kinds of terms often appear without the topic marker *wa*.

Another point made in the present investigation concerns the categorisation and special status of first and second person terms with zero particles (i.e., without the topic marker *wa*). Because of the existence of this group, Braun's (1988) notions of syntactically bound forms (first and second person in this study) and syntactically free forms (second person) could be applied to the categorisation of the analysed terms only partially. It was demonstrated that from a pragmatic point of view, this dichotomy is not sufficient to account for Japanese spoken

discourse, which displays also an "intermediate" category of "*wa*-less" first and second person terms having both "bound form-like" and "free form-like" characteristics.

It has often been advanced that so-called personal pronouns do not differ syntactically or functionally from nouns in Japanese, and therefore they should not be considered as a separate category. However, a closer examination of the category of syntactically bound forms reveals that there are some distributional differences. If we distinguish a class of bound forms of first and second person terms from free forms and "intermediate" terms which occur without the topic marker, personal pronouns surface as a functionally relevant category. In comparison with nouns, they constitute the main type of overt first and second person reference terms employed as bound forms in Japanese discourse. The difference is particularly remarkable in the category of second person terms. It results mainly from the fact that a speaker, who is in a position to employ both personal pronouns and nouns in second person-designation (usually a social superior or equal), generally opts for the former in the case of bound forms and for the latter in the case of free forms (vocatives), a choice not available to socially inferior speakers under normal circumstances.

Another interesting finding is related to the location of overt first and second person terms in utterances. While the majority of these terms occur sentence-initially, which could perhaps be called the unmarked position, at least some sentence-middle and sentence-final (postposed) terms seem to be linked to specific expression types. For example, postposed second person terms occurring without the topic marker *wa* are often characteristic of evaluative sentences or reproaches, and sentence-middle free forms (vocatives) seem to be associated with an emphasis function. While practicing linguists generally tend to concentrate either on the analysis of formal properties of discourse elements without reference to pragmatic or communicative functions that might be involved, or on the examination of pragmatic or communicative functions without reference to formal properties, the aforementioned examples suggest that combining both aspects might actually be a more profitable approach. As Mühhausler and Harré (1990: 43) point out: "People use structures for this or that purpose and are not the passive bearers of, so to say, structure-producing machines." Some formal properties, such as the position of person-designating terms in sentences, may, in fact, be

linked to specific pragmatic functions. This finding offers support for the arguments of Shibamoto (1991: 100), who suggests that "an entirely new theoretical framework, characterized by a conceptual integration of how form and function interact in linguistic systems, will be needed fully to account for many of the long-standing, thorny problems of Japanese syntax". In the present study, it was shown how this approach can be helpful in understanding the occurrence of overt person-designating terms in Japanese conversation, whereas Shibamoto devotes her attention to sex-related variation in the ellipsis of *wa* and *ga*. However, applying the same approach to other problem areas of Japanese linguistics has not yet been accomplished. I believe that in order to do this, borrowing the words of Mühhausler and Harré (1990: 43), "the sharp contrast between syntax and pragmatics [needs to be] eroded".

Furthermore, addressing, with special focus on the pragmatic (communicative) functions of free forms of second person terms (vocatives) was one of the main themes of this study. Haverkate's (1984) typology was applied successfully to Japanese examples and a number of amendments and specifications were suggested. Following Haverkate's model, Japanese vocatives can be divided into four groups: (a) attention-getting devices (with various subcategories), (b) substitutes for specific illocutionary-function-indicating devices (with various subcategories), (c) allocutionary devices to bring about particular perlocutionary effects, and (d) (obligatory) honorific forms of address. Illustrative examples can be found in Japanese for all of these categories.

One suggested amendment to Haverkate's model in the present work was the substitution of the definition "allocutionary devices to bring about perlocutionary effects" of the vocative category (c) by "markers of frame and footing shifts". This suggestion concerns one of the most important points I wished to make, namely, the importance of the *dynamic* aspect of conversational interaction. As mentioned above, many of the "traditional" sociolinguistic studies tend to focus on the more static factors related to speaking (i.e., age, gender, status, etc.), thus neglecting its dynamic side. However, as demonstrated in this study, it is also the "moment-by-moment presentations of self as confident, definite, hesitant, shy, sincere, competent and so on" that need to be considered (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990: 95). It was

proposed that this dynamic property of spoken interaction can be best grasped by adopting the analysing methods of frame analysis. The concept of 'frame' refers to "what is occurring" or "what is going on" in any given situation. The interactants must be aware of within which frame an utterance is intended in order to be able to interpret it correctly. With the examples gathered from five Japanese films, I attempted to describe how changes from usual (unmarked) first and second person-designating terms to unusual (marked) terms can be considered to mark frame (and footing) shifts in Japanese discourse. Interestingly, shifts in frames appear to take place on at least three different levels, including frame-internal, frame-external and "overall" (social) frame levels. However, it should be kept in mind that although first and second person terms play an important role in frame (and footing) shifts, they are naturally not the only elements performing this function. In a language such as Japanese, which has a highly elaborated system for marking different levels of speech, verb forms are often used to indicate frame (and footing) shifts. Other lexical choices are also relevant, and, on the paralinguistic level, intonation, tone and rhythm of speech, laughter, and the like, also provide valuable cues for the task of working out what is actually "going on" in the context of speech. The interaction of all these elements is a fascinating area of Japanese linguistics that still needs further examination.

The purpose of this study was to give insight into pragmatic (communicative) functions of Japanese first and second person-designating terms occurring in spoken discourse. This task could not have been accomplished without reference to a number of linguistic areas. It is true that some of the questions raised in this investigation could be addressed only in a relatively superficial way, but since the starting point was the occurrence of first and second person terms *in general*, and not, for example, only their anaphoric functions, several quite diverse methods had to be applied and a multitude of areas explored in order to be able to sketch the picture that emerged. This leads me to the final conclusion--or rather, the final point I wish to make. As the division of linguistic research into various fields such as sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and discourse grammar, to name just a few, has led to the fragmentation of linguistic phenomena as well, rather than trying to form a coherent view of more general phenomena, linguists tend to stick to their "own field" neglecting the ideas, methods and results other

(linguistic) disciplines could offer. However, as this study (hopefully) demonstrates, one field is often not enough if one wishes to understand even such "simple" discourse elements as person-designating terms. I suspect that this applies to the study of the majority of linguistic phenomena--and to human interaction in general.

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Appendix

Questionnaire survey on the use of terms referring to the addressee (2nd pers.)

Informants: 24 university students in the Kansai area (12 male students and 12 female students)

When is it difficult to use a term referring to the addressee?

- When I don't know much about the addressee.
- When I don't know the addressee's position.
- When I don't know the addressee's profession/where the addressee is working.
- When I don't know what kind of a relationship I have with the addressee.
- When I meet the addressee for the first time.
- When I meet an older person for the first time (e.g., at a job interview, when I ask directions to an older person, etc.).
- When the addressee is older than me.
- When the addressee is a social superior.
- When the addressee appears to be the same age as me.
- When I don't know how old the addressee is.
- When I don't know/remember the addressee's name.
- When I'm not close to the addressee.
- When the addressee is a social superior with whom I have become somewhat close.
- On relatively formal occasions.
- When there are older people around.
- When there are other people (3rd person) around.
- When I dislike the addressee.
- When I meet a female friend I haven't seen in a long time accidentally in the street.
- When the addressee is a public servant.
- When I talk to the parents of my friends and acquaintances.
- When I talk to my parents' friends.
- When I talk to my friends' boy or girl friends.
- When I talk to elder relatives I usually don't meet that often (e.g., cousins).
- When I have to talk to addressees in shops or at the hair dresser's/beauty parlor.
- When I talk to members of the same (university) club.
- When I talk to people who are taking the same class with me.

How do you avoid using a term referring directly to the addressee?

- I use expressions such as *sumimasen*, *mooshiwake arimasen*, *osore irimasu ga*, *chotto*, *anoo*, *etto*.
- I become humble and use quite honorific terms to the addressee.
- I use terms referring to the addressee's position/status.
- I use *anata*, *sochira*, and the like.
- I point at the addressee with my hand and use *sochira no kata* and *kochira no kata*.
- I use for example fictive kinship terms to older persons (e.g., *oji-san*, *oba-san*) and *x-kun* to children.
- I use plural terms (*fukusuu o sasu yobikata*).
- I try to do my best and make a guess.
- I use pronouns such as *jibun* together with *keigo*.
- I have to avoid terms which could hurt the addressee's pride or which could sound too rough (*kitsuku*) and unsympathetic (*omoiyari no nai*) to the addressee.

- With an addressee who is my age or younger than me, I use nonverbal communication: touch him/her on the shoulder, look him/her in the eyes, and so on.
- I try to avoid situations like that.
- I pretend that I don't hear the addressee.
- I use social conventions, i.e., start talking about the weather, etc.
- I change the subject.

When is it difficult to choose how to refer to the addressee?

- When I don't know the addressee.
- When I don't know the addressee's name.
- When I meet the addressee for the first time.
- When I don't know a social superior's name nor position.
- When the addressee is about my age and I meet him for the first time.
- When the addressee is older than me.
- When the addressee is younger than me.
- When I don't know how old the addressee is.
- When someone I thought was younger than me turns out to be older.
- When someone I thought was older than me turns out to be younger.
- When I talk to family friends.
- When I address a friend of a friend.
- When I talk to a close friend.
- When I talk to a friend who is not that close.
- When I talk to my friends' boy or girl friends who are either my age or younger than me.
- When I talk to a child accompanied with his/her mother, but I cannot figure out whether the child is a boy or a girl (*boku* or *ojochan*).
- When I talk to someone to whom I always use a nickname in presence of social superiors.
- On formal occasions.
- When I know only the addressee's nickname.
- When my relationship has turned sour with the addressee or when I have a fight with him.
- When I have become closer with someone than before.
- When the relationship is not yet that close (*chuutohanpa*).
- When I talk to my peers of the same age at the (university) club.
- When I talk to my cousins.
- When someone suddenly becomes my addressee.
- When I don't know the addressee's name and he is someone between *otchan* and *oniisan*, but I don't know which term to choose.
- When the addressee is an unknown middle-aged woman (I don't know whether to use *obasan* or *obaasan*).
- When I don't know whether the addressee is a male or a female.

What kind of information can help you make your choice in the abovementioned situations?

- Name.
- Age (who is older, who is younger).
- The relationship with me.
- The (nick)name which is generally used to him/her by others, friend's nickname.
- The attitude the addressee has towards me.
- Experience.
- The addressee is someone I know.
- The relationship with my parents.
- Company, position at the company, status.
- The addressee's character, background.
- Sex.

- Family relationship.
- Degree of closeness.

Are you influenced in your choice by the term the addressee is using to you?

- Yes, I am.
- I am very much influenced by that. It helps me understand what kind of attitude the addressee has towards me and what he thinks about me.
- If the addressee uses a nickname to me, I'll use a nickname to him.
- If I am called *kimi*, *omae*, *xx* (*yobisute*) and the like, I can conclude that the addressee is older than me or that he has a higher status than me. And if, on the contrary, the addressee uses an honorific term to me, I know that he is either younger than me or my *koochai*.
- Depending on how the addressee calls me, I can estimate the degree of closeness.
- I am not (that) influenced.
- If I am called with *yobisute* or nickname I feel closer to the addressee than when called with *xx-san*.
- I can judge whether to use colloquial style or formal (*katai*) style.