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Attunement in interaction: Sequential use of Japanese honorifics

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Fall 2005

Attunement in interaction: Sequential use of Japanese honorifics

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Fall 2005

Abstract

Attunement in interaction: Sequential use of Japanese honorifics

by

Makiko Takekuro

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Robin T. Lakoff, Chair

This dissertation examines the sequential use of Japanese honorifics in social interaction. It attempts to find a language in which to talk about unexpected or atypical uses of Japanese honorifics in social interaction. As an account for atypical uses of Japanese honorifics, I introduce the concept of “attunement” to mean a participant’s fine-tuned coordination with others in social relations, both linguistically and non-linguistically. This dissertation shows that attunement is one recurrent pattern in Japanese native speakers’ acts of honorific usage.

In social interaction, participants tend to choose honorifics or non-honorifics sequentially, in order to maximize the effect of attunement, particularly when conventions or social expectations are suspended. For example, when one participant changes footing (Goffman 1974), by suddenly including an unexpected honorific form from the prior context of interaction, it triggers attunement sequences of the same honorific forms in other interlocutors’ speeches. It contributes to the emergence and maintenance of the newly established sequences in the middle of interaction. In dynamic processes of interaction, co-present

participants respond to and adjust each other's honorific usage in the course of interaction. The conditions for the usage of Japanese honorifics do not depend exclusively on relatively fixed properties of context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' social status or group membership, or the lack of intimacy among interlocutors). Current interlocutors' use or non-use of honorifics is motivated by previous interlocutors' use or non-use of honorifics, while influencing subsequent interlocutors' use or non-use of honorifics. Relevant context for Japanese honorific usage is not pre-structured but arises spontaneously in response to prior utterances. Honorifics together with other speech forms are used as a means of achieving attunement as a goal of social relations and interaction.

In this dissertation, attunement is regarded not as a product of application by a specific or formal rule, but rather as interactive ends to successful communication and better interpersonal relationships. The notion of attunement presented in this dissertation enables us to consider how human beings use linguistic resources to adopt themselves to changing and unpredictable circumstances, and to connect to others.

Professor Robin T. Lakoff
Dissertation Committee Chair

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Notes on orthographic convention

1. The style of Romanization in Japanese is Hepburn.
2. Macrons indicate long vowels. However, macrons are omitted in commonly used words: e.g., Tokyo rather than Tōkyō.
3. Each vowel is pronounced separately: e.g., *ai* (love) is pronounced, *a-i*.
4. Double consonants are held in a staccato.

Attunement in Interaction: Sequential Use of Japanese Honorifics

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

This dissertation is an investigation of interactive uses of Japanese honorifics. It is an investigation of referential features of honorifics as well as an ethnographic description of speech in which honorific forms are interlinked with other aspects of social context in interaction. I examine linguistic facts together with non-linguistic aspects of social and interactive knowledge, thereby helping to build a bridge between speech and social relations. My goals are threefold: 1) to find a language in which to talk about atypical routine uses of honorifics in interactive contexts; 2) to explore the extent to which the use of honorifics depends on modes of co-engagement among participants such as speakers, addressees, bystanders, overhearers, and audience; and 3) to demonstrate how human beings use linguistic resources to connect to others and are influenced by others' linguistic cues in interaction. Although I am discussing meanings of Japanese honorifics in interactive contexts, my concern is not limited to the ways in which speakers of Japanese use honorifics. My central concern here is to see what human beings attempt to achieve interactionally through the use of linguistic resources such as honorifics.

Japanese honorifics have been described based on relatively fixed properties of social context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' hierarchical relation in age and status, the lack of interlocutors' familiarity, or *soto* 'outgroup')

relations as opposed to *uchi* ‘ingroup’ relations) (Harada 1976; Hinds 1978; Ide 1989; Shibatani 1990; Sukle 1994) or speakers’ linguistic ideologies (Okamoto 1997, 2002; Pizziconi 2003). A collection of examples in this dissertation makes it clear that these currently available accounts of Japanese honorific usage cannot provide adequate explanations of atypical uses of honorifics. Each example that I present in this dissertation illustrates a different set of problems. As an alternative account for atypical uses of Japanese honorifics, I introduce the concept of “attunement” to mean a participant’s fine-tuned coordination with others in social relations, both linguistically and non-linguistically. My notion of attunement is based on the observation that participants engaged in interaction use or do not use honorifics, in order to linguistically attune to others’ use or non-use of honorifics. I demonstrate dynamic and dialogic processes of interaction, in which co-present participants momentarily respond to and adjust each other’s speech in the course of interaction.

Honorifics

Honorifics are traditionally considered deictic forms of speech that signal social deference through conventionalized understandings of some aspects of the form-meaning relationship (Irvine 1995: 1, 1998: 52). Honorifics incorporate expressions of deference into a language’s grammatical rules. Languages like Japanese, Javanese, and Korean have honorific systems based on speech levels, in which registers are relatively discrete and form a graded series along a scale of respectfulness (Irvine 1995: 2). Languages that have no grammaticalized

honorific systems may still have honorific titles and terms of address such as personal pronouns and verb forms marking person. The most familiar examples of languages featuring pronominal honorification are European languages such as French, Russian, German, and Spanish. The term ‘honorifics’ is applied to a special set of lexical items or morphological affixes: pronouns, address terms, verbal endings, and speech levels. Honorific forms may coexist with nonhonorific equivalents, which, apart from the encoded expression of deference, are said to have the same semantic values. However, the meaning in honorific form is not simply the same as its nonhonorific counterpart (Agha 1993, 1994; Irvine 1995, 1998). There is a complex relationship between the two, as a description of Japanese honorifics in the next chapter will show.

My experience of honorifics in Japan since 1998

In 1998, I left Japan for the United States to continue my graduate studies in linguistics. In Berkeley, I used Japanese, but most of my interactions in Japanese were with fellow graduate students. In talking to them in Japanese, I occasionally used addressee honorifics (polite forms), but rarely used referent honorifics, which include respectful and humble forms, as will be explained in Chapter 2. Every six months, I made trips to Japan. There, I became self-conscious about my own speech, in particular, my use of honorifics. Whenever I spoke, I checked to see if I was using them correctly. I also paid attention to other people’s speech. I realized that honorifics were pervasive in Japanese linguistic practices. At service encounters, clerks used a lot of honorifics to customers. My old friends from high

school and college whom I thought were not using honorifics before sometimes used honorifics to me. When this happened in conversations with my close friends, I felt surprised and obliged to use the same or equivalent honorific forms back to them.

This and other similar experiences helped to develop my interest in honorific usage in Japanese interaction. They also made me question traditional explanations of Japanese honorifics, which I describe in detail later in this chapter. The traditional explanations did not provide a convincing account of honorific usage among my close friends who were engaged in casual and informal conversations.

Controversies over honorifics in Japan

Japanese honorifics have been controversial not only in *kokugogaku* (literally ‘national language studies,’ meaning ‘Japanese linguistics’) but also in Japanese society. In *kokugogaku*, many linguists romanticized honorifics, by saying that they manifest “a refined custom of deference for Japanese” (Yamada 1924) and “the thoughtfulness in our national character” (Matsushita 1925) (both translated by Wetzel 2004: 21). But some linguists mentioned that honorifics reflect an old hierarchical society, that is underdeveloped and undemocratic (Sumino 1951). Today, the general public has divided opinions concerning Japanese honorific usage. Some who are concerned about *midareta* (‘corrupted’) honorific usage in contemporary Japanese argue that honorifics signify the refinement of the traditional Japanese culture. Thus, they claim that honorifics

should be kept and used as before. Others argue that honorifics are no longer necessary in contemporary Japanese society. Honorifics are a negative legacy of old, hierarchical, and undemocratic social structures, thus should be simplified or abolished.

In twenty-first century Japan, radical changes in honorific usage are often mentioned. On October 30, 2003, the New York Times journalist Norimitsu Onishi reported a growing trend to drop honorifics in Japanese corporate culture. Onishi says that “[m]any Japanese companies, traditionally divided rigidly by age and seniority, have dropped the use of titles to create a more open - and, they hope, competitive - culture.” “The long economic slump has forced companies to abandon seniority in favor of performance, upsetting the traditional order,” which forced companies to discourage their employees from using “honorifics that Japanese have traditionally used toward an older person, a boss, a customer, a stranger.” Some companies adopt this new policy of dropping honorifics, so that it will “allow workers to exchange ideas more freely and make decisions more quickly.” Onishi quoted one female employee’s comment on the new linguistic policy in her company: “there is less distance and human relations have improved.” For many young Japanese, according to Onishi, using honorifics hinders innovation, openness, and personal touch in communication. For many older Japanese, not using honorifics means “losing the deep beauty of their language” and “the coarsening of the social culture,” bringing chaos to society. This article portrays honorifics as the linguistic system that symbolizes Japan’s rigidity and that traditionally supported Japan’s seniority- or hierarchy-based social structure.

Although honorifics are described as an emblem of cultural refinement, honorifics are also described as a linguistic system that hinders open communication, information disclosure, good human relations, and flexible attitudes to accept new ideas. In this article, the dropping of honorifics is interpreted as if it could create open-mindedness, equality-based social structure, quick decision-making, innovation, more intimacy in communication, and better human relations.

If honorifics were truly undemocratic and useless to users of the language or to the society, as implied in the article, they would have disappeared by now. But honorifics die hard in Japanese. This suggests that honorifics serve people's purposes. As I paid close attention to people's honorific usage, I became more and more convinced that honorific usage in many situations can be a solidarity-based, dynamic, and spontaneous phenomenon that promotes close, intimate, and flexible communication. Hence, it is important to investigate why and under what circumstances honorifics are interpreted as markers of distance, power, and inequality, as opposed to markers of closeness, solidarity, and equality.

Natives' linguistic insecurity about Japanese honorific usage

Native speakers of Japanese believe that honorifics must be used correctly and grammatically at all times. When I say I am writing my dissertation about Japanese honorifics, most native speakers under age forty who are not linguists say, "Please tell me how to use honorifics correctly" or "I am embarrassed that my speech is full of mistakes in honorific use." Non-linguist native speakers over age forty say "You should write a dissertation that teaches young people how to use

honorifics properly.” Many native speaker linguists ask me “What do you think of *keigo shiyō no midare* (‘corruption of honorific usage’) in the speech of young speakers?”. These metalinguistic comments on Japanese honorifics suggest that their concern is consistently whether the use of honorifics is right or wrong. This in part has to do with the complex grammatical constructions of Japanese honorifics, as described in the next chapter. Additionally, it has to do with the fact that people judge others’ personalities based on the degree to which honorifics are used “correctly” and “grammatically.” As a result, speakers of Japanese, in particular, younger ones, have developed a strong sense of linguistic insecurity about their honorific usage.

As presented in natives’ metalinguistic commentaries, honorifics have been the main concern in studies of Japanese. A large literature has investigated conscious beliefs about Japanese honorific usage (Hill et al. 1986; Hori 1986; Ogino et al. 1985; Ogino 1986). A growing number of researchers have attempted to clarify the complexities of deployment of honorifics in actual social situations (Ikuta 1983; Suple 1994; Cook 1996, 1999; Maynard 1993, 1997; Okushi 1997; Okamoto 1997, 1998; Matsumoto 2002). Nevertheless, honorific usage remains difficult not only for second language learners of Japanese but also for many native speakers of Japanese (Wetzel and Inoue 1999). As Wetzel (2004) describes, numerous handbooks, guides, and “how-to” materials on Japanese honorifics are published, but they are of little help to meet with speakers’ practical needs and solve their linguistic insecurity.

Traditional accounts of Japanese honorifics

Japanese honorifics have been much discussed in the literature of *kokugogaku* ('national language studies'), *nihongogaku* ('Japanese language studies'), Japanese dialectology and sociolinguistics. Japanese scholars have traditionally explained Japanese honorific usage as determined by the following dimensions: 1) formality of the speech situation; 2) addressees' higher social status (e.g. age or rank); 3) the lack of intimacy among interlocutors; and 4) interlocutors' membership in *uchi* ('ingroup') and *soto* ('outgroup') (Motoori 1790; Yamada 1924; Sakuma 1940; Tokieda 1940, 1941; Ōishi 1975; Miyachi 1983; Minami 1987; Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; Shibata 1988; Tsujimura 1992; Kikuchi 1994).

Interactional sociolinguists have attempted to describe the subtle and dynamic system of Japanese honorifics, investigating the data of conscious beliefs and social stereotypes about honorific use (Ide 1982, 1989, 1990; Ogino et al. 1985; Hill et al. 1986; Hori 1986; Sanada 1993; Wetzel 1994b) and the actual data of usage (Ikuta 1983; Smith 1992; Okamoto 1995, 1997; Wetzel 1994a; Cook 1996, 1999; Matsumoto 2002; Sunaoshi 2004).

Concerning the conditions for Japanese honorific usage, some of the studies argue that honorific usage in Japanese is based on either social norms or a speaker's strategic choice. For present purposes, I call the former one the "social-norm based account" (cf. Fraser 1990: 21) and the latter the "speaker-centric account." The former account emphasizes determinate structures of Japanese honorific usage, while the latter focuses on the creativity of individual speakers. In the rest of this section, I provide a brief overview of these two accounts of Japanese honorific

usage. I will question the claim that honorific usage reflects either one.

The social-norm based account

In the social-norm based account, the main principle regulating Japanese pragmatics (including honorific usage) is a desire to conform to the “expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities” (Ide 1989: 225). This aspect of language use, termed *wakimae* (‘discernment’), was originally proposed as an aspect of Japanese politeness neglected in Brown and Levinson’s (1987[1978]) framework (Hill et al. 1986; Ide 1989). In native Japanese terminology, *wakimae* literally means “to discern the goodness and badness of the matter” or “to know rules of polite conduct.” The notion of *wakimae* is introduced to illustrate an aspect of language use that is regulated by social conventions as opposed to the interactional strategic basis that Brown and Levinson proposed. *Wakimae* is “oriented mainly toward the wants to acknowledge the ascribed positions or roles of the participants as well as to accommodate to the prescribed norms of the formality of particular settings” (Ide 1989: 231). In Ide’s sense, *wakimae* is knowing the prescribed norms that exist in people’s consciousness, as a system like grammar that people must share in order to understand each other. Having *wakimae* makes speakers obligatorily use formal forms of language, such as pronouns, address terms, ritualistic speech formulae, and honorifics, in situations in which a speaker should show deference to an addressee who is of higher status or worthy of respect, or in a formal setting. Thus, in some social contexts, honorific usage is sociopragmatically obligatory

(ibid.: 227). Based on *wakimae*, Japanese honorific usage is expected to show a mapping with social context that is reduced to the relatively fixed properties mentioned earlier. The social-norm based account entails the (mis)conception that the social dimensions causally determine honorific usage in Japanese, since participants share *wakimae*, manifested as a continual concern over the norms of language use.

In generalizing honorific use in terms of *wakimae* or the transcendent social norms that preexist it, the social-norm based account of Japanese honorific usage implies one-to-one correspondences between linguistic form and contextual variables. Talking about honorific usage on the basis of fixed properties of social context is in a sense similar to the way in which earlier studies of honorifics in European and American scholarship treated honorifics (Brown and Gilman 1972[1960]; Brown and Levinson 1987[1978]). In their study of pronominal honorification, Brown and Gilman (1972[1960]) present historical developments in the two-way pronominal contrast in European languages between the T form (e.g. French *tu*, Russian *ты*, German *du*) and the V form (e.g. French *vous*, Russian *вы*, German *Sie*) based on two universal and functional dimensions, *power* and *solidarity*. In their power-and-solidarity model of pronominal usage, the pronoun choice primarily reflects social context and social ideologies influence usage across society. From their “reflectionist” (Silverstein 1976, 1979; Irvine 1995: 18) point of view, language is seen as acting within an independently established social world and as reflecting that world.

In their work on universals of linguistic politeness, Brown and Levinson

(1987[1978]) see honorifics as “frozen” outputs of politeness strategies that are “direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event” (179). However, if honorifics grammatically encode relative social status, as Agha (1994: 288) argues, it is difficult to explain speakers’ creativity in using them to alter interpersonal relationships and achieve special effects such as irony, sarcasm, or humor. In reviewing the literature on honorifics, Irvine (1995: 18) also claims that in equating the distribution of honorifics and other linguistic forms with their meaning, most reflectionist studies view patterns of language use as direct reflections of social context and assume a one-to-one relationship between linguistic form and social context. The problem with these studies is that they pay little attention to the complexities of the system’s deployment.

An account of honorific usage based on relatively fixed properties of social context can give guidelines and motivations for expected action, particularly in hypothetical and context-free situations. If all of language use were purely rule-governed, honorific usage would also operate in the canonical way that properties of context would predict. In saying this, I do not entirely invalidate the account. However, a large class of honorific usage does not operate in that way. One reason is that properties of social context are not clearly present in many situations. A formal situation (a wedding reception, parliament discussion, conference presentation, faculty meetings, or tea ceremony) entails distinct settings, procedures, and participants. Participants’ relationships can be ambiguous, too. One may talk to someone who is younger in age but much higher in social ranking.

As Hymes (1986) argues, speakers do not perceive context uniformly and do not use honorifics uniformly. Moreover, honorific usage is greatly influenced by local contextual factors such as interlocutors' emotions and affinities (Friedrich 1972). The social-norm based account grounded on fixed properties of social context leaves little room for the expressive use of the speaker's assessment of the local speech context. It does not provide an explanation for interactants' behavior under real conditions and why they do different things than usual on a specific occasion.

Most of interactional sociolinguistic research on Japanese honorifics assumes that fixed properties of context explains Japanese honorific uses and treats all uses of honorifics as departures from normative patterns. As a result, we leave many actual uses of honorifics unexplainable.

The speaker-centric account

Researchers who base their claims on their observations of honorific usage in naturally-occurring conversations find the social-norm based account problematic. They use empirical data to show that honorific usage does not always follow the prescribed norm, and confirm the existence of significant variation across and within individual speakers (Maynard 1993; Okamoto 1995, 1997; Matsumoto 2002; Miyazaki 2002). In order to account for irregular and unexpected uses of honorifics, some of these scholars approach Japanese honorific use from an individual speaker's perspective (Okamoto 1995, 1997, 2002; Pizziconi 2003). I call this a *speaker-centric* account, because they argue that the

individual speaker ultimately determines the choice of linguistic form (Okamoto 2002: 102). In their view, variation among speakers and “deviant” uses of honorifics that they observed in their studies are due to each speaker’s different ideas about what the most appropriate choice of linguistic form should be in a given situation. They claim that the choice of linguistic form depends on an individual speaker’s “attitudes towards language use” and “linguistic ideologies” (Okamoto 1997: 809; Okamoto 2002: 102; Pizziconi 2003: 1499). Hence, different individuals may use honorifics differently (Okamoto 2002: 102). By making the individual speaker the ultimate decision maker of honorific usage, the speaker-centric account was attempting to overcome the problems of individual variation and non-normative uses of honorifics that the social-norm based account could not explain.

It seems to me, however, that the speaker-centric account relocates the operational center of honorific usage in the individual speaker’s psychology, instead of the fixed properties of context or the social norm in the other account. The speaker-centric account obscures the fact that the speaker is only one part of a social relationship. It underestimates the social relations among participants in communications. To claim that the speaker makes the ultimate decision about honorific usage is to say that social and interactive contexts revolve fundamentally around the individual speaker. They take little consideration of a participation framework that includes not only the speaker but also at least the addressee as well as other coordinates such as referents, bystanders, overhearers, and audience. The use of honorifics must apply to the entire participation framework, not just to the

speaking subject alone.

In critiquing both of these accounts, however, I neither make a claim that honorific usage in Japanese is not rule-governed, nor reject the speaker's agency. But available treatments are insufficient for many ambiguous and atypical cases of honorific usage. There is therefore a need for a different framework that is fine-grained and pragmatically revealing.

Problems of the traditional accounts of Japanese honorific usage

If honorific usage is not based on fixed properties of social context or the speaker's own psychology, how does the speaker use honorifics? In this section, I draw on examples that are relatively short exchanges between clerks and a customer at a supermarket. They show that honorific usage does not work in the way that the previous accounts would predict. By illustrating problems of the traditional accounts of honorific usage through actual examples, I suggest that honorific usage by the first speaker influences that of another in subsequent speech.

Sources of data include several interactional exchanges at a supermarket. In Japan, interaction at a supermarket is impersonal and perfunctory. Customers select items, line up to pay a cashier, pack items by themselves, and leave, very frequently without uttering a word. As opposed to customers who are silent, supermarket cashiers speak continuously. Cashiers are often trained to say *irasshaimase* ('welcome') or *omatase itashimashita* ('(I) made you wait'), sometimes name each item in scanning the bar code into computer, thank customers, and bow in handing receipts to them. Among four recordings collected at

supermarkets, three had no verbal exchanges on the customer's side. Only the one analyzed in this section includes several verbal exchanges between customers and clerks.

On July 29, 2003, I followed a woman named Kanako Yasuda all day and tape-recorded her conversations. Kanako is a 29-year-old professional woman, working for a computer company. At 7:30 p.m. she went to a supermarket located near her apartment in a residential neighborhood in Yokohama, a suburb of Tokyo. At the supermarket, clerks were busy trying to sell out all the fresh products before they closed the shop at 8 pm. Kanako first went to the vegetable section. There, a male supermarket clerk A, age 32, was rearranging packaged vegetables with stickers of "50 yen off" or "half price" and announcing that vegetables were at a discount, as in (1).

(1)¹ 1 Clerk A: *irasshaimase*

welcome:**POL**²

'Welcome.'

2 *tadaima kochira no zen shōhin*
right now this GEN all product

3 *oyasuku natte orimasu.*
HONP:cheap become:ADV **HUM**:**POL**
'Right now, all the products in here (are) cheaper.'

4 Kanako: *kore mo desu ka?* ((pointing at zucchinis))

¹ In all examples, I use pseudonyms for names.

² Transcription and gloss conventions are provided in Appendix A.

this also **COP:POL** Q
'Is this one also (cheaper)?'

5 Clerk A: *osore iri masu.*
fear enter **POL**
'(I'm) sorry.'

6 *sochira taishōgai to natte orimasu.*
it inapplicable QT become:ADV **HUM:POL**
'(I'm) afraid that (the discount) is inapplicable to that product.'

7 *mōshiwake gozaimasen.*
sorry **COP:SUPER.POL:NEG**
'(I'm) terribly sorry.'

8 Kanako: *a hai suimasen.*
oh yes sorry:**POL**
'Oh, yes, sorry.'

In lines 1 through 3, clerk A announced the discount time to customers, using *-masu* ending polite forms, an honorific prefix, and a humble form.³ For a while, Kanako was looking at zucchinis that were not packaged but sold in bulk with no discount sticker. In line 4, she asked clerk A if the zucchinis were cheaper than usual. Her utterance in line 4 was a complete sentence with the polite form of the copula *desu* and the question particle *ka*, both of which are often omitted in casual speech. Here Kanako shows alignment with clerk A by using the same speech forms that are categorized as polite forms. In lines 5 through 7, clerk A

³ A detailed description of these linguistic forms is provided in the next chapter.

apologized to Kanako, because the zucchinis were not discounted. This part of his speech includes two apologetic formulae, *osore iri masu* ('(I'm) afraid') in line 5 and *mōshiwake gozaimasen* ('(I'm) terribly sorry') in line 7, that both ended with polite forms, in addition to line 6 with the humble form *ori-* and the polite form *masu*. In clerk A's speech, all the predicates invariably take *-masu* and *-desu* endings, namely, polite forms of speech, as glossed. In line 8, Kanako acknowledged his comment and said *suimasen* 'sorry' in the *-masu* ending polite form.

In Kanako's interaction with clerk A, *-masu* and *-desu* ending polite forms are reciprocally used. The previous account of language use based on fixed properties of social context would explain their use of polite forms in interaction at a service encounter as a social norm for both clerk A and the customer. Clerk A and the customer are in an asymmetric relationship. The role of clerk A is to serve the customer and the customer is supposed to be served. Their asymmetric relationship required clerk A to use polite forms to the customer. Moreover, because they are unfamiliar with each other, the customer is supposed to use polite forms to the clerk as well. The social-norm based account would explain their reciprocal use of polite forms as based on their asymmetric relationship and lack of familiarity, both of which would mandate their use of polite forms, as if the only speech forms available to them. Indeed, Kanako is said to be the kind of person who would speak to any clerk at the supermarket in polite forms. The social-norm based account might appear sufficient to explain the use of polite forms in (1). However, it is not valid, as Kanako did not talk in polite forms with a different

clerk.

After talking to clerk A in (1), Kanako put some discounted vegetables but no zucchini into a shopping cart and moved to the fish section. There, another male clerk B, age 33, was putting ‘half price’ stickers on packages of fish. Kanako stood in front of a freezer box, looking at packages of sushi. Example (2) is her interaction with clerk B.

- (2) 1 Clerk B: *hai taimu s̄abisu ne*
yes time service SFP
‘OK, (it’s) a discount time!’
- 2 *dore demo ju p̄asento biki ne*
anything even ten percent discount SFP
‘Everything is discounted 10%.’
- 3 Kanako: *kono o-sushi mo?* ((pointing to sushi in boxes))
this HONP-sushi too
‘This sushi, too?’
- 4 Clerk B: *sore mo ne, sore sh̄iru tsuiteru?*
it too SFP it sticker put
‘That (is cheap), too. (Is there) a sticker (on it)?’
- 5 Kanako: *tsuitenai*
put.NEG
‘No (sticker on it).’
- 6 *docchi ga oishii kana*

which one SUB delicious SFP
'(I) wonder which one is more delicious.'

7 Clerk B: *kocchi kana*
this one SFP
'Probably, this one.'

8 Kanako: *jā kocchi* ((handing it to the clerk B for a discount sticker))
then this one
'Then, (I'll take) this one.'

In lines 1 and 2, clerk B announced that it was a discount time, while pasting the stickers on packages. The first two utterances in clerk B's speech ended with the sentence-final particle *ne*. Contrast clerk B's speech with clerk A's speech that always ended with polite forms. Clerk B's speeches did not contain any polite form. From my informal observation of clerk B, I noticed that he tends to speak to customers in plain forms. His speech with Kanako represented his usual speech style.

In line 3, Kanako asked clerk B a question, pointing to boxes of sushi with no stickers. Kanako's utterance in line 3 in (2) contrasts with her utterance in line 4 in (1). Both of her utterances were interrogatives with rising intonation. In both cases, Kanako was engaged in an interactional service exchange as a customer at the same supermarket. Her interlocutors were both male clerks of an age similar to Kanako's. Her relationship with them was the same. In (1), she used the polite form of the copula *desu*. In (2), her verbal predicate contains only a

plain form. Why did Kanako use the polite form in one interactive context and the plain form in nearly the same interactive context?

The one crucial difference between (1) and (2) was in the clerks' speech. Clerk A started his speech with polite forms, whereas clerk B started with plain forms. This difference could be due to individual variation in speech style, but it influenced Kanako's use of speech forms in her interactions with them. For example, if clerk B had used polite forms, she would have used polite forms back to him.

In line 3 in (2), even though Kanako could have used the polite form of the copula *desu* and the question marker *ka*, as she did in line 4 in (1), she did not use them. Kanako used plain forms, which showed alignment with the speech forms that her interlocutor used. In line 4, clerk B told her that the sushi was subject to discount and asked her whether there were stickers on the boxes of sushi. If clerk A were talking to Kanako, he would have said *shīru tsuite masu ka?* with the polite form *masu* and the question marker *ka*, unlike clerk B who said *shīru tsuiteru?* ('(does that) have a sticker?') in a plain form. In lines 5 and 6, Kanako talked to clerk B in plain forms. In line 7, clerk B told her his choice of sushi in a plain form. In line 8, Kanako decided to choose the one that clerk B recommended, again talking to him in a plain form.

Throughout their interaction, neither of them used polite forms but kept speaking with plain forms, unlike her previous exchange with clerk A. Even though certain properties of social context predict that she would use polite forms in (2), Kanako used the same speech forms as her interlocutors. Neither the

asymmetric relationship between clerk B and the customer nor their social distance of unfamiliarity explains Kanako's use of plain forms in (2). The only reason why she used plain forms instead of polite forms is that her speech was made to attune to her interlocutor's speech.

These examples present compelling evidence that speech can be influenced not simply by social norms, certain properties of social context, or the speaker's own ideology of language, but by an interlocutor's speech in spontaneous and socially engaging interaction. Therefore, attuning to the interlocutor should also operate as a principle guiding participants' behaviors.

When rules are broken: A case of finger-bowl etiquette

Before proposing an alternative account of Japanese honorific usage in the next section, I should discuss when and how people break normative rules of use. There is a strong tendency among native speakers of Japanese to regard honorific usage as strictly prescriptive and to judge one's honorific usage as either correct or incorrect. Generally speaking, following rules is effective and positively valued, while breaking them is perceived as a lack of manners or a misunderstanding of rules. But there are occasions when breaking rules becomes necessary and is excused. The anecdote that follows is one such case: emergency or face-saving is seen as more important than observing rules. Likewise, the normative rules of Japanese honorific usage that appear to be based on rigid grammatical and pragmatic constructions of the language may be violated in order to achieve better interaction.

In a formal Western meal, a small bowl filled with water may be placed on the table beside each plate. This “finger bowl” is used to wash the fingers during a meal. Any other use of the finger bowl, such as drinking the water, is a violation of table manners. But diners might also violate finger-bowl etiquette if they used the finger bowl in an unprescribed way. For example, when there is a fire on the table or when red wine is spilled, people may use the water. In situations like these, people would care less about the violation of table manners than about coping with the emergency.

There is an anecdote about anomalous finger-bowl use at the highest levels of European society. Once, a member of the British royal family was dining with a guest from a foreign country. The guest, unaware of finger-bowl etiquette, drank the water out of the finger bowl. While everyone at the table worried about what the royal would do, the royal quickly minimized the guest’s faux pas by drinking from his or her own finger bowl. Everyone else at the table followed his or her example. The royal of course knew how to use a finger bowl, but his or her concerns were to avoid embarrassing the guest and to make the guest feel comfortable. The royal broke the rule of using the finger bowl in order to save the guest’s face. Face-saving triumphs strict adherence to etiquette – itself a rule of etiquette.

This finger-bowl anecdote makes a similar point as Lakoff’s (1973, 1975) discussion of linguistic politeness in relation to Grice’s (1975) maxims of conversation. Lakoff (1973) says, “when clarity conflicts with politeness, in most cases, politeness supersedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to

avoid offense than to achieve clarity.” (297). In conversation, people may violate rules of conversation, in order to save the rules of politeness (303). In the case of Japanese honorific usage, there are rules shared by most communicatively competent speakers of Japanese. But on occasion these rules are broken but communications are successful when a greater goal is achieved. In the following chapters of this dissertation, I analyze some of these anomalous uses of Japanese honorifics.

Attunement in social interaction

Whether or not the anecdote in the previous section is true, it suggests several important aspects of human behavior. First, normative rules are not absolute: there are situations in which we have to break rules, particularly in dealing with emergencies, and preserving politeness. Second, in the anecdote, everyone’s behavior is emergent and reciprocal, based on requirements arising out of the current social interaction. Third, each person’s behavior is the responsibility not of that individual alone but of everyone present. Fourth, all who were present at the table had to pay attention to and respond to one other’s behavior. These points will form the basis of the theory of “attunement.”

I define attunement broadly as a participant’s fine-tuned coordination with others in social relations. It is omnipresent in both linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors. For example, attunement is seen in dancing or singing in a group: People move or stay in rhythm with others, by attuning themselves and their behaviors to others’ (cf. Erickson 1982). So the unit of production in attunement

is not a single actor but the momentary social relationship of all parties in the interaction. Attunement is not an egocentric phenomenon but is a socio-centric and relational by nature. As the finger-bowl anecdote shows, one guest's behavior has direct consequences for that of all the others. The fact that others notice, respond to, and adopt the guest's (mis)behavior suggests that they are paying close attentions to each other's behavior. Because they do so, the phenomenon of attunement is dynamic and emergent out of the interactive context as an outcome of mutual participation (Goffman 1974) by several individuals.

Attunement is about being on the same footing with others. By "footing," Goffman (1981) refers to the position or alignment of an individual. Consider the finger-bowl anecdote once again. By drinking the water out of the finger bowl as the guest does, the royal adapted the guest's (mis)behavior and placed him- or herself on the same footing as the guest. Rather than pointing out the guest's misbehavior or washing his or her fingers in the bowl, the royal tried to save the guest's face. Thus, attunement is face-work (Goffman 1959) for co-present participants and involves participants in the continuous work of figuring out the interactive context.

Attunement is an interactive, emergent, relational, dynamic, and ethological phenomenon that takes place at the local level of context in human interaction. In this sense, attunement is fundamental to many aspects of human transactions. In the next section, I show the usefulness of the concept of attunement in the analysis of Japanese honorifics.

Attunement in the analysis of Japanese honorifics

In spite of the large body of linguistic research on Japanese honorifics, a comprehensive analysis was not provided to explain many of ambiguous, multiple, and extended uses of honorifics. As I mentioned earlier, most previous studies of Japanese honorifics have treated honorifics as static objects that reflect the formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' hierarchical relation in age and status, the lack of interlocutors' familiarity, and *soto* 'outgroup' relations as opposed to *uchi* 'ingroup' relations (Harada 1976; Hinds 1978; Ide 1989; Shibatani 1990; Sukle 1994). As a result, they lump significantly different phenomena altogether. Furthermore, the social world is hardly ever clear-cut. It is impossible to account for actual uses of honorifics based on a limited number of social dimensions.

I also maintain that what is driving the phenomena of Japanese honorific usage is not purely linguistic. When people use honorifics, they constantly consider at least the following: (1) who is the addressee or the referent to which honorifics are applied; (2) how to locate the addressee or the referent with regard to themselves, in the local interactive context, and in the global social context; and (3) how to project themselves in their speech to others. Thus, it is important to ground the analysis of honorifics outside of language and on the basis of human's action.

In this dissertation, I treat honorific usage as an interactional phenomenon at the outset. In order to reveal the dynamic nature of honorific usage in interaction, the notion of attunement is helpful as an analytical concept. My data will show

aspects of attunement in honorific usage that are relational and dialogic instead of individual and monologic, and dynamic instead of static, arising out of the ongoing process of social interaction and relationships. It is on this point that my account of Japanese honorific usage is different from the accounts previously discussed.

The notion of attunement sets up an analytical frame within which interaction is organized. Attunement is one of the patterns that recur in Japanese native speakers' use of honorifics. It is also observable in the use of dialects (Sunaoshi 2004) and sentence-final particles (Takekuro 2002, 2004). Communicatively competent participants know when and how to attune to others. When they are expected to attune to others, even if participants follow conventional rules in interaction, a failure to show attunement is critical in interaction. As I will show in later chapters, most of my examples do not follow conventional rules of use for the sake of attunement. Such "incorrect" use of honorifics still makes for successful interaction. Here we find the limitation of explaining Japanese honorifics based on conventional rules of use, because honorific usage following conventional rules has been considered correct and seen as the most important factor for successful interaction. Nevertheless, unconventional and unexpected uses of honorifics that look ill-formed on the one hand can be communicatively meaningful and relevant on the other. This suggests that honorifics are only the means to an end – namely, interactional success.

This dissertation concerns Japanese honorific usage; but, its subject is ultimately the observation of spontaneous human behavior. I examine how competent participants respond to momentarily changing context, and why they

choose one pattern of action over other numerous options.

Honorifics in L2 teaching

It is my hope that this dissertation will be helpful for second language learners of Japanese. In order to become proficient in the grammar of Japanese, learners spend a significant amount of time mastering the grammar and pragmatics of honorifics. Paradoxically, when these learners, after years of elaborate efforts, become able to use “perfectly correct” honorifics, native speakers of Japanese often tell them that so many honorifics are unnecessary. So these non-native speakers wonder why perfectly correct honorifics sound unnecessary to native speakers. My analysis will explain the conditions under which honorific use can be excessive or insufficient.

Goals and outline of dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 is an organizational overview of the basic structure of honorifics in Japanese, including a description of their syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic properties. It also defines the metalinguistic terms used here. This chapter introduces traditional classifications of Japanese honorifics, including speech forms of non-honorifics and pejoratives as components within a larger framework of *taigū hyōgen* (‘expressions of consideration’) in Japanese.

Chapter 3 deals with methodological issues. I describe the various sites in which I collected linguistic data, locating my subjects in terms of region.

Chapter 4 presents theoretical perspectives that are essential to the understanding of my notion of “linguistic attunement”: people responding to others’ speech in coordination. The notion of linguistic attunement encompasses notions developed in linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, and conversation analysis. The notion of “dialogue” (Voloshinov 1929[1986]; Bakhtin 1975[1981]), the notion of participation (Goffman 1974, 1981), Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland 1975) and Audience Design (Bell 1984), and the notion of conversational co-construction (Goodwin 1986; Schegloff 1988; M.H. Goodwin 1990; Ochs 1997; Hayashi et al. 2002) form the basis of my notion of attunement. I identify three types of attunement: repetition, alignment, and complementation, and exemplify each type of attunement with actual uses of speech forms in Japanese. I observe that participants engaged in interaction use or do not use honorifics in order to linguistically attune to others’ use or non-use of honorifics on the level of morphemes, words, or registers. This chapter is a prelude to the analyses in subsequent chapters.

In the four chapters that follow, I transcribe and analyze honorific usage in a variety of situations and speech events. My examples of both typical and atypical uses of honorifics illustrate the concept of attunement, as well as deficiencies in the traditional accounts mentioned in Chapter 1.

Chapter 5 describes the ways in which participants use honorifics sequentially at the time of footing shifts. When one participant changes footing by suddenly using a speech form that is unexpected based on the prior interaction, other participants respond to the change, often by adopting the speech forms

introduced by the first participant. I present three examples in which interlocutors respond to a sudden change of others' speeches, by attuning to them. Footing shifts or changes in one person's speech for other reasons are likely to trigger attunement sequences of the same speech forms in the speech of other participants. They contribute to the emergence and maintenance of the newly established sequences of unexpected speech forms in the middle of interaction.

Attunement sequences of honorific use are common not only among close friends but also among strangers or people of different ages or statuses, for whom factors of unfamiliarity and hierarchy would normally determine honorific use. When one speaker uses an unusual number of deferential honorific forms, other interlocutors who normally use plain forms tend to use similarly deferential honorific forms. Current interlocutors' decision of use honorifics is not dependent on the relatively fixed properties of social context. It is motivated by previous interlocutors' use of honorifics, and influences subsequent interlocutors' use of honorifics.

Chapter 6 explores the extent to which honorific use depends on modes of co-engagement among participants: speakers, addressees, audience, and by-standers. I present data from ethnographic experiments -in situations in which the relatively fixed properties of social context does not require the use of honorifics and in which speakers decide not to use honorifics based on their relationship with addressees or the referents. By using Goffman's (1981) notion of participation framework, I demonstrate that co-present non-participants (audience and overhearers) are involved in active participants' (speakers and addressees) choice of

honorifics. My data suggest that one speaker's failure to show attunement with others not only signifies a lack of communicative competence but also creates confusion and offence among the entire party present at the scene. Thus, the speaker and addressee enter into relationships with audience and bystanders who remain silent and construct themselves so as to negotiate their use or non-use of honorifics.

The participants' metalinguistic commentaries also suggest that conditions for the use of honorifics depend on neither fixed properties of context nor speaker-addressee or speaker-referent relationships. Rather, the use of honorifics involves the inclusion of co-present non-participants. I argue that the use of honorifics is not an individual act but a collaborative construct, arising out of ongoing social relations. Participants who speak or are referred to enter into relationships with co-present non-participants who remain silent and yet construct themselves so as to negotiate their expected use of honorifics.

Chapter 7 analyzes an accidental encounter between two acquaintances. I discuss contextual factors and the indexing practices of the two participants. In their interaction, one participant showed aligned uses of speech forms with another, while another expected complementary uses of speech forms. The two participants' different expectations did not give them a sense of mutual participation. This suggests that attunement is a continual process of being co-present in a local interactive context. Both attunement and co-adaptation to the social context work facilitate social interaction.

Chapter 8 presents cases in which speakers in peer-group conversations use

respectful forms onto themselves after their interlocutors use respectful forms to refer to them. These participants' "self-raising honorifics" are "prescriptively incorrect" because one is not supposed to raise but lower the self in Japanese pragmatics. However, in sequences of honorific use, self-raising honorifics are often introduced. The use of self-raising honorifics is not intended to encourage deference to the speaker. Rather, in sequences of honorific usage, it helps to diminish referentially encoded deference through their "incorrect" use, while augmenting the effects of linguistic attunement and social affinities. In order to achieve attunement, the "correct" use of honorifics can be sometimes considered secondary. The point of using honorifics in conversational sequences is to attune to others, thereby increasing feelings of connectedness among participants.

This chapter demonstrates that speakers' use of self-respectful after their interlocutors' use is an attempt to create humor. But the same communicative need that takes the form of linguistic attunement can also involve the superficial rejection of attunement, when one speaker uses it as a non-face-threatening attempt to prevent other interlocutors from using respectful forms. In this case, the speaker's purpose is to make interlocutors adjust to and attune to the speaker. Competent interlocutors understand the speaker's intention and stop using too many respectful forms. Thus, attunement in interaction cannot be defined the basis of formal linguistic similarities at the surface level.

Chapter 9 concludes that relevant context for the use of honorifics is not pre-structured but arises spontaneously in response to prior utterances. No preprogrammed relations are imposed on social interaction; instead, participants

develop new relationships through the use of honorifics and other linguistic forms during the process of interaction. Honorifics, like other speech forms are used as a means of achieving attunement. By sharing the moment of attunement and increasing social affinities with others, participants are assured that they are engaged properly in social relations and are able to signal their identity and membership in the group. Thus, attunement should be regarded not as a product of the application of a specific or formal set of principles, but rather as interactive ends to successful communication and better interpersonal relationships.

Chapter 2

Japanese Honorifics

Introduction

This chapter provides an organizational overview of the basic structure of honorifics in Japanese and introduces the metalinguistic terms that are used in the following chapters. This chapter introduces traditional classifications of *keigo* ('honorifics') in such a way as to include non-honorifics and pejoratives. It further examines the distribution of honorifics in predicate and nominal elements.

Japanese honorifics have been thoroughly investigated in different branches of linguistics. Studies in *kokugogaku* ('national language studies'), *nihongogaku* ('Japanese linguistics'), formal linguistics, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology (primarily in American scholarship) have contributed to our understanding of Japanese honorifics, based on different disciplinary approaches and methodologies. This chapter will incorporate major views of the different disciplines in the attempt to provide the structural and classificatory representation of Japanese honorifics from grammatical, pragmatic, and semiotic points of view.

My account includes and moves beyond much of the literature in two ways. First, it attempts to encompass linguistic forms that grammatically encode not only deference but also "non-deference" and "anti-deference". By using Errington's (1988) approach to speech style, my account proceeds from previously noted distinctions between contrasting structural properties to concepts that have received less notice in the literature: the social, referential, and semiotic significance of

linguistic forms in Japanese. These are discussed with simple distinctions between objects and modes of lexical reference, which suggest their relative interactional importance. Second, this chapter provides a description of the interactive functional dimensions that affect the structures and expected uses of Japanese honorifics. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify typical uses of Japanese honorifics so that readers both familiar and unfamiliar with it can see the linguistic and semiotic contrasts implicit in native speakers' views and linguists' descriptions of Japanese honorifics.

Locating *keigo* 'honorifics' in *taigū hyōgen* 'expressions of consideration'

Honorifics, grammaticalized forms of language that signal deference, are called *keigo* (literally 'deference-language', consisting of *kei* ('deference') and *go* ('language')) in Japanese. *Keigo* or honorifics refer to a grammatically distinctive set of forms that signal deference and deference-related meanings, through conventionalized understandings of some aspects of the form-meaning relationship (Irvine 1995, 1998). When speakers of Japanese say *keigo*, they mean and use the following tripartite typology: (1) *teinei-go* (literally, 'polite-language', or technically, "addressee honorifics"), (2) *sonkei-go* (literally, 'respectful-language', or technically, "subject honorifics"), and (3) *kenjō-go* (literally, 'humiliative-language', or technically, "non-subject honorifics"). These metalinguistic terms are introduced into the elementary school curriculum of national (Japanese) language education in the fifth grade. While ordinary speakers of Japanese understand *keigo* based on the tripartite typology, researchers

are less in agreement on the typology and technical terms. In order to show what *keigo* is in native speakers' understanding, I will introduce several different terms from the literature and everyday metalinguistic usage in this section, while defining the terms used in this dissertation.

In the literature, there is no single view of *keigo*. In Figure 1, I represent one possible conceptualization of the relationship between the metalinguistic categories in *keigo*. Figure 1 only helps to show the existence of several metalinguistic categories in *keigo*, rather than offering an absolute view.

Figure 1: The metalinguistic categories in *keigo*

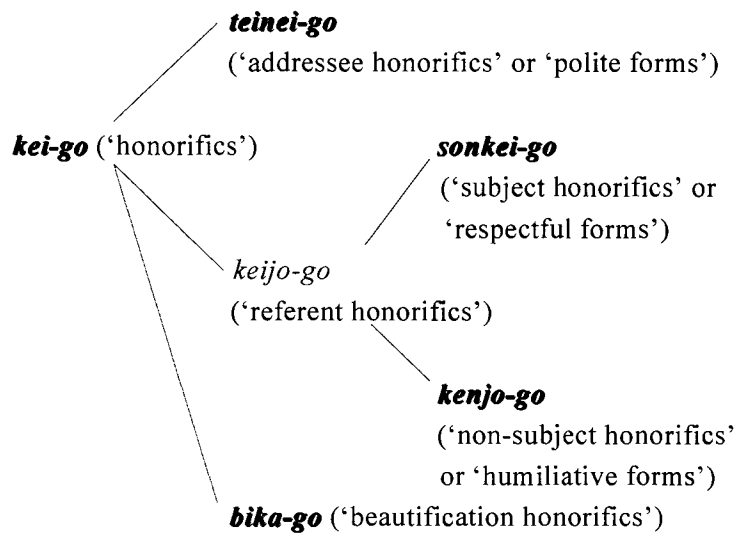


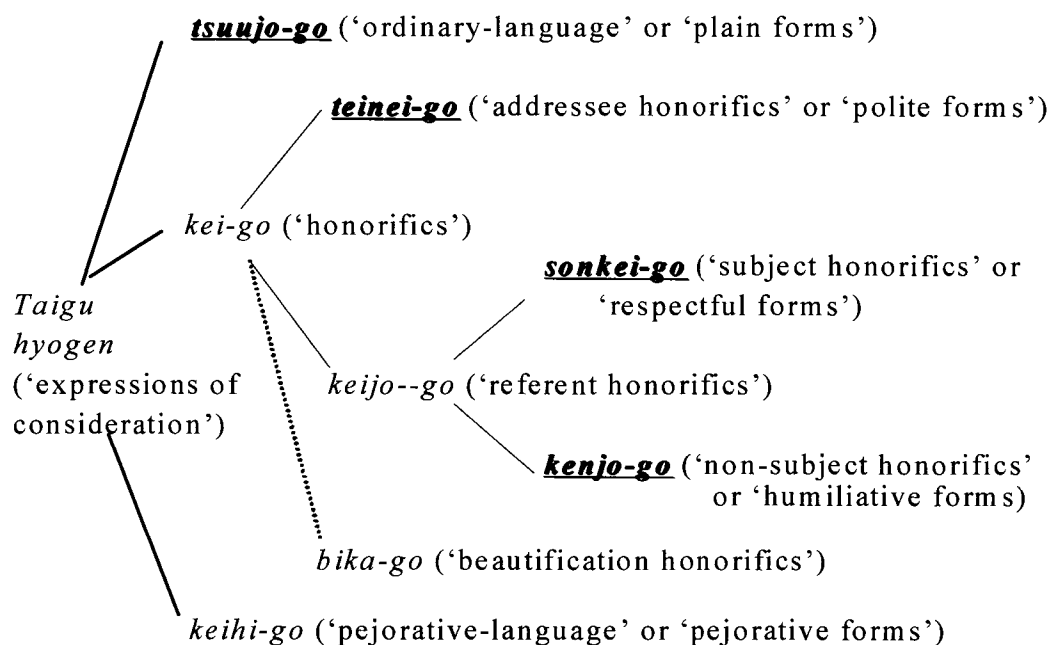
Figure 1 combines the views of Japanese and Western scholarship. First, in *kokugogaku* ('national language studies') and most native speakers' understanding of *keigo*, *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go*, and *kenjō-go* are all considered parallel to one another, unlike their representation in Figure 1. On the other hand, in American

scholarship, *sonkei-go* and *kenjō-go* are both considered subcategories of “referent honorifics” (Comrie 1976). Second, some researchers consider *bika-go* (‘beautification honorifics’) as part of *keigo*, while others in Japanese linguistics (Ōishi 1975; Tsujimura 1992) tend to consider *bika-go* not as part of *keigo* but as part of a broader notion of *taigū hyōgen*, as I will discuss next.

Because of the denotational meaning of *kei* (‘deference’) in the word of *keigo*, the notion of *keigo* tends to restrict Japanese analytical and conceptual perspectives to grammaticalized forms of the language that only encode deference (Komatsu 1963; Tsujimura 1992). In studying or talking about honorifics, scholars in Japanese linguistics do not regard honorifics as an independent linguistic system that encodes interpersonal relationships. Thus, some have advocated the location of *keigo* in the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen* ‘expressions of consideration’ (referring to any linguistic and more broadly, non-linguistic behavior that reflects aspects of interpersonal relations among interlocutors) (Ōishi 1975; Minami 1987; Tsujimura 1992; Kikuchi 1994; Kabaya et al. 1998). *Taigū hyōgen* is used in reference to honorifics, greetings, diminutives, pragmatic and sentence-final particles, address terms, modality, pejoratives, back-channels, silence, arrogant expressions, and many others. The framework of *taigū hyōgen* allows us to discuss honorifics in parallel to other linguistic modal forms that encode interpersonal relations, both grammatically and pragmatically. In Figure 2, I present some categories in *taigū hyōgen*, which are relevant to the analysis of honorifics in this dissertation. The traditional notion of *keigo* is located within the notion of *taigū hyōgen*. The purpose of presenting the

figure is to show that *keigo* is one of several possible variants in Japanese.

Figure 2: The linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen* and the location of *keigo*



Comparing Figure 1 with Figure 2, we see that *kei-go* in the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen* is located parallel to other forms of the language, such as *tsūjō-go* ('ordinary-language' or 'polite forms') and *keihi-go* ('pejorative-language' or 'pejorative forms'). *Tsūjō-go* and *keihi-go* are denotationally outside of encoding deference and often syntactically and semantically compete with *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go*, or *kenjō-go*. Although this dissertation is concerned with the linguistic forms underlined (*tsūjō-go*, *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go*, and *kenjō-go*) and in Figure 2, let me briefly explain the categories appeared in Figure 2.

Tsūjō-go (‘ordinary-language’ or the so-called “plain forms” in American scholarship) refers to linguistic forms that are not supposed to encode deference, humility, beautification, or pejoration grammatically. It has been considered non-honorific “alternate” to honorifics, which, apart from the expression of deference, supposedly means the same thing, as pointed out in Agha (1994) and Irvine (1995). Even though the term *tsūjō* (‘ordinary’ or ‘plain’) appears to imply the lack of honorific valence or neutrality of the utterance, *tsūjō-go* means neither the lack of honorific valence nor neutrality of the utterance. In her critique of Grice’s (1975) theory of conversational logic, Matsumoto (1989) argues that “no utterance in Japanese can be neutral with respect to the social context” (208). She suggests that the language has no safe, all-purpose form of utterance. Any variant would imply something about social context beyond the propositional information and can be used only in certain situations. Thus, the term *tsūjō-go* is used with reference to linguistic forms that do not include any grammaticalized element of speech to express deference, humility, beautification, or pejoration.

Kei-go (‘honorifics’) consist of the three major categories, *teinei-go* (‘polite forms’), *sonkei-go* (‘respectful forms’), and *kenjō-go* (‘humiliative forms’), and one more category, *bika-go* (‘beautification honorifics’), as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. *Kei-go* is represented by a grammatically distinctive set of forms such as personal pronouns, predicate forms with verbal suffixes or as suppletive forms of the copula, and the prefix *o-* or *go-*. Conventionally, *kei-go* encodes deference and deference-related meanings such as politeness with reference to the addressee or the speech situation, respect to others, and humiliation to the self. I will explain

the syntactic distribution and pragmatic usage of them in the following sections, but let me briefly explain the four categories of *kei-go* here. First, *teinei-go* (‘polite-language’) refers to “addressee honorifics” (Comrie 1976; Shibatani 1990) or the so-called “polite forms” in American scholarship. The use of *teinei-go* is based on a speaker-addressee axis of interpersonal relationships or the level of the formality of the speech situation.⁴ *Teinei-go* appears as verbal suffixes or as suppletive forms of the copula. The next two categories, *sonkei-go* (‘respectful-language’) and *kenjō-go* (‘humiliative-language’) refer to “subject honorifics” and “non-subject (object) honorifics”, respectively. They appear as pronouns, nominal suffixes, and predicate forms. *Sonkei-go* elevates the status of the referent in the argument of subject, while *kenjō-go* lowers the status of the referent in the subject position, which is usually the speaker or the speaker’s ingroup member. As I show in the next section, the uses of these are based on a speaker-referent axis that can be mediated by referent-addressee and speaker-addressee axes of interpersonal relationships. Lastly, *bika-go* (‘beautification honorifics’) refers to the nominal prefix that is used to beautify the referent. *Bika-go* is distinct from the other three categories that it appears only as a nominal prefix and does not syntactically compete with any other category. In this dissertation, I will primarily analyze the use of *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go*, and *kenjō-go* among *kei-go*.

In the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen*, I locate *keihi-go*

⁴ The terms “formality” and “formal” are used to apply not to the speaker, addressee, referent, participants, or content of speech but to the description of the speech situation. Formal speech situations include ceremonial occasions that have opening and closing statements, public speeches, lectures, seminars, conference talks, classroom talks, weddings, funerals, and so on, often with plural addressees.

(‘pejorative-language’) parallel to *kei-go*. *Keihi-go* refers to linguistic forms that encode pejoration grammatically.⁵ Due to the limited usage of them in everyday conversation, *keihi-go* will not be considered in this dissertation. Nevertheless, the purpose of introducing *keihi-go* here is to present evidence that *tsūjō-go* (‘ordinary-language’) is not the only possible alternate to *kei-go* in the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen*. As the notion of *taigū hyōgen* becomes widespread, more and more linguists in *kokugogaku* (‘national language studies’) and Japanese linguistics consider it important to locate *kei-go* parallel to other forms including *keihi-go* (‘pejorative-language’) (Matsuo 1936; Sakuma 1940; Tokieda 1941; Akita 1976; Ōishi 1975; Tsujimura 1992). Sakuma (1940) says “there is no problem in being proud of the developed Japanese honorific system by stating that it signifies politeness of the Japanese. But we need to keep the opposite side in mind. The pejorative system is very developed in Japanese, as well [author’s translation]” (198). Sakuma suggests that due to the relatively low frequency of usage, native speakers of Japanese are unaware of the existence of pejoratives in Japanese, compared to the amount of attention and cultural pride given to honorifics. Tokieda (1941), one of the most influential twentieth century scholars of *kokugogaku* claims “honorifics are realized as honorifics only in opposition to what cannot be honorifics [author’s translation]” (448). This comment of Tokieda reminds us of Saussure’s (1959) concept of “value” (*valeur*), that is, words acquire their value of meaning not by a positive connection to what they denote but by a negative connection to words to which they are opposed. Japanese distinguishes *kei-go* from *tsūjō-go*. Similarly, it distinguishes *kei-go* or *tsūjō-go* from *keihi-go*.

⁵ An example of *keihi-go* includes the verbal suffix *V-yagaru* “(subject person I belittle) does V.”

It is the oppositions provided by the language that give the meanings to the individual categories. As *tsūjō-go* has been widely treated as “non-honorifics”, *keihi-go* (‘pejorative-language’) can be seen as “anti-honorifics” or a potential counterpart to *kei-go*.

In this section, I have located *kei-go* in the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen* and attempted to encompass linguistic forms that grammatically encode “non-deference”, “deference”, and “anti-deference” under the unified perspective, as illustrated in Figure 2. Although *keihi-go* falls completely outside western scholarly interests in Japanese, it is worth paying attention to its existence in the framework of *taigū hyōgen*, since *taigū hyōgen*, by definition, includes linguistic forms that reflect aspects of interpersonal relations among interlocutors.

Lastly, I should mention two more points, before providing detailed descriptions of the forms relevant to analysis in this dissertation. The first point concerns about the use of the term “speech forms” instead of more conventional terms like “speech levels” or “speech styles.” The term “speech levels” is used to refer to registers that are relatively discrete and form a graded series based on respectfulness (Martin 1964; Ikuta 1983). In his book on linguistic etiquette in Javanese, Errington (1988) explains why he avoids the term “speech levels” and uses the term “speech styles.” He prefers the term “speech styles” to “speech levels”, because “speech levels” overlooks the dynamic fluidity and potential for expressiveness of speech level use, and the expressive switch between levels that may occur in a single interactive encounter or utterance. Furthermore, the term “speech levels” may make us overlook many aspects of speech behavior that are

independent of the speech style system but are subject to normative modulation in relatively polite, refined conduct (11).

Nevertheless, the term “speech style” is also problematic for the purpose of this dissertation. According to Oxford English Dictionary (2002), the word “style” is defined as: (1) The manner of expression characteristic of a particular writer (hence of an orator), or of a literary group or period; a writer's mode of expression considered in regard to clearness, effectiveness, beauty, and the like; (2a) A manner of discourse, or tone of speaking, adopted in addressing others or in ordinary conversation; (2b) A form of words, phrase, or formula, by which a particular idea or thought is expressed; (3a) A method or custom of performing actions or functions, especially one sanctioned by usage or law; and (3b) A particular manner of life or behavior. Because of the implications of custom and typicality that the word “style” connotes, “speech style” is not the most appropriate term to use for an analysis of each token of the language used at each moment of social interaction.⁶ In order to avoid the categorical rigidity of the term “speech levels” and the sense of the habitual use of language suggested by the term “speech style,” I use the term “speech forms” in a neutral sense in this dissertation.

The second one concerns about the terminologies used in this dissertation. Most of the Japanese technical terms in studies of *keigo* are more in disagreement than the technical terms translated in English and used in the literature written in English. Hereafter, I use ‘plain forms’, ‘polite forms’, ‘respectful forms’, ‘humiliative forms’, and ‘pejorative forms’, in referring to *tsūjō-go*, *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go*, *kenjō-go*, and *keihi-go*, respectively. In this dissertation, when I say

⁶ See Eckert and Rickford (2001) for detailed discussions on speech styles.

“*keigo*,” “Japanese honorific(s),” and “honorifics in Japanese,” they refer to polite, respectful, and humiliative forms in Japanese. “Honorification in Japanese” refers to plain, polite, respectful, and humiliative forms in Japanese.

Speech forms in predicate and nominal elements

In the following sections, I describe the structural overview of the four speech forms (plain, polite, respectful, and humiliative forms) that are relevant to my analysis. Examples that I present in this chapter are not exhaustive but help to illustrate the structure and use of speech forms in predicate and nominal elements in Japanese.

Predicate elements

This section describes the four speech forms in predicate elements. Based on Errington’s (1988: 90-91) analysis of Japanese speech styles, I present the simple sets of examples of Japanese speech forms in Figures 3 through 7. In Figures 3 through 7, sentences 1 are plain forms; sentences 2 polite forms; sentences 3 respectful forms; and sentences 4 humiliative forms. They exemplify neither all the variants and co-occurrences nor the full repertoire of any Japanese speaker. In actual interaction, they are used with a variety of sentence-final particles and modal expressions. Examples are provided in order to illustrate correlative structural and functional properties of different sets of the speech forms commonly noted in the literature.

Figure 3: Semantic/linguistic structure of ‘I am Makiko Takekuro’

Speech form in predicate:

1. Plain	<i>watashi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>takekuro makiko</i>	<i>(da)</i>
2. Polite				
2a. Polite	<i>watashi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>takekuro makiko</i>	<i>desu</i>
2b. Super-polite	<i>watashi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>takekuro makiko</i>	<i>degozaimasu</i>
3. Respectful	-----			
4. Humiliative	-----			
Gloss:	1st PERSON TOPIC TAKEKURO MAKIKO COPULA			
Translation:	‘I am Makiko Takekuro.’			

Figure 4: Semantic/linguistic structure of ‘That is a station’

Speech form in predicate:

1. Plain	<i>are</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>eki</i>	<i>(da)</i>
2. Polite				
2a. Polite	<i>are</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>eki</i>	<i>desu</i>
2b. Super-polite	<i>are</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>eki</i>	<i>degozaimasu</i>
3. Respectful	-----			
4. Humiliative	-----			
Gloss:	THAT SUBJECT STATION COPULA			
Translation:	‘That is a station.’			

Figure 5: Semantic/linguistic structure of ‘The president says’

Speech form in predicate:

1. Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>iu</i>	
2. Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ii-</i>	<i>masu</i>
3. Respectful				
3-1. Respectful + Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ossharu</i>	
3-2. Respectful + Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>osshai-</i>	<i>masu</i>
4. Humiliative				
4-1. Humiliative + Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>mōsu</i>	
4-2. Humiliative + Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>mōshi-</i>	<i>masu</i>
Gloss:	PRESIDENT SUBJECT SAY SUFFIX			
Translation:	‘The president says.’			

Figure 6: Semantic/linguistic structure of ‘The president writes’

Speech form in predicate:

1. Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>kaku</i>			
2. Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>kaki-</i>			<i>masu</i>
3. Respectful							
3-1-1. Resp + Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>kaki-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>naru</i>	
3-1-2. Resp + Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>kaki-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nari-</i>	<i>masu</i>
3-2-1. Resp + Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>kak-</i>	<i>areru</i>		
3-2-2. Resp + Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>kak-</i>	<i>are-</i>		<i>masu</i>
4. Humiliative							
4-1. Hum + Plain	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>kaki-</i>		<i>suru</i>	
4-2. Hum + Polite	<i>shachō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>kaki-</i>		<i>shi-</i>	<i>masu</i>
Gloss:	PRESIDENT SUB HONP-WRITE-PASS-DAT DO BECOME SUFFIX						
Translation:	‘The president writes.’						

Figure 7: Semantic/linguistic honorific structure of ‘I say’

Speech form in predicate:

1. Plain	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>iu</i>		
2. Polite	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>ī-</i>		<i>masu</i>
3. Respectful						
3-1. Respectful + Plain	* <i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>ossharu</i>		
3-2. Respectful + Polite	* <i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>osshai-</i>		<i>masu</i>
4. Humiliative						
4-1. Humiliative + Plain	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>mōsu</i>		
4-2. Humiliative+ Polite	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>mōshi-</i>		<i>masu</i>
Gloss:	1st PERSON SUBJECT SAY SUFFIX					
Translation:	‘I say.’					

Figures 3 through 7 show that speech forms are semantically conventionalized and syntactically and pragmatically complementary to some

extent. Any argument in the predicate element has either a plain or polite form.⁷ It may also take a respectful or a humiliating form. Figures 3 through 7 show that polite and respectful or humiliating forms can be independently used or appear in combination. In the following subsections, I will describe structural patterns and semiotic and semantic properties of these forms.

Plain and polite forms

Shōgakkō: Gakushū shidō yōkō ‘the guidelines of the elementary school curriculum of the national language (Japanese) education’ (Monbushō 1998) suggests that students start learning the difference between plain forms (*jō-tai*) and polite forms (*kei-tai*) in first grade.⁸ According to the guidelines, teachers should make sure that students understand the difference between the two forms and get used to the usage of polite forms. Studies on children’s language acquisition in the home environment report that children use polite forms approximately by the age of 3 (Okubo 1967; Fujiwara 1977, both reported in Clancy 1985; Nakamura 1996). Plain and polite forms form the fundamental part of predicate elements in Japanese, as any sentence in Figures 3 through 7 has either plain or polite form, regardless of the animacy of the referent. Here, I explain these two forms in details.

Sentences 1 have either the plain form of copula *-da*, as in Figures 3 and 4, or the verb stem in present tense, as in Figures 5 through 7. As the morphology of

⁷ An argument may take a pejorative form. However, pejorative forms are not considered in this dissertation.

⁸ In the guidelines, the terms *jō-tai* and *kei-tai* are used in reference to ‘plain forms’ and ‘polite forms.’

verbs intersects with syntax, plain forms intersect with tense and negation. Plain forms can include derivational endings such as *-datta* ('COP:PAST'), *-denai* ('COP:NEG'), *-denakatta* ('COP:NEG:PAST'), and *-dearō* ('COP:FUT').

Sentences 2 include *-desu* ending that appears as suppletive forms of copula, as in Figures 3 and 4, or *-masu* ending that appears as verbal suffixes, as in Figures 5 through 7. *Degozaimasu* in sentences 2b in Figure 3 and 4 is a super-polite suppletive form of copula. Both *-desu* and *-masu* endings are the most common polite forms, which intersect with tense and negation and include derivational endings such as *-deshita* ('COP:PAST'), *-mashita* ('SUF:PAST'), *-denaidesu* ('COP:NEG:COP'), *-masen* ('SUF:NEG'), *-denakattadesu* ('COP:NEG:PAST:COP'), *-masendeshita* ('SUF:NEG:PAST'), and *-mushō* ('COP:VOL').

In much of the literature, the choice of plain or polite forms has been discussed on the basis of a speaker-addressee axis or the degree of formality of the speech situation (Martin 1964; Harada 1976; Hinds 1978; Neustupny 1978; Ide 1982; Ikuta 1983; Shibatani 1990). It has been stated that plain forms are used: (1) when the speaker and addressee are of equal status; (2) when the speaker and addressee are familiar with each other; and/or (3) when the speaker and addressee are in an informal situation. On the contrary, polite forms are used (1) when the speaker and addressee are unfamiliar with each other, (2) when the speaker is expected to express deference to an addressee who is older or higher in status; and/or (3) when the speaker and addressee are in a formal situation. Plain forms are also used in expository writing and newspaper articles, while polite and

super-polite forms are used in broadcasting.

Previous studies would predict that I would use sentences 1 to my friends, family, and those who are familiar and younger than me or lower in status, since grammatical encoding of deference to these addressees is unnecessary. On the other hand, I would use sentence 2a in Figure 3, for instance, in introducing myself to strangers, neighbors, and teachers, or people that I do not know well. When it is necessary to express more deference to the addressee than usual or when the situation is very formal and ceremonial, such as at weddings, funerals, or commencement, I would use sentences 2b in Figures 3 and 4. A receptionist or a tour guide would use sentence 2b in Figure 4 to customers or passengers.⁹ These predictions are based on the idea that in the use of polite forms, the addressee is the “focus of deference” (Agha 1993: 134) to which deference is directed.

Respectful and humiliative forms

Sentences 3 and 4 in Figures 5 through 7 include respectful and humiliative forms. Sentences 3 and 4 in Figure 3 and 4 are left blank, because *-desu* cannot have respectful or humiliative forms. I first describe the syntactic formation of respectful and humiliative forms then explain the semiotic and semantic properties of the two forms.

Compare sentences 3 and 4 in Figure 5 with those in Figure 6, in which the same referent is in subject position. They present two ways of forming respectful and humiliative forms, depending on the verbs. Figure 5 presents an example of

⁹ In such a case, the noun *are* can be changed to *achira* in a polite form. Since there are numerous possibilities in co-occurrences in predicate and nominal elements, I only discuss variants in predicate elements here.

verbs that have lexical substitutes for respectful and humiliate forms. Sentences 3 in Figure 5 show an example of the verb *iu* ('to say') that substitutes the respectful form *ossharu* for *iu*. Sentence 3-1 in Figure 5 has the respectful form *ossharu* that appears in plain form. Sentence 3-2 in Figure 5 has the inflected respectful form *osshai-* and the polite form suffix *-masu*. Similarly, sentences 4 in Figures 5 present an example of the verb *iu* with the lexical substitute of the humiliate form *mōsu*. Sentence 4-1 in Figure 5 has the humiliate form *mōsu* that appears in plain form. Sentence 4-2 in Figure 5 has the inflected humiliate form *mōshi-* and the polite form suffix *-masu*.

Figure 6 presents an example of verbs that do not have lexical substitutes for respectful and humiliate forms, but create respectful and humiliate forms by grammatical changes. Respectful forms made by grammatical changes have either of the following constructions: (1) *o-V-ni-naru* ('V-become'); or (2) *V-(r)are* ('V-PASSIVE'). They are made: (1) by adding the respectful prefix *o-* (or *go-* for Sino-Japanese words) and *-ni(DATIVE)-naru*('become') to the verb stem, (e.g. *kaku* 'to write' -> *o-kaki-ni-naru*) as in sentences 3-1-1 and 3-2-2 in Figure 6; or (2) by attaching the passive suffix *-are* to the consonant-ending root of a verb, or *-rare* to the vowel-ending root of a verb (e.g. *kaku* 'to make' -> *kak-are-ru*), as in sentences 3-2-1 and 3-2-2 in Figure 6. Humiliate forms can be made grammatically, by adding the respectful prefix *o-* (or *go-* for Sino-Japanese words) and *-suru* ('do') to the verb stem (e.g. *kaku* 'to write' -> *o-kaki-suru*), as in sentences 4-1 and 4-2 in Figure 6.

These syntactic formations of respectful forms conventionally signal the

raising of the status of the referent in the subject position. In the use of respectful forms, the referent is the focus to which deference is directed. On the other hand, humiliating forms conventionally signal the lowering of the status of the referent in the subject position, which signals deference to others such as addressees. In the use of humiliating forms, the referent is the focus to which humility is directed, while the addressee is the implicit focus of deference.

In the literature, these uses of respectful and humiliating forms are conventionally explained on the basis of a speaker-referent axis that intersects with referent-addressee and speaker-addressee axes (Harada 1976; Hinds 1978; Ide 1982; Shibatani 1990). It is stated that respectful forms are used; (1) when the referent is worthy of respect, older in age or higher in status than the speaker; (2) when the speaker and referent form an outgroup membership, with respect to the addressee; or (3) when the speaker is unfamiliar with the referent.

Consider sentences 3 in Figures 5 and 6. The referent, *shachō* ('president') is the focus of deference, as the referent's actions of "saying" and "writing" are expressed in respectful forms.¹⁰ Under normal conditions, the speaker can be a secretary, employee, client, visitor, or news reporter, who is in the position to show deference to *shachō*.

Further consider sentence 3-2 in Figure 5 and sentences 3-2-1 and 3-2-2 in Figure 6 with respectful forms and the polite form *-masu*. These sentences have the referent and the addressee (both of which can be the same but not necessarily) as the focuses of deference. If the speaker is a secretary, the addressee is another

¹⁰ The noun *shachō* is not the only variant. However, in order to explain predicate elements in Japanese, I will not consider other variants in the nominal element.

secretary, an employee, or the referent's family under normal conditions. In sentence 3-2 in Figure 5 and sentence 3-2-2 in Figure 6, the use of respectful forms is directed to the referent, while the use of polite forms is directed to the addressee. Here, the use of respectful forms to the referent predicts that the speaker-referent relationship does not form a closer ingroup membership than the addressee-referent relationship. If the speaker is the referent's family member, the speaker is not supposed to use respectful forms to the referent, because the speaker and referent forms an ingroup membership. Likewise, if the speaker is the referent's secretary and the addressee is someone outside of the company, the speaker is not supposed to use respectful forms to the referent, because the speaker-referent relationship is an ingroup compared to the addressee-referent relationship. In the latter two cases, the speaker is supposed to use humiliating forms to the referent, as I see in sentences 4 in Figures 5 and 6.

In sentences 4 in Figures 5 and 6, the referent's actions of "saying" and "writing" are expressed in humiliating forms. The referent is the focus of humility. In the use of humiliating forms, the referent is either the speaker or the speaker's ingroup member and the speaker should form an ingroup membership with the referent, as opposed to the addressee-referent and speaker-addressee relationships. If the speaker in sentences 4 in Figures 5 and 6 is a secretary or an employee, the addressee should not be another secretary, an employee, or the referent's family, but someone outside the company who forms an outgroup membership with the referent as well as the speaker. If the speaker is the referent's family, the addressee can be a secretary, employee, or someone outside the company. In these

cases, the speaker and referent form an ingroup membership, as opposed to the addressee-referent and the speaker-addressee relationships.

Sentences 4-2 in Figures 5 and 6 have polite forms in addition to humiliating forms. In these sentences, the use of humiliating forms is explicitly directed to the referent and the use of polite forms is directed to the addressee, while the use of humiliating forms implicitly expresses deference to the addressee.

Lastly, consider sentences 3 and 4 in Figure 7, in which the speaker is the referent. As I stated, in the use of respectful forms, the referent in the subject position is the focus of deference. In modern Japanese, the speaker cannot be the focus of deference and the speaker is not supposed to use respectful forms to one's action. Thus, sentences 3 in Figure 7 are starred. On the other hand, in the use of humiliating forms, the speaker can be the focus of humility. Since the speaker can apply humiliating forms to his or her own action, sentences 4 in Figure 7 are not starred. In sentence 4-2, humility is directed to the speaker's action and expressed in a humiliating form, while deference is directed to the addressee and expressed in a polite form.

The construction of both respectful and humiliating forms further depends on the syntactic location, subject or object of a noun phrase. To find more discussions on details, one should look elsewhere (Harada 1976; Shibatani 1990).

Nominal elements

Nominal elements, such as nouns and pronouns, respectful and humiliating forms of prefixes, and a beautification prefix also appear in a variety of speech

forms. Although predicate elements are primarily considered in this dissertation, this section still provides a brief description of speech forms that appear in nouns and pronouns, respectful and humiliating forms of prefixes, and a beautification prefix.

Nouns and pronouns

In the literature, it is reported that personal pronouns, professional titles, and professional titles can function as address terms in Japanese. Table 1 presents the varieties of first and second person pronouns in standard Japanese.

Table 1: The list of first and second personal pronouns (Modified from Ide 1982: 358-360; Ide and Yoshida 1999: 471)¹¹

Person	Speech style	Male	Female
First Person Pronoun	formal	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
		<i>watashi</i>	<i>atakushi</i>
			<i>watashi</i>
	plain	<i>boku</i>	<i>atashi, watashi</i>
	deprecatory	<i>ore</i>	-----
Second Person Pronoun	formal	<i>anata*</i>	<i>anata*</i>
	plain	<i>kimi</i>	<i>anata</i>
		<i>anta</i>	<i>anta</i>
	deprecatory	<i>omae</i>	-----

*not applicable in addressing superiors

More than two decades have passed since the Table was originally made.

¹¹ In Table 1, “speech style” means “speech forms” and “formal” speech style is almost equivalent to “polite forms” in this dissertation.

Today's uses of personal pronouns are very different from what appears in Table 1 as expected uses at that time. For example, in Miyazaki's (2002) longitudinal study of the use of the first person pronoun among junior high school girls, she shows that no girl used *watashi* among friends all the time. Among 17 girls, only one girl used *atashi*, a plain female pronoun, exclusively. In girls' peer-group talks, "[m]any girls used *boku*, a plain male pronoun, and/or *ore*, a deprecatory male pronoun" (363). Here, I do not present Table 1 as a prescriptive list of first and second personal pronouns in men's and women's speeches in Japanese, because any Table can exemplify all variants and the full repertoire of any Japanese speaker. Rather, I present Table 1 in order to illustrate the point that personal pronouns in Japanese have different speech forms, depending on communicative contexts.

In addressing a superior, the use of any second personal pronoun tends to be avoided and the last name with suffixes, title or professional ranks are more common than the second personal pronoun *anata*. Table 2 shows names with suffixes.

Table 2: Names with suffixes (Modified from Ide 1982: 359)

<u>Speech forms</u>	<u>Structure</u> (LN: last name; FN: first name)
polite	LN/FN/kinship terms + <i>san</i> (e.g. <i>Suzuki-san, Taro-san, Hanako-san, musuko-san</i> 'son')
respectful	LN/FN/kinship terms + <i>sama</i> (e.g. <i>Suzuki-sama, Taro-sama, Hanako-sama, ojoo-sama</i> 'daughter')
diminutive	LN/FN + <i>kun/chan</i> (e.g. <i>Suzuki-kun, Taro-kun, Hanako-chan</i>)

In reference to one's family, kinship terms are used in humiliating forms (e.g. *haha* 'mother', *chichi* 'father', *musume* 'daughter' etc.).

Professional titles are used independently or with last names, as LN+ *sensei* ('teacher'), LN + *shachō* ('president (of a company)'), LN + *buchō* ('manager of a company'), LN + *gakuchō* ('chancellor (of a university)'), and LN + *kyōju* ('professor'). One can add suffixes such as *-san* or *-sama* to professional ranks, last names, first names, and kinship terms, used as address terms and nominal elements of speech as subjects or objects, as *shachō-sama* ('president of a company + *-sama*'), *buchō-san* ('manager of a company + *-san*'), or *Suzuki-san* ('Mr./Ms. Suzuki').

Respectful and humiliating forms of prefixes

Some nouns take both respectful and humiliating forms of prefix, by using Chinese characters. Respectful forms of the prefix conventionally describe the action or the object that belongs to the addressee or referent towards whom deference should be expressed. Humiliating forms of prefix conventionally describe the action or the object that belongs to the speaker or the speaker's ingroup referent towards whom humility should be expressed.

The most common respectful form of prefix is *o-* (or *go-* for Sino-Japanese nouns), as in *o-genkōryō* ('RESP.PRE-manuscript fee') or *go-ryokō* ('RESP.PRE-trip'). Other prefixes such as *ki-* ('noble') as in *ki-den* ('RESP.PRE-lord' meaning 'you') or *kō-* ('high') as in *kō-ran* ('RESP.PRE-look') are less common and productive, compared to *o-* (or *go-*).

Humiliative forms of prefix include *gu-* ('stupid'), *setsu-* ('poor'), *shō-* ('small'), as in *gusai* ('HUM.PRE-wife' literally translated as 'stupid wife' meaning 'my wife'), *sekkō* ('HUM.PRE-draft' literally translated as 'poor draft' meaning 'my draft'), or *shōsei* ('HUM.PRE-life' literally translated as 'small life' meaning 'I'). Compared to respectful forms of prefix, humiliative ones are uncommon and unproductive.

Beautification prefix

Another honorific manifestation in nominal elements is *-go* 'beautification honorifics' that almost exclusively refer to beautification prefixes. The beautification prefix *o-* (or *go-* for Sino-Japanese words) is etymologically related to the respectful form of prefix *o-*, and appears in reference to the subject and object of a sentence. The beautification prefix differs from respectful and humiliative forms of prefixes in the sense that it neither expresses deference to the addressee or referent nor refers to the speaker's inalienably possessed object. The beautification prefix simply beautifies the referent, as in *o-sushi* ('HONP-sushi'), *o-tearai* ('HONP-restroom'), *o-kimono* ('HONP-kimono') or *go-han* ('HONP-meal'). Ide (1990) and Shibatani (1990) claim that the speaker's mode of self-representation, often related to social class and gender, tends to influence the use of the beautification prefix.

In this section, I have dealt with speech forms in predicate and nominal elements separately. But speech forms in both elements intersect in a single utterance and tend to match. Although very few studies have thoroughly

investigated co-occurrences of speech forms in the two elements, it is possible to assume that plain forms tend to be used in predicate elements, when plain forms are used in nominal elements. When polite forms are used in predicate elements, polite, respectful, or humiliative forms tend to be used in nominal elements. Unlikely combinations in a single utterance may include respectful forms in nominal elements combined with humiliative forms in predicate, and humiliative forms in nominal elements combined with respectful forms in predicate for the same referent. More studies on co-occurrences of speech forms are definitely necessary for determining the match between nominal and predicate elements.

Summary

This chapter has introduced an overview of metalinguistic terminology, based on the literature of national language studies, Japanese linguistics, and sociolinguistics. I have introduced the notion of *taigū hyōgen* (“expressions of treatment”, referring to any linguistic and non-linguistic behavior that reflects aspects of interpersonal relations among interlocutors) from Japanese linguistics into my inquiry of *keigo*. By locating *keigo* ‘honorifics’ in the linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen*, I have attempted to show that *keigo* is one of many possible linguistic variants in Japanese. For example, I have introduced the category of pejorative forms in alignment with *keigo* and other speech forms, such as plain forms. This enables us to treat *keigo* not as an independent linguistic system but as one possible variant of *taigū hyōgen*.

Although I have presented the existence of several categories in the

linguistic framework of *taigū hyōgen*, the four speech forms, namely, plain, polite, respectful, and humiliative forms form the core of language use in Japanese, so they will constitute the main part of my analysis.

I have provided an overview of the four forms in Figures 1 through 6 and illustrated the basic structural and functional properties of the forms in predicate and nominal elements commonly noted in the literature. In the literature, polite forms are considered on a speaker-addressee axis, while respectful and humiliative forms are considered on a speaker-referent axis that intersects with addressee-referent and speaker-addressee axes.

The next chapter offers methodology, an overview of the field site of my research, and a description of the speakers. Chapter 3 will also discuss methodological issues of data collection and translation.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

In order to explicate speech as a social action, the ability to understand linguistic data in the context of the sociocultural activities is essential. I combine the approaches of the ethnography of communication (Gumperz and Hymes 1964; Bauman and Sherzer 1974), discourse analysis (Schiffrin 1994; Johnstone 2002), and recent attempts to incorporate a semiotic perspective into anthropologically-oriented linguistic research of honorifics (Errington 1985, 1988; Agha 1993, 1994; Irvine 1992, 1998; Koyama 1997, 2003, 2004), and analyze locally meaningful speech.

In this chapter, I first describe the methods and sources of data that I used for this dissertation. Following the standard practice of the ethnography of communication, I conducted extensive fieldwork in Japan. I participated in, tape-recorded, and transcribed spontaneous interactions in both private and public spheres. The primary sources of data for this dissertation are these actual interactions. Supplementary data were collected from those who participated as well as those who did not participate in my primary sources of data. Through follow-up interviews and playback with them, I gathered metalinguistic commentaries and elicited natives' social assumptions about interaction, in general. Then, I discuss briefly methodological issues of data collection and translation.

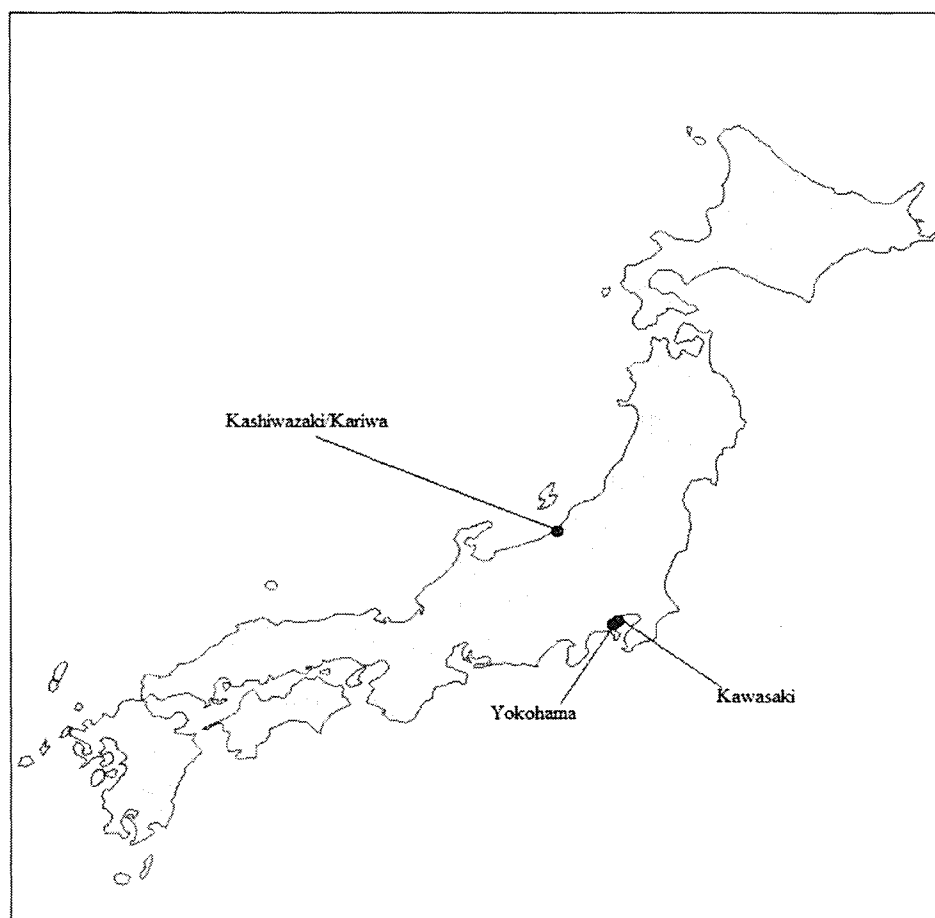
Primary sources of data

This dissertation is primarily grounded on data that I collected at four different periods in various Japanese-speaking communities. I undertook my fieldwork: (1) in Tokyo in June 2002; (2) in Niigata in late-December 2002; (3) in Kanagawa and Tokyo between June and August 2003; and (4) in Berkeley in October 2003. The fieldwork consisted of making contact with people, securing their agreement to participate in my research, using a participant observation, and carrying recording devices. I recorded conversations using a Sony Portable MD Recorder MZ-R91. Below, I describe the methods and procedures of data collection in each period of the fieldwork.

In June 2002, I started to collect data for this dissertation. I asked my old friends in Tokyo to participate in my research. In the month of June 2002, I collected four peer-group conversations, which turned out to be interesting as discourse data but insufficient for my purpose of analyzing dynamic and spontaneous honorific use in diverse social contexts. Some conversations did not contain any honorifics. So I needed to collect more data from diverse cohorts of people and in a variety of social contexts.

In late-December 2002, I visited the City of Kashiwazaki. I conducted the second fieldwork there and the neighboring village, Kariwa. The City of Kashiwazaki and the Village of Kariwa are in Niigata Prefecture located in Hokuriku (North-western) region of Honshu (the main island of Japan) (See Map). Since summer 2001, my family had been living in the City of Kashiwazaki and I had visited there many times. In both Kashiwazaki and Kariwa, I was able to

participate in local events and gatherings, and recorded conversations when I received consent from all the participants. As a temporary visitor, my local networking was more or less limited to my family's acquaintances, but all participants were very cooperative and willing to participate in my research. Their speech included features of local dialects, but I will not deal with them in this dissertation.



Map: Japan

Between June and August 2003, I undertook my third fieldwork sporadically in Kanagawa and Tokyo, especially in the cities of Yokohama and Kawasaki (See Map). These cities are in the Kanto (Eastern) region of Honshu. I chose the central and southern parts of the Kanto region as the major site of investigation. The fact that it is my home region made it easy to find participants and understanding the dialect and its contextualization cues. Furthermore, these urban parts of the Kanto region consist of those originally from there and many others coming from different parts of Japan, as Tokyo has been the capital since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Some of my subjects who currently reside in Tokyo and its suburbs come from different regions of Japan, such as Hokkaido, Aichi, Kouchi, Osaka, Shizuoka, and Miyazaki. Even though many people living in urban parts of the Tokyo area speak and have linguistic access to the Tokyo-dialect, diversity is also inherent in the Tokyo-dialect speaking population. In recent sociolinguistic studies of Japanese, concerns and criticisms have been raised that the overstudied mainstream, middle class, urban, and Tokyo-dialect speakers dominate our understanding of the Japanese language (Sunaoshi 2004). It is important to recognize that the majority of people in Japan fall outside of the category of the urban and Tokyo-dialect speaking population. A balanced view of the Japanese language and people's actual speech practices must come from data of various groups with various backgrounds. Nevertheless, there is no reason why we should not study the speech of those who speak the Tokyo dialect, the standard and dominant variety in the linguistic market of Japan.

In collecting data in this area, I mainly used my own social networks: my

friends, relatives, and others. I followed three individuals all day long and tape-recorded their ordinary conversations at service-encounters, business, and among friends, kins, and members of various groups. I participated in a wedding, cultural festivals, business meetings, and family gatherings. I also collected two television cooking shows and two parliament broadcasts. Data collected during this period comprises a substantial part of my database.

In mid-October 2003, I followed one individual in Berkeley and collected his conversations all day. I also went to a Japanese karaoke bar in Berkeley and collected data there (cf. in Chapter 6).

A summary of data used for the analysis of this dissertation appears in Appendix B. Each time I present examples in the following chapters, I detail the full scope of the data and participants.

The primary sources of my data are groups of Japanese in their 20s and 30s who are middle class, urban, and Tokyo-dialect speakers. I do not claim that the current corpus represents the communicative practices of all Japanese speakers. The analyses that I perform and the subsequent conclusions that I draw are only based on what particular participants are doing in particular situations; they may behave differently in different contexts. The purpose of this dissertation is neither to discuss what Japanese honorifics are, nor to report young Japanese speakers' honorific use. My purpose is to analyze dynamic and spontaneous uses of honorifics and to discuss what participants do and achieve in interaction.

Methodological issues and supplementary sources of data

It is widely known that the existence of a tape-recorder affects people's behavior. Even though researchers wish to observe subjects' natural linguistic and social behaviors, subjects who are being recorded tend to be afraid of a tape-recorder and conscious about their speech. This Observer's Paradox can cause difficulty in obtaining authentic natural speech (Labov 1972: 209). However, researchers who have used tape-recording point out that after the initial stage of tape-recording, subjects, especially in a group, soon forget about recording equipment and can carry on natural linguistic and social behaviors (Tannen 1979, 1984; Shibamoto 1985; Milroy 1987; Sturtz 2001). Some of my subjects have been tape-recorded for so many years that their speech does not seem to be severely influenced by the existence of the tape-recorder. In fact, when I do not tape-record their interactions, they ask me why their conversations are not tape-recorded. The fact that my subjects' conversations are tape-recorded affects their natural linguistic and social behaviors only to a minimal extent.

In recording ordinary conversations among friends, kin, and members of various groups, I tried to collect as much information as possible about the topics that were being discussed and about social contexts. Nevertheless, utterances would invite multiple interpretations, particularly when removed from their immediate social context. As Duranti (1994: 30-32) mentions, words and expressions that seemed semantically transparent at the time of speaking and listening look obscure and ambiguous outside the social context of the recorded discourse. The fact of speaking the same language or the same dialect is never a guarantee of the accuracy of interpretation. The situatedness of talk becomes

more dramatically apparent once I step out of the field of actual speech situation and try to work on some of the transcripts by myself. Tannen (1979) notes “[a]s soon as conversation is recorded on tape, it becomes a new entity – a taped conversation, which is different from the conversation as it occurred” (66). The essence of talk disappears at the moment it is uttered and can only be imperfectly reconstructed. Furthermore, due to the elliptical nature of Japanese syntax, many Japanese utterances seem even more ambiguous away from the place where they are uttered. The ellipsis of syntactic properties such as subject and object becomes a problem in decoding the texts and translating them into English. It was my responsibility to interpret what goes on in interaction and to identify unexpressed referents. In order to avoid complacent interpretations and gain a wide range of interpretations of my data, I asked a native speaker of Japanese to go through transcripts with me, to check for accurate transcriptions, and to discuss possible interpretations of data in Japanese.

Using the transcripts as a point of reference, I consulted with some subjects about their specific usage. However, subjects’ metalinguistic commentaries in retrospect are not reliable. Moreover, many subjects became linguistically insecure, when they assumed that I as a native speaker of Japanese and a researcher of linguistics consulted with them in order to assess their linguistic knowledge, although it was not my intention. In talking about how to carry out follow-up interviews and playback, Tannen (1979, 1984) suggests that researchers have to be careful to wait for subjects to make comments and not put ideas in their heads or words in their mouths. She argues that it is better to give them control of the tape

recorder, so that they can stop it and comment when they like, and start it again whenever they feel they have done commenting. Occasionally, researchers need to call attention to particular segments for analysis, by beginning with the most general questions or only as a last resort making specific mention of what they think might be happening. When I carried out follow-up interviews, I let my subjects direct the session in order to understand the interaction from their perspectives. I also recorded playback sessions for later reference, by obviating the need to take notes, which might hamper the spontaneity of comments. The follow-up interviews provided me with a good range of interpretations and background facts on which to base my ethnographic and linguistic analysis of the situation. I was able to gain a deeper understanding of selected instances of honorific use, observe whether or not participants understood each other, and elicit their interpretations of what went on.

Later, I asked native speakers in their 20s, 30s, 50s, and 60s, who were not present in the recordings, to listen to several examples of my data and speak freely about them. This method involved a problem similar to the above method some native speakers of Japanese felt particularly insecure about their honorific use. Most speakers in their 20s and 30s were afraid that they do not speak *tadashii keigo* ‘correct honorifics’ so that they could not give me correct answers and helpful comments. They were constantly concerned about whether their comments about certain instances of honorific use were right or wrong. On the other hand, speakers in their 50s and 60s were eager to talk about correct ways of speaking Japanese and using Japanese honorifics. Although we cannot fully rely on

natives' metalinguistic commentaries, they still reveal local standards of language use (Silverstein 1981; Hanks 1990: 72). As I present in Chapters 7 and 8, non-present speakers' metalinguistic commentaries provided me insights into deducing social assumptions that native speakers tend to share. Collecting and knowing their interpretations and assumptions also helped me to examine data from less subjective perspectives.

Lost in translation

Lastly, I would like to mention issues of translation. Translating one language into another is always challenging, especially among typologically distant languages. The problem that I encountered in this research was how to translate Japanese honorifics into English, a language that has no grammaticalized honorifics. English sentences would sound clumsy in the morpheme-to-morpheme translation of Japanese honorifics, as in the example below, taken from the speech of a master of ceremony at a wedding. The format of the example is as follows: the top line is original Japanese; the second line is a gloss; the third line is a literal translation; and the fourth is a freer translation. The numbers have been introduced for the purpose of analysis.

- (1) 1 MC: *minasama*
everyone:RESP.SUF
'Dear honorable everyone,'
'Ladies and gentlemen,'

- 2 *taihen nagaraku o-matase o mōshiage mashita.*
 very much long **RESP-wait O say:HUM POL:PAST**
 ‘(We) humbly made (you) wait honorably for very long.’
 ‘Thank you for waiting for so long.’
- 3 *koreyori go-baishakunin-sama go-shinrō go-shinpu*
 this from **RESP-mediator-RESP.SUF RESP-groom RESP-bride**
- 4 *go-ryōke go-ryōshin-sama o*
RESP-both families RESP-parents-RESP.SUF O
- 5 *o-mukae shite mairi masu.*
RESP-welcome:do:ADV do:HUM POL
- 3-5 ‘From now on, (we) humbly welcome the honorable mediators, the
 honorable groom, the honorable bride, both of the honorable
 families’ honorable parents.’
 ‘From now on, we welcome the mediators, groom, bride, and the
 couple’s parents.’
- 6 *dōzo go-nyūjōguchi ni go-chūmoku kudasai-mase*
 please:**POLRESP-entrance LOC RESP-attention please-POL**
 ‘Please pay (your) honorable attention to (the) honorable
 entrance.’
 ‘Please pay attention to the entrance.’

In this example, all the noun phrases take the honorific prefix *o-* or *go-*; all the verb phrases take either humiliate or respectful forms, depending on the object of honorification (when the object of honorification is the speaker, humiliate forms

are applied; when the object of honorification is others, respectful forms are applied); and all utterances end in polite forms. In the morpheme-to-morpheme literal translations I provided in the third lines, I used the word ‘honorable’ for each Japanese honorific prefix, and ‘humbly’ or ‘respectfully’ for each humiliative or respectful form of verbs in Japanese. Nevertheless, there is a limit to the extent that I can provide a literal translation of all the instances of Japanese honorifics into English. The use of polite forms in predicates is never fully translated into English on the propositional level, since it involves a speech level or a register. On the other hand, free translations in English still cannot convey the same nuances and indexical meanings as actual speech in Japanese. Neither morpheme-to-morpheme literal translation nor free translation in English would suffice for my indexical analysis of Japanese honorifics. Translating all instances of Japanese honorifics into English would not only make English sentences clumsy and awkward but was also an impossible task. When I analyze actual examples of honorific use in subsequent chapters, I will only provide a free translation and will not provide a morpheme-to-morpheme translation. My English translations will not include ‘honorable’ for each Japanese honorific prefix and ‘humbly’ or ‘respectfully’ for each humiliative or respectful form of verbs in Japanese. Instead, in the prose that follows each example, I will specify the object of honorification and demonstrate which indexical meanings each instance of Japanese honorifics carries.

In the next chapter, I examine the sequential use of Japanese honorifics that emerges out of the contingencies of the immediate context in social interaction. I

demonstrate dynamic processes of interaction, in which co-present participants respond to, adjust, and negotiate each other's use of honorifics in the course of interaction. In Chapter 4, I introduce the concept of "attunement" to mean a participant's fine-tuned coordination with others in social relations, both linguistically and non-linguistically. I observe that participants engaged in interaction use or do not use honorifics, in order to linguistically attune to others' use or non-use of honorifics.

Chapter 4

Linguistic attunement in interaction

Introduction

Actual interaction in Japanese contains abundant uses of honorifics that are unexpected and irregular. On the other hand, many uses are also expected and conventional, following the traditional view of Japanese honorific usage. In order to account for unexpected and unconventional uses of speech forms of honorification, I propose the notion of “attunement” as a complement to the traditional account that has only explained expected and regular uses of speech forms in Japanese.

Attunement demonstrates the results of participants’ attempt to accommodate to others’ behaviors. Attunement is an interactional phenomenon, pervasive at linguistic, paralinguistic (such as gestures, pitch, and loudness), or non-linguistic (such as eye gaze, facial expressions, postures, and self-locations) levels of interaction. The case of the finger bowl that I introduced in Chapter 1 presents a non-linguistic example of attunement. The royal, seeing the guest drink the water out of the finger bowl, also drank the water himself, breaking the etiquette rule of using the finger bowl. His or her behavior shows one type of attunement, doing the same thing as a guest.

Attunement consists of not only the same movement but also different movements among participants. For example, dancers constantly pay attention to their partners’ movements. They match their partners’ speed or movements, by

making the same movements in the same speed. But sometimes each dancer does different movements, which are still woven together in a unified sequence of dancing in attunement. Thus, attunement is a participant's fine-tuned coordination with others. It is achieved and observed sequentially in the course of action. As a result of attunement, participants gain a sense of tuning in with each other.

In this chapter, I first present theoretical perspectives that are essential to the understanding of my notion of attunement. Then, I identify three types of attunement: repetition, alignment, and complement. I exemplify each type of attunement with uses of speech forms of honorification in Japanese. As an analysis of honorification in interactional sequences and discussion of how the use of honorification is sequentially unfolded under the condition of attunement, this chapter is a prelude to the analyses in subsequent chapters.

The theoretical perspectives of attunement

This section surveys the literature on interaction, with special attention to the range of issues most relevant to "attunement," the theme of this dissertation. My notion of "attunement" encompasses a variety of ideas about speech and social interaction. First and foremost, it is based on the idea that interaction is a dialogic phenomenon (Bakhtin 1975[1981]; Voloshinov (1929[1986])). I also emphasize co-engagement of participants in interaction, using Goffman's (1974, 1981) model of participation. My notion of linguistic attunement borrows the ideas from Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland 1975) and Audience Design (Bell 1984). Participants design and adjust their interactional

style for different addressees and audience members in the way to accommodate to each other. Studies of conversation analysis demonstrating interactional processes of meaning-making and interpreting have contributed to my understanding of conversational interaction. My notion of attunement benefits from their studies that interaction is the collaborative work by several participants.

The dialogic theory of language

The dialogic nature of social interaction is most fundamental to my notion of “attunement”. For conversational interaction to be dialogic, two or more people are not just taking the role of speaker and listener in turn. The participants’ active participation in interaction is required in speaking, listening, and interpreting the speaker’s utterance. Interaction is an active dialogic act, on the parts of all participants, not actively by one passive reception by the other.

The theoretical perspective I have in mind is Bakhtin’s notion of “dialogism”. Bakhtin (1975[1981]) and Voloshinov (1929[1986]) argue that no utterance can be spoken that does not echo how others understand and have used it. All utterances have a polyphonic nature. This polyphony derives from the multiple resonances of the people, contexts, and genres with which the utterance or word has been associated. As Bakhtin ([1952-3]1986) puts it, “(e)ach utterance is filled with the echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication” (91). Du Bois (2003) rephrases this as “my words come from and engage with your words, and with the words of those who have spoken before us” (1).

Attunement is dialogic, as demonstrated in the example of finger-bowl etiquette that I introduced in chapter 1. Attunement involves varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of ‘our-own-ness’ of interaction, as an outcome of participants’ copresence in the acts of speaking, listening, and interpreting each other’s utterance. In the next section, I examine Goffman’s notion of “participation framework” that build upon or reframe the notion of “participant” found in Hymes’s (1972, 1974) SPEAKING model.

Participation framework

My notion of “attunement” depends heavily on Goffman’s (1974, 1981) model of participation. Participation is both a form of human interaction and a perspective of analysis (Duranti 1997: 280). It is a concept that draws from a variety of schools within linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and psychology. I take the idea of participation as the starting point for the study of face-to-face interaction. Starting from the summary of the Hymes’s model of SPEAKING, I will review Goffman’s notions of “speaker” and “hearer,” in order to understand the collaborative nature of interaction and interpretation.

Hymes (1972, 1974) built on Jakobson’s speech event model by regrouping Jakobson’s (1960) six factors into sixteen components under the letters “S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G”: Situation, Participants, Ends, Act sequences, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre. Each of the eight components, except for “key” and “genre,” was further divided into two or more components: Situation (1. Setting, 2. Scene); Participants (3. Speaker or sender, 4. Addressor, 5. Hearer, or

receiver, or audience, 6. Addressee); Ends (7. Purposes - outcomes, 8. Purposes - goals); Act sequences (9. Message form, 10. Message content); Key (11.Key); Instrumentalities (12. Channel, 13. Forms of speech); Norms (14. Norms of interaction; 15. Norms of interpretation); Genre (16. Genres). In Hymes' SPEAKING model, the factors involved in language are parts of social life. According to Duranti (1997: 288-290), the innovative part of his model is the nature of the unit of analysis. For Hymes, the unit of analysis is not a purely linguistic one but the community itself as a social unit, which includes or is based on speech. At the micro-interactional level, "community" refers to the small or large group of people involved in a common activity. This includes a two-party conversation on the phone, a ceremony involving dozens of participants, or a political rally with thousands of people. At the macro-interactional level, "community" includes to a larger group, including geo-political, kin, ethnic, professional, and linguistic connections (ibid.).

Hymes' SPEAKING model inspired the development of an understanding of the relationship among components of the speech event. Goffman's work (1981) on "footing" echoes one of the components in Hymes' SPEAKING model, distinguishing among participants in their roles as speaker, sender, or addressor; and hearer, receiver, addressee, or audience.¹² By "footing," Goffman refers to the position or alignment of an individual in uttering a given linguistic expression (ibid.: 128). Footing is an aspect of the process whereby participants link utterances to particular moments, places, or personae, including our own self at a different time or with a different spirit (e.g. emotional vs. detached, accepting vs.

¹² For details about Goffman's work, see Duranti (1997: 295-301).

skeptical, literal vs. ironic). Goffman uses the term “participation status” for the particular relation any one person in a situation has with others in the discourse and what is being said. For him, the participation framework is the total configuration of statuses at any given time.

Goffman makes more subtle distinctions within the category “speaker.” The speaker has three distinct roles: animator, author, and principal (ibid.: 144). Although speakers often assume all three roles at the same time, the roles have to be distinguished. The animator is the one who produces or gives a voice to the message that is being conveyed. The author is the one who is responsible for the selection of words and sentiments that are being expressed. The principal is the individual or institution whose position or beliefs are being represented. The principal is also the one who is held responsible for whatever position is being represented. These distinct roles constitute the production format of an utterance (ibid.: 226).

In describing the category “hearer” as one of the recipients, Goffman makes a number of subtle distinctions. He points out that in any given situation, there might be all kinds of people who “hear” what is being said. Those who are entitled and expected to be part of the communicative event are called “ratified participants,” whereas all the rest are “unratified participants” (ibid.: 131-132). Thus, participants are distinguished as: 1) the addressee or the referent as a ratified participant, who is addressed or oriented to by the speaker in a manner to suggest that words are for them and that some answer is anticipated from them, more than from the other ratified participants; 2) audience (in the case of more than

two-person talk) who is a ratified participant but is not specifically addressed by the speaker; and 3) bystanders such as overhearers or eavesdroppers who have some kind of aural and visual access to the encounter, whether or not their unrated participation is encouraged or inadvertent (ibid.: 9-10).

Goffman's emphasis on the situation as the starting point of the sociological analysis of talk is reflected in his concern for recipients who might not be the official addressees. If speakers take the presence of unrated participants into consideration and make unrated participants into their audience, unrated participants can become ratified. Unrated participants may have to act as if they were not present (ibid.: 132), or have to make their presence and understanding of the on-going interaction obvious and force themselves into the exchange. As Duranti (1997: 288-290) points out, Goffman's understanding of the roles of participants assumes that interaction seen as the product of one or two individuals, such as speaker and addressee, is in fact the collaborative work of several participants. Thus, a theory of participation is a powerful instrument for the study of the constitution of society, with its pre-established roles and statuses and its routine negotiation of such roles and statuses through communication.

Accommodation Theory and Audience Design

My notion of attunement illustrates similar views to Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland 1975) and Audience Design (Bell 1984). These studies take the dialogic theory of language and participation framework into consideration in building communication models. They explore the idea that

speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their interactional style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members.

Accommodation Theory, a generalized dynamic model of social relations, proposes that speakers accommodate their speech styles to listeners in order to win their approval. Speakers may attend to listeners, adopt each other's styles, or they may diverge from each other to make clear that they are dissimilar. Accommodation Theory specifies the effects that linguistic convergence, maintenance, or divergence are likely to have on the recipient's perceptions of the speaker and of the speaker-listener relationship. These effects depend on perceived degrees of similarity or dissimilarity between the speaker's accommodated style and the listener's own style (Coupland 2001: 200).

Making use of Accommodation Theory and Bakhtin's dialogic theory of language, Bell's (1984) Audience Design proposes that speakers respond primarily to their audience in designing their talk. Audience Design is generally manifested in the speaker shifting speech style to be more like that of the interlocutor that the speaker is talking to (Bell 2001: 142-143). Bell (2001) also proposes Referee Design, another dimension of speech style. In Referee Design, "referee" refers to a third person who is not usually present in interaction but is so salient that they influence speakers' style even in their absence (147). Referee Design involves the speaker shifting speech style to identify strongly with their own ingroup or to an outgroup with which they wish to identify. It focuses on the linguistic expression of identification with a reference group that is important to the speaker, usually in response to a change in some aspect of the audience.

In interaction, participants position themselves in relation to their own ingroup and other groups, and their interlocutors. The notion of attunement emphasizes that participants make efforts to accommodate their interactional styles for their interlocutors, audience, and referents.

Participation in talk-in-interaction

Studies of conversation analysis also influence my notion of attunement. Conversation analysts have demonstrated the interactional nature of all meaning in conversation and examined the ways in which interlocutors respond to an ongoing telling and influence the subsequent course of conversation (Duranti 1986; C. Goodwin 1986; Schegloff 1988; M.H. Goodwin 1990; Ochs 1997; Hayashi et al. 2002). They use the term “co-construction” to mean the mutual bearing of linguistic resources and interactional practices (cf. Ochs et al. 1996). Participants collaboratively frame, sustain, and negotiate participation in talk-in-interaction (Goodwin 1980, 1981, 1984; Schegloff 1984; Kendon 1990; Heath 1992; Duranti 1994; Fox et al. 1996). My analysis of honorific usage in Japanese interaction will demonstrate this point in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Although much work on conversation analysis focuses on the linguistic aspect of interaction, the theoretical perspective expands to participants’ nonlinguistic conduct of interaction such as gestures, eye gaze, facial expressions, postures, and self-locations (Hayashi et al. 2002). Participants’ body behavior is an integral part of their conduct in talk-in-interaction.

The notion of attunement is based on the notion basic to conversation

analysis that participants collaboratively adapt, accommodate, and negotiate their verbal and non-verbal behaviors in interaction.

Conceptual analysis of attunement

This section provides a conceptual analysis of attunement. I suggest three types of attunement: 1) repetition; 2) alignment; and 3) complementation. As soon as we start analyzing actual interaction, we realize that an actual instance of attunement can involve more than one type so it may appear attractive and economical to compress the three types into one. However, several complex cases of attunement that I analyze in later chapters will demonstrate that it is valid to keep the three types distinct. My categorization of the three types of attunement is based on examples of attunement that I find in my database. It is by no means an exclusive list of attunement types. More types of attunement will be identified in different data.

In the rest of this section, I attempt to identify each type of attunement with non-linguistic and linguistic examples. Each linguistic example includes more instances of attunement than I describe explicitly, but my description in subsequent sections only focus on attunement expressed in speech forms of honorification in Japanese.

Repetition

The first type, repetition, covers recurrent and routine patterns of behavior. Everyday life is filled with repetition. *Rajio taisō* ‘radio callisthenic’ broadcast

over the radio is a powerful example of repetition with fixed routines that lasts for many years. Formally established in 1928 by the Postal Life Insurance Bureau of the then Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications (the present-day Japan Post) to promote long lasting health amongst Japan's citizens, *rajio taisō* is still aired everyday throughout the nation. The first version of *rajio taisō* consists of fixed routines of vertical stretches, arm and leg extensions, arm rotations, chest puffing, side lunges, bending forwards and backwards, arm crosses, vertical arm stretches, diagonal stretches, full body circles, jumps, arm and leg extensions, and deep breaths. *Rajio taisō* can be done individually, but it can also involve more than two people moving in unison. Neighbors gather in the park and other open spaces to do the routines in the early morning. Some companies start the day with a session of *rajio taisō* or stop everything in the mid-afternoon so everyone can do *rajio taisō*. Most Japanese elementary schools conduct summer vacation *rajio taisō* sessions. Every morning at 6am, hundreds of people gather in open spaces, line up, and do a series of exercises to the accompaniment of music. Since 1928, Japanese children and adults have been repeating the same routines of *rajio taisō* for nearly eighty years.

In conversational interaction, people repeat sounds, words, phrases or sentences, and larger discourse sequences. Tannen (1989: 54) identifies forms of repetition and variation in conversation, according to several criteria. First, she distinguishes “self-repetition” and “allo-repetition” (repetition of others). Second, she places instances of repetition along a scale of fixity in form. Instances of repetition range from “exact repetition” (the same words uttered in the same

rhythmic pattern) to “paraphrase” (similar ideas in different words). Midway on the scale is “repetition with variation”, such as questions transformed into statements, statements changed into questions, repetition with a single word of phrase changed, and repetition with change of person or tense. Included in her category is “patterned rhythm”: completely different words uttered in the same syntactic and rhythmic paradigm as a preceding utterance. There is also a temporal scale ranging from immediate to delayed repetition. “Delayed repetition” may occur within a discourse or over days, weeks, months, and years. Formulaic speech is an example of repetition by multiple speakers over time.

In the Bakhtinian sense, there is no such thing as “exact repetition” nor is there a complete absence of repetition. Each time an utterance is expressed, it echoes others’ voices prior to the utterance and carries social, cultural, and historical experience.

My use of the term “repetition” focuses on structural similarities in the conversational interaction. Repetition involves repeating phonemes, morphemes, words, collocations of words, and longer sequences of discourse. Following Tannen’s criteria, repetition includes both self-repetition and allo-repetition. By repetition, I mean to refer to “exact repetition” “repetition with variations”, and “delayed repetition”. Since I emphasize the structural similarities of linguistic forms that are repeated, “the repetition with variation” includes questions transformed into statements, statements changed into questions, and repetition with a single word of phrase changed, but does not include the repetition with change of person and tense. By repetition, I do not mean to refer to “paraphrase” and

“patterned rhythm” that do not involve repeating phonemes, morphemes, words, or collocations of words. They are considered as alignment, a distinct type of attunement.

The following examples (1) - (3) show “exact repetition, “the repetition with variations”, and “delayed repetition”, respectively. Although each excerpt includes more instances of repetition, shaded areas in the examples specifically indicate the parts of repetition in the use of polite forms. First, consider examples (1) and (2) that took place at a restaurant among close friends.

- (1) 1 Makiko: *a sugoi sarada*
oh great salad
‘Oh, (that looks like) a good salad.’
- 2 Eri: *oishisō dane*
delicious COP:SFP
‘Looks delicious, right?’
- 3 Jiro: *are wa nan darō*
that SUB what COP
‘(I) wonder what that is.’
- 4 Eri: *nan darō*
what COP
‘(I) wonder what (that) is.’
- 5 Makiko: *sagashite kudasai yo* ((handing the menu to Jiro))
search please:POL SFP
‘Please look it up (in the menu).’
- 6 Eri: *sagashite kudasai yo*
Search please:POL SFP
‘Please look it up (in the menu).’

In (1), the shaded area in Eri's speech in line 6 indicates that it is an exact repetition of my utterance in line 5. Repetition of the function words such as sentence-final particles is closely linked to the grammar of the language. These function words are likely to occur frequently in Japanese interaction, nonetheless their frequent occurrence plays a significant role in giving the interaction its characteristic shape and sound. Their repetition helps to establish the shared universe of discourse created by conversational interaction in the language (Tannen 1989: 76).

In (2), the same speakers and their friends talk about their ages.

- (2) 1 Akemi: *eri chan ima sanjū?*
 EriDIM now thirty
 'Eri, are you now thirty?'
- 2 *kono mae no tanjōbi de sanjū?*
 this before GEN birthday TEMP thirty
 'Did you turn thirty on your last birthday?'
- 3 Eri: *sanjū sanjū natta*
 thirty thirty become.PAST
 'Thirty, thirty, I turned thirty.'
- 4 Akemi: *maki chan wa?*
 MakiDIM TOP
 'What about (you), Maki?'
- 5 Makiko: *mada nē*
 still SFP
 'Still.'
- 6 Eri: *nijūdai desu yo*
 twenties COP:POL SFP

‘(She) is in her 20s.’

7 Haruko: *nijūdai desu ka?*

twenties COP:POL Q

‘(She) is in her 20s?’

8 Makiko: *iēi iēi*

yeah yeah

‘Yeah, yeah.’

Haruko’s speech in line 7 shows an instance of “repetition with variation”. In line 7, Eri’s speech in line 6 is repeated but transformed into a question instead of a sentence-final particle.

Example (3) shows an instance of “delayed repetition within a discourse”. When I visited a community center in Kashiwazaki city, Niigata, on opening day, volunteer women were making handmade noodles. They told me to try to slice the dough into long thin pieces. Because I was afraid that I would do it poorly, I refused. But, they persuaded me to do it, as in (3).

(3) 1 Woman 1: *nanigoto mo keiken dakara*

anything too experience so

‘Everything is an experience.’

2 Makiko: *hai keiken desu ne*

yes experience COP:POL SFP

‘Yes, (it) is an experience.’

3 Woman 1: *soo soo*

yes yes

‘Right, right.’

4 Woman 2: *keiken desu yo*

experience COP:POL SFP

‘(It) is an experience.’

In line 2, I agreed with the first woman that everything is an experience. In line 4, another woman repeated my speech in line 2, using the sentence-final particle *yo* instead of *ne*. In this example, the repetition is used as the means of persuasion.

Repetition has several functions, but repetition in these examples demonstrates interlocutors’ attempt to communicate on the same footing. Taking the same footing helps to establish commonality and increase connectedness between interlocutors. In this sense, repetition can be regarded as a politeness behavior.

Alignment

The second type of attunement is alignment. Alignment is an arrangement into an order or pattern. When things are in alignment, they are not chaotic or random. For example, when two people are sitting parallel to each other and interacting, their bodies are oriented in the same direction, they are in alignment. People waiting in lines and athletes entering the Olympic Stadium and marching are also examples of alignment. Alignment occurs in interaction when participants’ behaviors or bodily orientations form an arranged pattern. When people perform the same or similar acts, alignment and repetition are both occurring.

Linguistically, alignment is shown in sound, structures like as alliteration,

and rhyme. It also appears in words, collocations of words, phrases or sentences, and larger discourse sequences that show a certain patterning. For instance, “paraphrase” (similar ideas expressed in different words) and “patterned rhythm” (completely different words uttered in the same syntactic and rhythmic paradigm as a preceding utterance) show alignment. Alignment is also expressed in “style figures of speech”. Among the examples of stylistic figures that Levin (1982: 114) gives, alignment is most clearly shown in epanaphora (beginning successive clauses with the same group of words), antithesis (the juxtaposition of contraries in balanced clauses), asyndeton (the combining of clauses without conjunctions), and isocolon (a sequence of clauses containing the same number of syllables) (cited in Tannen 1989: 22). Using the same register or dialect is also a linguistic example of alignment. Moreover, alignment appears pragmatically in indirectness, politeness, dialogue, and silence. Simply put, alignment is a set of sound, words, collocations of words, phrases or sentences, and larger discourse sequences that contain similar patterns.

Repetition and alignment have a fuzzy boundary. For instance, *-desu* and *-masu* endings that are both polite forms can appear in combination in a segment of interaction. Such occurrences of *-desu* and *-masu* polite forms do not create repetition, since my categorization of repetition focuses on the structural similarity of linguistic forms. Rather, sequential occurrences of *-desu* and *-masu* endings are considered examples of alignment, as the following examples show. Examples 4 and 5 are taken from a conversation among friends who were invited to their friend’s wedding and assigned to sit at the same banquet table.

- (4) 1 Hanako: *hisashiburi dare da ka wakannakatta yo*
 long time who COP Q know.NEG.PAST SFP
 ‘(It’s been) a long time. I couldn’t recognize (you).’
- 2 Junko: *honto uwa kitsuke mo migoto desu*
 really wow wearing too fantastic COP:POL
 ‘(That’s) right. Wow, the way (you) wear (the kimono) is
 fantastic.’
- 3 Hanako: *un arigato gozaimasu*
 yeah thanks COP:SUPER.POL
 ‘Yeah. Thank you very much.’
- (5) 1 Makiko: *watashi mo tori masu*
 1st person too take POL
 ‘I also take (a picture).’
- 2 Hitomi: *hai wakarimashita*
 yes understand.POL.PAST
 ‘Yes, I understood.’

Example 4 contains the polite form of the copula *desu* and the super-polite form of the copula, *gozaimasu*. Although the super-polite form *gozaimasu* contains *masu*, it is not a variant of a *masu*-ending polite form. It is a variant of a *desu*-ending polite form. Example 5 contains the polite forms of the verbal suffixes in present tense and in past tense. In both examples, each token of polite forms takes a different linguistic form and thus it does not form repetition. But the two tokens in the two examples are variants of *-desu* and *-masu* ending forms, respectively. So, these examples containing variants of speech forms in the same

category are cases of alignment.

Another example of alignment is a combination of *-desu* and *-masu* ending polite forms. Sequences of actual interaction are likely to contain not only the repetition of either *-desu* or *-masu*, but also a combination of both, as in (6). Example 6 is again taken from the conversation among friends at the wedding banquet table.

- (6) 1 Saori: *mā go-kikoku sare **mash**ita ka?*
oh RESP.PRE-return do:PASS:RESP **POL:PAST** Q
'Oh, (you) came back (to Japan)?'
- 2 Makiko: *sō de **gozaimasu** @ @ @*
yes and **COP:SUPER.POL**
'Yes, I did.'

Saori uses a *-masu* ending form in line 1, while I use a *-desu* ending form. As described in Chapter 2, *-desu* appears as a suppletive form of the copula, while *-masu* appears in verbal suffixes. Since *-desu* and *-masu* are different linguistic forms and phonologically unrelated, this example does not show exact repetition. Nevertheless, *-desu* and *-masu* are morphologically-related polite forms and considered polite register. In this sense, the speakers in (6) both use the same register. It is an instance of alignment through the use of speech forms of the same category.

A similar example of alignment occurs in the use of the respectful forms of suffixes, as in example 7. The conversation in (7) takes place at the participants'

friend’s wedding reception. Two friends are explaining to their mutual friend how they came to the waiting room for guests.

- (7) 1 Hitomi: *go-ryōke* *no* *hikaeshitsu* *de*
RESP.PRE-both family GEN waiting room LOC
 ‘(Over there) is a waiting room for both families,
haittecchatta *n* *dakedo* *de*
 enter.AUX.PAST NOM but then
 ‘(We) happened to enter there, but then,’
- 2 Momoko: *achira* *de* *mattetara*
 there:POL LOC wait.PAST.if
 ‘(When we were) waiting there,’
- 3 *o-kā-sama* *ni* *tsurerarete*
RESP.PRE-mother-**RESP.SUF** by take.PASS
 ‘(we) were taken by (her) mother and’
- 4 *dōzo* *dōzo* *tte* *iwarete* *kocchi* *made* *kichatta*
 please please QT say.PASS here till come.AUZ.PAST
 ‘told, “Please, please”, then (we) ended up coming here.’

In line 1, Hitomi refers to the families of a couple with the respectful form of the prefix, *go-*. In line 3, Momoko refers to the bride’s mother with the respectful form of the prefix, *o-*, and the respectful form of the suffix, *-sama*. Each token of the three forms is phonologically different, but all are in respectful forms, morphologically. Thus, their use of the respectful forms of the affixes is in alignment. In addition to the alignment by the use of respectful forms, the speakers also align in predicate elements. In this example, the speakers do not use polite forms in predicate elements. Their use of plain forms of speech in predicate

elements also shows alignment.

I have shown several kinds of alignment in Japanese honorific use. They include sequential occurrences of variants of one type of speech forms of honorifics and a combination of different kinds of speech forms of honorifics. While the phonological sameness of linguistic forms makes repetition, morphological and categorical similarities of linguistic forms contribute to making alignment. Thus, morpho-syntactic structures of the language become a resource of attunement. Next, I will show the third type of attunement, complementation, which can also co-occur with alignment.

Complementation

The third type of attunement is complementation. When things are complementary, they become complete as a whole, individually. Consider the relationship between a niece and an aunt. Each of them identifies as a niece or an aunt because of the presence of the other. A duet is another example of complementary roles. One sings in a higher key, while the other sings in a lower. Sometimes their roles are reversed, but each part complements the other and together they create harmony. Complementation can involve more than two people. In a baseball game, nine players complement one another. The lack of one player means that they cannot be a baseball game. If the pitcher does not throw the ball, but plays in the outfield, he does not fulfill his role and therefore the game does not exist. In order to be complementary, each player has to assume and play a distinct role. When each player fulfills his role, the sum of all the parts

composes the complete whole. I consider complementation as one type of attunement.

In linguistics, the notion of complementarity has been fundamental. Notions like “allomorphs” and “allophone” are based on the notion of complementation, question-answer adjacency pairs are pragmatic examples of complementation. In a simple exchange, such as ‘How are you?’ and ‘Fine, thanks’, neither the question nor the answer stands by itself.

In this dissertation, in order to examine the use of speech forms of honorification in Japanese, I restrict the notion of complementation to speech forms considered to be in different categories. The different categories are the four types of speech forms presented in chapter 2: plain, polite, respectful, and humiliating. For example, if one speaker uses respectful and plain forms and the next speaker uses (humiliative and/or) polite forms, their uses of speech forms are complementary. Example 8 is taken from the same peer-group conversation at the restaurant as in (1) and (2). In (8), speakers are discussing whether *benishōga* (‘red pickled ginger’) goes well with *okonomiyaki* (‘Japanese pizza’).

- (8) 1 Makiko: *chottomatta hai haru-chan no go-iken?*
 little wait.PASTyes Haru-DIM GEN **RESP.PRE**-opinion
 ‘Wait a minute. Yes, (how about your) opinion, Haru?’
- 2 Haruko: *e demo atashi wa okonomiyaki niwa benishōga*
 well but 1st person TOP Japanese pizza to TOP red ginger
 ‘Well, but I (would like) red pickled ginger for a Japanese
 pizza.’
- 3 *de yakisoba ni wa benishōga (0.1) desu*

and fried noodles to TOP red ginger COP:POL
 ‘And (I would like) red pickled ginger for fried noodles.’

In (8), I used a respectful form of the prefix *go-* but ended my speech without a polite form in line 1. In line 2, Haruko used the polite form of the copula *desu*. My speech is categorized as [+RESPECTFUL] and [-POLITE], while Haruko’s speech is categorized as [-RESPECTFUL] and [+POLITE]. The contrast in our speeches shows complementation.

Complementation overlaps with alignment. Example 9, taken from the same conversation as example 8, shows a case of “complementary alignment.”

- (9) 1 Eri: *minna* *o-tabe* *o-tabe*
 everyone RESP.PRE-eat RESP.PRE-eat
 ‘Everyone, eat (this), eat (this).’
- 2 Toru: *hai jā itadaki* *masu*
 Yes then eat.HUM POL
 ‘Yes, then, (I’ll) eat.’

In line 1, Eri uses the respectful form of the prefix *o-* twice and ends her speech without using a polite form. In line 2, Toru uses the form of the verb ‘to eat,’ *itadaki-*, and the polite form *masu*. Eri’s speech is categorized as [+RESPECTFUL] and [-POLITE], while Toru’s speech is categorized as [+HUMILIATIVE] and [+POLITE]. First, their speeches are complementary in the use of polite forms. Second, the shaded areas show a pair of speech forms in complement, as Figures 5 through 7 in Chapter 2 demonstrated the

complementation in respectful and humble forms. However, Figures 1 and 2 have shown that respectful and humiliative forms are both subcategories of ‘referent honorifics’ (*keijō-go*). So, respectful and humiliative forms of the same verb in lines 1 and 2 could be considered in alignment. I treat these speakers’ use of respectful and humiliative forms of the same verb as the instance of the “complementary alignment”.

Summary

In this chapter, I have proposed the notion of linguistic attunement as an attempt to explain unexpected and unconventional honorific usage in Japanese interaction. I have defined attunement as an interactional phenomenon of fine-tuned coordination among participants. It is pervasive at the linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-linguistic levels of interaction.

The notion of attunement encompasses notions developed in linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, and conversation analysis. The notion of “dialogue” (Bakhtin 1975[1981], Voloshinov (1929[1986])), the notion of participation (Goffman 1974, 1981), Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland 1975) and Audience Design (Bell 1984), and the idea of conversational co-construction (Goodwin 1986; Schegloff 1988; M.H. Goodwin 1990; Ochs 1997; Hayashi et al. 2002) form the basis of my notion of attunement.

I have identified the three types of attunement: repetition, alignment, and complementation. Repetition is recurrent. Linguistic repetition involves the repetition of phonemes, morphemes, words, collocations of words, and longer

sequences of discourse. Alignment is an arranged pattern. Linguistic alignment involves paraphrase, patterned rhythm, style figures of speech, dialect, and longer sequences of discourse that follow a specified pattern. Complementation assumes and fulfills a different role from other parts, in order to compose a whole. Linguistic complement involves a complementary set of sound, words, collocations of words, and register. I have examined each type of attunement, giving examples of the expected uses of speech forms of honorification in Japanese. I have also shown that the three types of attunement in the use of honorification occur altogether in one segment of interaction.

These three types of attunement will also help to explain some unexpected uses of honorification in Japanese. In subsequent chapters, I will suggest that although some honorific usage does not conform to conventional usage, the interaction nevertheless continues successfully. I will point out that such unconventional honorific usage is often superseded by the fulfillment of at least one of the three types of attunement. The notion of attunement explains these and other unexpected, irregular, or prescriptively incorrect honorific usage in Japanese, while not dismissing the fact that Japanese interaction is full of expected, regular, and correct honorific usage.

Chapter 5 examines the ways in which participants respond to and influence each other's speech forms. I will demonstrate that forecasted speech form used by one speaker influence the subsequent speech forms of another. My analysis will show that participants are very sensitive to the speech forms used by their interlocutors and tend to be in alignment with others' use of speech forms.

Chapter 5

Attunement sequences in footing shift

Introduction

This chapter describes the ways in which participants use speech forms at the time of footing shifts. When one participant changes “footing” (Goffman 1974) by using a different or an unexpected speech form from the prior context of interaction, other participants sense and respond to the change, often by adopting the speech forms introduced by the first participant. I present evidence that speakers attend to each other. My analysis suggests that speech forms are used in order to maximize the effect of attunement, particularly at the time of footing shifts.

Footing shift, for example, from plain to polite forms, indexes the change from casualness to formality in speech and a greater expression of the speaker’s deference to the addressee, as it is conventionally recognized and interpreted. If one speaker suddenly introduces polite forms in a conversation primarily carried on in plain forms, the speaker’s footing shift changes the context of the interaction. Then, other interlocutors may attune to and align with the one who uses polite forms by starting to use polite forms. Footing shift or the change in one person’s speech is likely to motivate changes in another’s speech. It contributes to the emergence and maintenance of the newly established sequences of unexpected speech forms in the middle of interaction.

In this chapter, I describe attunement sequences that emerge in the course of interaction. In my examples, interlocutors respond to a sudden change in others’

speeches, by attuning to them. At the time of footing shifts, one speaker's use of unexpected speech forms tends to trigger attunement sequences of the same speech forms in other interlocutors' speeches. Properties of context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' social status or group membership, or the lack of intimacy among interlocutors) are not always the factors determining which speech forms are to be used in interaction. Rather, attunement seems to describe participants' dynamic use of speech forms in ongoing interaction.

Footing shifts and indexical signs

In this section, I spell out the key concepts of footing and indexicality, as I will use them. Goffman (1974) defines "footing" as the stance or position that an individual adopts in uttering a given linguistic expression. The adopting of a footing is a process whereby participants link their utterances to particular moments, places, or personae. Footing is a variety of indexicality. Any indexical sign is, by definition, connected to an object in the context of its occurrence. Peirce (1955[1940]) explains an index as "a sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the sense or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand" (107). An indexical sign functions by virtue of an indexical relation between the form of the sign and whatever it stands for. It signals the copresence of its object in the same place and time as it occurs.

Following the semiotic traditions of Peirce, Jakobson, and Jespersen, Silverstein (1976) presents a two-way classification of indexical types: presupposing and creative. A presupposing indexical sign points to some contextual aspect independently known. In this sense, the sign “presupposes” the aspect. A creative indexical sign can make a particular contextual feature operative in the communicative context, by bringing it into focus. For example, an expression such as *vous* functions as a presupposing index when it points to the addressee’s higher status in a social context where that status difference is already a given between interlocutors. By contrast, the use of *vous* to a friend who is commonly addressed as *tu* can function as a creative index when it foregrounds new aspects of the context, such as deference, coldness, irony, humor, or sarcasm. Because of these two aspects, indexicals become primary tools to maintain and create social and psychological worlds among interlocutors.

Linguistic signs articulate on indexical ground composed of different aspects of context. The indexical ground is tied to the phenomenal sphere of the current speaker, addressee, and utterance context. It encodes the differential access that participants have to communicative events. At each moment of interaction, the indexical ground changes its shape and moves within and across participation frames.

Each linguistic form has a typical range of indexical contexts in which it is used. For example, polite forms are conventionally considered and commonly described as markers of the speaker’s deference to the addressee or formality of the speech situation. By contrast, plain forms are commonly considered and

described as markers of informality of the speech situation or the speaker's casualness or familiarity with the addressee. However, in actual interaction, a speaker may alternate between polite and plain forms. When one speaker introduces a polite form into a conversation in which plain forms have previously been used, the polite form becomes a creative index and activates a particular contextual aspect. Once a polite form is introduced, the use of polite forms in the following turns may become less creative. Rather, it may look presupposing. Generally, interlocutors are sensitive and responsive to an indexical change. Because of this dynamic, subtle, and productive nature of the indexical ground, conditions for the use of language are only intelligible in situated interactive contexts. Here, I use the distinction between "presupposing" and "creative" indexes, in order to discuss the emergence of attunement sequences of unexpected or creative speech forms within sequences of expected or presupposing speech forms.

In what follows, I examine interactional sequences, when a creative sign is suddenly introduced into the interactive context. My data demonstrate that interlocutors tend to attune to the creative use of speech forms as opposed to presupposing uses. When one speaker uses creative speech forms, addressees who become speakers in subsequent turns use the same speech forms. Thus, attunement sequences with creative speech forms are most likely to occur for several turns after a change occurs in one speaker's footing.

Attunement sequences in footing shift from plain to polite forms

The first type of attunement sequence involves aligned uses of polite and/or respectful and humiliating forms that appear in aligned uses of plain forms. I present a case in which speakers introduce sequences of polite forms into a conversation conducted in plain forms. Once a speaker uses a polite form in a conversation in which polite forms have not occurred, subsequent speakers may align with that speaker's use of polite forms or add more honorific speech forms such as respectful and humiliating forms.

An example is taken from a conversation among seven female friends, ages 26 to 28.¹³ All the speakers speak standard Japanese and reside in the eastern part of Japan (Kanto). In (1), after formulaic expressions with polite forms are used, subsequent speakers continue to use polite forms. Then, more polite forms are used one after another.

(1) Hitomi gives Noriko a surprise present on behalf of five other friends.

- 1 Hitomi: *minna kara Nori-chan he itterasshaimase*
 all from Nori-DIM to go.IMP:POL
 '(This is) from everybody to Nori, please take care.'
- 2 Noriko: *uwa arigatō gozaimasu.*
 wow thanks COP:SUPER.POL
 'Wow, thank you very much.'
- 3 *aketa hō ga ii desu ka?*
 open.PAST way SUB good COP:POL Q
 'Should (I) open (it)?'

¹³ Part of the analysis of this segment of conversation appeared in Takekuro (2002).

- 4 Hitomi: *akete kudasai*.
 open please:**POL**
 ‘Please open (it).’
- 5 *minna mo mitenai desu*
 all too see:NEG COP:**POL**
 ‘No one has seen (what it is yet).’
- 6 Noriko: *kyā sugoi* ((touching the wrapping and trying to open the gift))
 wow great
 ‘Wow, great!’
- 7 Hitomi: *nori-chan poi*
 Nori-DIM like
 ‘(It’s) so you, Nori!’
- 8 Noriko: *honto? nan deshō*
 really what COP:**POL**
 ‘Really? (I) wonder what it is.’

 ((trying to open the gift, but struggling with wrapping))
- 9 Ami: *mada wakannai desu*.
 still know:NEG COP:**POL**
 ‘(We) still don’t know (what it is).’

Before analyzing this text in detail, I want to emphasize that polite forms are not normal in informal peer group talk like this. When polite forms are used, they can create contextual cues and bring a particular contextual feature into focus

in the communicative context.

In (1), the use of polite forms displays complex contextual factors in informal talk. First, in line 1 Hitomi says *itterasshaimase* with the most polite form of addressee honorific *mase*. This sets up the special stage in this segment of interaction. In line 2, Noriko also utters the ritualistic expression *arigatō gozaimasu* ('Thank you very much.') with the super-polite form. Because polite forms are not typical of informal peer talk, this expresses Noriko's gratitude and humbleness towards her friends who give her the present. In line 3, in another instance of a polite form, Noriko as a humble person politely seeks her friend's permission to open the gift.

Probably triggered by Noriko's using addressee honorifics, Hitomi, the gift buyer, speaks to Noriko with the polite form of the expression *kudasai* ('please') and the polite form of the copula *desu* in lines 4 and 5. Although it is unnecessary, Hitomi's use of polite forms creates further pragmatic effects: not only does it avoid putting Hitomi in a higher position than Noriko (who is even humbler than usual), but also helps Noriko, as a gift receiver, feel less awkward about receiving the gift. Just as Noriko's speech reflects her gratitude towards her friends, Hitomi's linguistic alignment with Noriko's register reflects Hitomi's wish for equal friendship with Noriko. Moreover, Hitomi's use of polite forms is targeted at the rest of the people in the scene who contributed to the purchase of the gift. Expressing politeness with the polite form *desu* in line 5, Hitomi tries to downplay her role as a gift buyer and giver, while reflecting other people's curiosity about the contents of the package.

Polite forms in (1) are in alignment, triggered by previous instances of polite forms. Noriko's polite forms in lines 2 and 3 trigger Hitomi's polite forms in lines 4 and 5. Hitomi's polite forms in lines 4 and 5 trigger polite forms by Noriko and Ami in lines 8 and 9, in the middle of the conversation that was in plain forms previously.

This example further points out a complexity of polite forms as indexical signs. Hitomi's use of polite forms was highly marked in this context. As a result, her use of polite forms changed others' use of speech forms. Under normal usage, Noriko's use of polite forms could also be regarded as marked. However, from the perspective of attunement, Noriko's use of polite forms brings Hitomi's use of polite forms into conformity with the norm in this specific interactional setting. Thus, Hitomi's use of polite forms is not regarded as a marked departure from the general use of polite forms. Rather, it is contextually unmarked. Similarly, because of the previous use of polite forms, Noriko's and Ami's uses of polite forms that linguistically align with the previous usage become contextually unmarked rather than marked. Whether a usage is interpreted as normal or creative depends on its immediate social context. The understanding of polite forms changes dynamically, interacting with the situated communicative context and larger social norms. In (1), Hitomi's highly marked initial use of polite forms foregrounds other instances of polite forms. The rest of the speakers discern this indexical change and make linguistic alignment by their own use of polite forms. By the aligned use of polite forms, the speakers in (1) who are already close friends further elevate the social and interpersonal levels of affinity and solidarity.

In the newly aligned sequences of honorific speech forms, even if one speaker uses an honorific speech form mistakenly, her misuse is not taken to be critical, because maintaining aligned sequences takes priority over using speech forms “correctly,” as in the next example. Example 2 is taken from a conversation among the group of seven friends, two males and five females of diverse backgrounds. Their ages range from 28 to 36. The group includes three company employees, one part-time worker, one unemployed person, one graduate student, and one housewife. At the time of the recording, everyone lived in Tokyo or its suburbs. Four of them grew up in the eastern part of Japan (Kanto) (Ibaragi, Kanagawa, and Tokyo), while three of them are originally from Kōchi, Hokkaidō, and Aichi. Regardless of the differences in their age, professional, and regional backgrounds, they speak more or less standard Japanese and normally use plain forms to each other.

On June 8, 2002, they all met in a restaurant-bar in Tokyo. Example 2 starts in the middle of Jiro’s narrative about a car accident that happened on a freeway in Tokyo in the previous year.¹⁴

- (2) 1 Jiro: *asoko no atari de ushiro kara mō*
 there GEN around LOC behind from already
- 2 *dakara mō sakeyoi unten dayonē*
 so already drunken driving COP:SFP
 ‘Around there, (a driver) came from behind, so (it) was drunken
 driving, wasn’t it?’

¹⁴ Part of the analysis of this segment of conversation appeared in Takekuro (2004).

- 3 Waiter: ((bringing a dish)) *shitsurē shimāsu*
 excuse me do:POL
 ‘Excuse me.’
- 4 *shin jaga ni nari māsū* ((leaving the dish on the table))
 new potato LOC become POL
 ‘(These) are new potatoes.’
- 5 Chika: *shin jaga dēsū* ((moving the dish to the center of the table))
 new potato COP:POL
 ‘(These) are new potatoes.’
- 6 Jiro: *sorede tsuitotsu*
 then collision
 ‘Then, the collision (happened).’
- 7 ((extending his arm to the new potatoes))
kore tanonda no watashi nande ikko itadaki masu
 this ask.PST GEN 1sg:POL thus one:CLF take:HUM POL
 ‘I was the one who ordered this dish, so I’m taking one.’
- 8 Naoko: *hāi dōzo itadaite kudasāi*
 yes please take:HUM please:POL
 ‘Yes, please eat!’
- 9 Jiro: *sonde sono kazoku ga sanzan to o*
 then that family SUB repeatedly Metropolitan O
- 10 *uttaeteru nimokakawarazu*
 appealing even though

‘Then, although that family repeatedly appealed to Tokyo Metropolitan government,’

11 *kekko karui kei ni nacchatta n dayone*
 rather light sentence DAT become:AUX:PST NOM COP:SFP
 ‘(the driver) received a rather light sentence, right?’

The participants in this conversation normally use plain forms to each other. In lines 1 and 2, Jiro talks about a car accident in Tokyo, using a plain form of the copula with the sentence-final particle *dayone*. In line 3, a waiter comes to the table with a new dish. He excuses himself to interrupt the conversation, using the polite form *masu*. In line 4, he introduces the dish of new potatoes again in the polite form and leaves the dish on the table. This waiter talks in polite forms as typical of a service encounter between waiters and customers. In line 5, Chika moves the dish to the center of the table. As if playing a waitress’s role, she introduces the dish with the polite form of copula *desu* in line 5, almost exactly repeating the waiter’s speech in line 4. In line 6, Jiro continues his narrative about the car accident in plain forms. He ends his speech with the nominalized word *tsuitotsu* (‘collision’).

When Jiro asks for permission to eat one of the potatoes in line 7, he speaks very quickly, using the humliative form *itadaki-* and the polite form *masu*. Not only does he use these honorific speech forms in predicate elements but he also uses *watashi* as the first person pronoun in the nominal element. *Watashi* is considered a polite form of the first person pronoun primarily used in formal situations, when the speaker is male (Ide 1990). Jiro’s use of *watashi* in line 7 is

notable, because elsewhere in the data, he and another male speaker invariably use *ore*, a vulgar form of the first person pronoun common in informal male speech. Jiro's choice of *watashi* for the first person pronoun signifies a change in his "footing" (Goffman 1974, 1981) from informal to formal or plain to polite. One interpretation of Jiro's use of the polite form of the pronoun *watashi* could be that it is a strategy to minimize the risk of his face-threatening acts (unlike his earlier narrative about the car accident): he is going first and asking others if he could eat one of the potatoes. Because the dish contains a couple of pieces of potatoes, which are not enough for the seven people at the table, it is indeed face-threatening to ask for permission to take one. It is also face-threatening for Jiro to claim that he ordered the dish and that justifies his right to take one of the potatoes. Because of the face-threatening nature of his behavior, Jiro in line 7 has more need for linguistic politeness than he did during his earlier narratives about the car accident. This could be the reason why Jiro switches to using honorific (polite and respectful) forms in line 7. However, in other similarly face-threatening contexts in which he asks for permission to take food and eat, Jiro did *not* use honorific forms but used plain forms as in (3) and (4).

(3) Jiro: *kono oshinko moratte mo ii?*
 this pickles receive even alright
 'Can (I) take one of these pickles?'

(4) Jiro: *chotto tabete ii?*
 little eat alright

‘Can (I) eat (this)?’

Because Jiro did not use honorific forms in other similarly face-threatening context, the face-threatening nature of the utterance in line 7 in (2) is not the only reason for his use of honorific speech forms. Rather, the previous two speakers’ use of polite forms triggers Jiro’s use of the polite form of the first person pronoun and humiliate and polite forms in line 7. In other words, Jiro aligns with their previous speakers’ uses of polite forms by using polite forms. This alignment in his speech, originally motivated by the conversational topic, becomes critical later, when that conversational topic shifts.

In line 8, Naoko encourages Jiro to eat, using the humiliate form *itadaite-* and the polite form of ‘please’ *kudasai*. Here, Naoko makes the mistake of using the humiliate form *itadaite-* to Jiro. In talking about an addressee’s eating, it is conventional to use the respectful form of the verb *meshiagatte-*. It is considered “incorrect” to use the humiliate form *itadaite-*. In the follow-up interview, Naoko claimed that she was unaware of her use of the humiliate form and that she was not intending to downgrade Jiro’s action. In line 8, she had other options than using honorific speech forms (incorrectly). For instance, she could have said *haai tabete tabete* ‘sure, eat, eat’ in the plain form. But she spontaneously uses the humiliate and polite forms. Even though the humiliate form that she uses in line 8 was grammatically and pragmatically incorrect, Naoko, at least, succeeds in repeating the humiliate form used by Jiro in line 7 and in aligning with the previous speakers’ uses of polite forms. In other words, she contributes to the

production and maintenance of the aligned sequences of honorific speech forms.

In lines 9 and 11, when Jiro switches the conversational topic back to his narrative about the car accident, his utterances no longer include polite forms. He ends his turn with the plain form of the copula and the sentence-final *dayone*, just as in line 1. His footing switches back to the plain forms.

Prior to (1), the speakers were already in alignment in their uses of plain forms. Then, new alignment by honorific speech forms occurred in the footing shift from plain to polite forms. Since the use of polite forms suggests a significant change of footing in this peer group talk, several interlocutors responded to the change, by changing their own footing from plain to polite (and humiliative) forms. However, aligned uses of unexpected speech forms last for no more than four or five turns. If they continue longer than that, conversations would sound unnatural, and therefore awkward to participants.¹⁵ When the topic changes in line 9, aligned uses of honorific speech forms vanish and plain forms that were expected in this peer group talk reappear.

In order to explore the significance of attunement sequences in interaction, I played this segment of conversation to eleven native speakers of Japanese in their 20s and 30s who were not participants in the conversation. Four of them immediately noticed Naoko's use of the humiliative form in line 8 as a misuse. The rest of them did not perceive it as a misuse. When I mentioned Naoko's use of the humiliative form, they had to think for a while and said that it was a mistake or that Naoko misspoke. However, all these speakers said that even if they

¹⁵ These are, however, only my own informal observations. To make a truly definitive claim, one would need to observe and record many more dialogic instances of honorific usage.

realized that it was a mistake, it would be too awkward to point out a mistake in the actual conversation and that the mistake would not matter as long as participants were enjoying the conversation. Some speakers also mentioned that they rarely use the respectful form of the verb ‘to eat’ *meshiagaru* [+RESPECTFUL], compared to the humiliating form *itadaku* [+HUMILIATIVE]. *Itadaku*, originally meaning ‘to receive from above,’ went through the process of grammaticalization and lost its full verb status (Hiraga 1999). *Itadaku* when suffixed to the main verb functions as an auxiliary of honorific marking of humility. Speakers very frequently use *itadaku* and its variants as an auxiliary of honorific marking that has a much wider range of use than *meshiagaru*, as more grammaticalized forms are fundamentally heterogeneous and frequently used (cf. Hiraga 1990). The frequency of use of *itadaku* as opposed to the infrequency of use of *meshiagaru* may be one reason why many young speakers did not immediately identify *itadaku* in line 8 as a mistake. When they listened to the tape of example (1), they perceived *itadaku* as a fully appropriate choice of speech form in the smooth and rapid flow of the conversation. In particular, in the aligned sequences of polite forms starting from line 3 to line 8, Naoko’s use of the humiliating form embedded in the polite predicate form sounded natural to many of the young speakers. In the aligned sequences of honorific speech forms, they tend to give priority to the flow of the conversation and the maintenance of the aligned sequences even if the speech form itself is pragmatically incorrect.

This further suggests that speech forms themselves do not inherently encode deference or lack of deference. While the waiter’s and Jiro’s speeches encode

meanings of respect and humility, Chika and Naoko put more emphasis on maintaining the aligned sequences of honorific speech forms than the actual encoding of deference. Thus, honorific speech forms together with plain forms are the way to achieve attunement as a goal of social interaction. In order to achieve attunement, the “correct” use of speech forms can be sometimes considered secondary. I will return to this point in the discussion.

Attunement sequences in complementary alignment

The second type of attunement sequence involves the sequential use of speech forms in complementary alignment. People of different age and status use speech forms in complementary ways. People of higher status may use plain forms, while people of lower status use polite forms in predicate elements. In this section, I illustrate the shift from complementary to aligned uses of speech forms. I show that when one party changes their footing by adding more honorific speech forms than used previously, the other party is sensitive to the change and starts aligning with them, by adopting the use of the new speech forms of honorification.

The data set analyzed in this section was gathered in the village of Kariwa in Niigata prefecture. Niigata prefecture is located on the opposite side of the main island of Honshu from Tokyo in east-central Japan, facing the Sea of Japan. Kariwa village, located in the center of Niigata prefecture, is a rural, agricultural area with a population of five thousand. During the late 1970s and 1980s, a corporation based in Tokyo constructed power plants on the borders of Kariwa village and Kashiwazaki City. Since then, electric power has become the main

industry in this region.

I collected the data on December 28, 2002, at the community center in Kariwa village, which was founded by the corporation fund. At this community center, a group of volunteers consisting of both local residents and corporate employees sell vegetables produced in the village, cook and serve food, organize recreational events for children, and display residents' paintings and calligraphy. The data set consists of conversations among four people: Mr. Suzuki-san, Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Ando, and Ms. Fujita. Mr. Suzuki, a local man in his late 60s, is a head of the volunteer group at the community center. Ms. Mizuno is in her early 60s and one of many volunteer women from the village. Mr. Suzuki and Ms. Mizuno grew up and have lived in Kariwa village for most of their lives. Ms. Ando is a visitor in her early 60s from a neighboring town. Mr. Suzuki and Ms. Ando had met once. Ms. Fujita is a wife of a corporate employee. Originally from Tokyo, she has been living in Kashiwazaki city for one year and a half. At the community center, she had met Mr. Suzuki, Ms. Mizuno, and Ms. Ando for the first time.

Their relationships are diverse but all are asymmetric: older and younger, volunteers and visitors, familiar and unfamiliar with others, and insider and outsider in the region. They all use polite forms, although the extent of their use of polite forms varies. Mr. Suzuki, the oldest, uses by far the fewest polite forms and normally uses plain forms to everyone. The two local women, Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Ando use polite and respectful forms occasionally. Ms. Fujita, the youngest, unfamiliar with the others, and an outsider in the region almost invariably

uses polite forms and occasionally uses respectful forms. All of them rarely use humiliating forms.

In this section, I pay particular attention to the speech of Mr. Suzuki in relation to the speech of Ms. Fujita. On the surface, macrosociological dimensions of context such as age, hierarchical relations in the corporate-community networks, degree of familiarity among participants, and group membership in the region seem to explain their complementary uses of polite and plain forms. Mr. Suzuki uses plain forms to Ms. Fujita, because he is older and has knowledge of the local region. Ms. Fujita, on the other hand, is younger and an outsider in the region, so uses polite forms to Mr. Suzuki. But a close analysis of their interaction suggests that Mr. Suzuki's speech also shows attunement with Ms. Fujita's speech by way of complementary alignment. Mr. Suzuki inserts speech forms of honorification, while Ms. Fujita's speech becomes more deferential and therefore uses indexically more salient speech than his usual speech.

Example (5) presents Mr. Suzuki's typical speech using plain forms, which is also characteristic of the speech of old, knowledgeable, and friendly men in this region. He explains to Ms. Fujita how preparations for the New Year are being done at the community center.

- (5) 1 Suzuki: *iyā kore ne kinō utta n dayone*
well this SFP yesterday hit.PAST NOM COP:SFP:SFP
'Well, (we) made these (noodles) yesterday.'

- 2 Fujita: *a sō nan desu ka? ē ē*
 oh so NOM COP:POL Q yes yes
 ‘Oh, really? Yes, yes.’
- 3 Suzuki: *yudeten no yude tate no hoyahoya da*
 boiling SFP boil soon NOM fresh COP
 ‘(They’re) boiling (the noodles). (The noodles) are just made.’
- 4 *soba wa nekasu to ii rashii n da*
 noodles TOP sleep QT good hear NOM COP
 ‘(I) hear that it’s good to let the noodles sleep overnight.’
- 5 Fujita: *ē ē ē ē*
 yes yes yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes, yes, yes.’
- 6 Suzuki: *ano kadomatsu mo takakatta kedomo ne*
 well the New Year’s pine tree also tall:PAST but SFP
 ‘Well, those New Year’s pine trees, too, although they were tall.’
- 7 Fujita: *ē ē so desu nē chottotakakatta deshita kedomo ne*
 yes yes so POL SFP a bit tall:PAST POL:PAST but SFP
 ‘Yes, yes, that’s right. (They were) a bit tall, though.’
- 8 Suzuki: *ironna hana ga ne*
 various flower SUB SFP
 ‘(The New Year’s pine trees have) various flowers.’

In (5), the two speakers’ speeches show complementary uses of plain and polite forms. Mr. Suzuki consistently uses plain forms, while Ms. Fujita uses polite

forms. In talking to others such as Mr. Mizuno and Ms. Ando, Mr. Suzuki also uses plain forms throughout the data set, as in (6).

(6) 1 Mizuno: ((Ms. Mizuno brought tea to Ms. Fujita.)) *hai go-yukkurito*
yes HONP-slowly
'Please have a rest.'

2 Fujita: *arigatō gozaimasu suimasen*
thank you COP:SUPER.POL sorry:POL
'Thank you very much. Sorry.'

3 Mizuno: ((introducing Ando-san to Fujita-san))
kocchi adobaizaa no onē-san
this side advisor NOM sister-SUF:POL
'This (is) a young woman, (our) advisor.'

4 Ando: *onē-san toka itte*
sister-SUF:POL sort say
'(You're) saying (I'm) a young woman.'

5 Mizuno: *takayanagi de nai to doko datta ke kana?*
Takayanagi LOC NEG but where COP:PAST Q SFP
'If not in Takayanagi, where (do you) live?'

6 Ando: *minami sakaishi desu*
Minami Sakaishi COP:POL
'It's Minami Sakaishi.'

7 Mizuno: *minami sakaishi no hō no*
Minami Sakaishi GEN LOC GEN

‘(She’s a woman) from Minami Sakaishi.’

- 8 Suzuki: *umi ga an datta ke kana?*
ocean SUB exist COP.PAST Q SFP
‘There’s ocean there, right?’
- 9 Mizuno: *sō sō ako rāmen pikaichi-san dayo*
yes yes Ako ramen number one-SUF:POL COP:SFP
‘Yes, yes. (She’s) a number one woman at Ako Ramen shop.’
- 10 *kiryō yoshi sugata yoshi*
personality good appearance good
‘She has a good personality. She’s beautiful.’
- 11 *wakai shi nē*
young and SFP
‘And (she’s) young, isn’t she?’
- 12 Suzuki: *kuchi kuchi hacchō te wa hacchō ashi mo hacchō*
mouth mouth skilled hand TOP skilled feet too skilled
‘She’s skilled at anything!’
- 13 Ando: *ano mukuchi na hō desu kara*
well quiet type COP:POL so
‘Well, (I’m) a quiet person.’
- 15 *suzuki-san ni wa tachiuchi naran kara ne*
Suzuki-SUF:POL with TOP fight NEG so SFP
‘Because (I) can’t fight against Suzuki-san,’
- 16 *shizukani shiteta hō ga ii*

quietly do.PAST direction SUB good
'(I)'d better be quiet.'

In (6), Ms. Fujita and Ms. Ando use polite forms, while Mr. Suzuki and Ms. Mizuno do not. The fact that Mr. Suzuki uses plain forms is due to his rank as the head of the volunteer group, not only of the current undertaking, but also of the corporate-community in which participants in this event all work and serve. In (5) and (6), Mr. Suzuki's and Ms. Fujita's speeches are consistently complementary. Mr. Suzuki uses plain forms while Ms. Fujita uses polite forms.

However, complementary alignment suddenly appeared in Mr. Suzuki's speech, when Ms. Fujita included two instances of humiliative forms in her speech, as in (7).

- (7) ((Ms. Mizuno brought the noodles to the table and left.))
- 1 Fujita: *ara mā jā enryo naku chōdai itashi masu*
well wow then hesitationNEG HUM:receive do:HUM POL
'Well, wow, then, (I) will (eat) them with no hesitation.'
- 2 Suzuki: *meshiagatte kudasai*
RESP:eat :ADV please:POL
'Please eat.'
- 3 Fujita: *hai*
yes
'Yes.'

Prior to this segment of conversation, the conversation between Ms. Fujita

and Mr. Suzuki had continued for a long time with relatively fixed and asymmetric footing in polite and plain forms. Ms. Fujita had used polite forms but had not used respectful and humiliating forms in her speech.

In line 1, for the first time Ms. Fujita includes two instances of humiliating forms, *choodai* and *itashi-*, in addition to the polite form *masu*. Her use of humiliating forms brings a striking indexical change to the conversation in which humiliating forms were never used previously. In her expected and continuous uses of polite forms, these humiliating forms, due to the rarity of their occurrence in her speech, highlighted the indexical change of her footing. Since this change is significant and noticeable, it motivates Mr. Suzuki to respond to and attune to the change, by adopting a footing that is deferential to his interlocutor. In line 2, Mr. Suzuki uses respectful and polite forms to his interlocutor, demonstrating complementary alignment with Ms. Fujita's use of humiliating and polite forms. Their complementary use of speech forms can be explained on the basis of the difference in their age and regional membership.

In the conversation between Mr. Suzuki and Ms. Fujita, attunement sequences by complementary alignment are brief. After (7), Mr. Suzuki switches back to his typical use of plain forms. However, the instance of complementary alignment in (7) illustrates several points about this interaction. First, Mr. Suzuki's speech that seems to be independently of his interlocutor's speech is still the collaborative result of his interaction with the other participants. His response to Ms. Fujita's uses of humiliating forms with respectful and polite forms indicates that he is indeed sensitive to the speech forms that his interlocutor uses. He

constantly pays attention to other interlocutors' uses of speech forms, and adjusts his own uses of speech forms accordingly. Second, as discussed in the previous section, the more significant the impact of the change in speech forms on the previously established indexical ground, the more likely that interlocutors respond to the change and attune to it, by taking a similar footing. Third, the emergent instance of complementary alignment in Mr. Suzuki's speech enables him to indicate that they are both respectful beings and worthy of equal amounts of respect. His complementary alignment makes his addressee worthy of respect, while making Mr. Suzuki himself look like a friendly and polite person who knows how to receive and return deference.

Simultaneous attunement

In the previous two sections, I have discussed two types of attunement sequences that involve uses of unexpected speech forms emergent in uses of expected speech forms. Attunement sequences occurred in turn. In this section, I examine the third type of attunement sequence, involving simultaneous uses of the same speech forms by multiple participants. Participants simultaneously utter, overlap, and repeat the same speech forms across several sequences. This ultimate type of attunement sequences achieves aesthetic intensity and gives vividness to conversation.

An example is taken from a television cooking and talk-show program called "*Chūbō desu yo!*: Saturday Night Chubaw!," broadcast on TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System) from 11:30 p.m. to 12:00 a.m. on Saturday evenings. The

host of the program is an actor and entertainer, Masaaki Sakai, 57, and its co-host is Ikumi Kimura, 30, who has been assisting Sakai since 2003. On each show, they invite a different guest and cook a different dish. Primarily, Sakai and a guest cook and talk, while the co-host assists them with cooking. After cooking, the three of them taste the dish. In the episode I recorded on August 16, 2003, the guest is an actor, entertainer and sport announcer, Jiei Kabira, 42, originally from Okinawa. In this show, they cook a dish called *gōya-chanpurū* ('pork, tofu, and bitter melon stir-fry'), a specialty of Okinawa.

Before analyzing their conversation, I want to discuss briefly the authenticity of television talk-show programs as data. Many programs on TV are scripted, even though they look as if participants are talking spontaneously. According to TBS, participants in this program discussed the general idea of their conversation in advance. After the show was filmed, it was edited to fit into a thirty-minute slot. But the actual conversation itself was neither scripted nor staged. So I consider it safe to regard their conversation as natural and spontaneous.

In their conversation, both Sakai and Kabira generally use polite forms to each other. When Sakai and Kabira talk about their passion for acting, simultaneous sequences of polite forms emerge in their aligned sequences of polite forms, as in (8). The brackets indicate that utterances are spoken simultaneously.

- (8) 1 Sakai: *yappari butai no shonichi aite*
after all stage GEN first day open:ADV
'You know, on the first day of the performance,'

- 2 *gā tto jibun ga detetta toki ni*
MIM QT self NOM exit:PAST when DAT
‘when (I/you) run and go out on the stage,’
- 3 *are dake keiko shitoite yokatta na to omoeru*
that much practice do:ADV good:PAST SFP COMP think:can
‘(I/you) can feel that it was rewarding to practice that much,’
- 4 *sono nanka jūjitsukan*
the like fulfillment
‘That feeling of fulfillment!’
- 5 Kabira: = *arimasu* =
exist:POL
‘Yes (there is that feeling).’
- 6 Sakai: = *arimasu yonē*
exist:POL SFP
‘Yes, right!’
- 7 Kabira: *mō saigo no kāten kōru toka saretā hi ni wa*
already final GEN curtain call sort do:PASS day when TOP
‘Well, when curtain calls were made at the end,’
- 8 *mō mō iēsu tte iu kanji de nē*
already already yes QT say feeling with SFP
‘Then, then, it’s like “YES!!!”’
- 9 Sakai: *sō nan [desu*
so ADJ:NOM COP:POL

‘That’s (it)!’

10 Kabira: [*desu*
COP:POL

11 Sakai: *kore nan* [*desu*
this ADJ:NOM COP:POL
‘This is (it)!’

12 Kabira: [*desu*
COP:POL

13 Sakai: *mō ikkai yari* [*masu*
already one:CLF do POL
‘(I) will do (the performance) once again!’

14 Kabira/Kimura: [*masu*
POL

15 *ashita mo mi ni kite* [*kuda=sai*
tomorrow too see DAT come IMP:POL
‘Come see (me) again tomorrow, please!’

16 Sakai: [*sai shio furi* [*masu*
IMP:POL salt shake POL
‘Please! (I will) add salt.’

17 Kabira/Kimura: [*masu*
POL

In lines 1 to 4, Sakai refers to his experience in acting and shows his understanding of Kabira's passion for acting. As soon as Sakai pauses in line 4, Kabira finishes Sakai's speech with the existential copula *ari-* and the polite form *masu* in line 5. In line 6, Sakai repeats Kabira's *arimasu*, adding the sentence-final particle *yonē*. Sequences of attunement by repetition in lines 5 and 6 function as the prelude to subsequent sequences of attunement by simultaneous repetition. In lines 7 and 8, Kabira adds a story about the excitement of acting, providing more personal details on the same topic.

Sequences of simultaneous attunement continue from line 9 through line 17. In these lines, both Sakai and Kabira use polite forms at the end of their utterances, contributing to making the paired lines sequential. The sequences of the paired lines continue till the point of exhaustion, after which the sequences all ended.

In line 9, Sakai initiates the paired sequences. His speech, consisting of three intonation units, *sō*, *nan*, and *desu*, in line 9 continues the morpheme *desu* (pronounced as [des]) that coincidentally rhymes with Kabira's *iēs* ('yes') in the middle of line 8. When Sakai utters the speech in line 9, he speaks slowly, clearly segments the three intonation units, and pauses a while before the third intonation unit, so that Kabira can easily predict that Sakai is going to say *desu* in the third intonation unit. With the help of the nominalized adjective *nan* that grammatically must be followed by *desu*, Kabira predicts and utters *desu* simultaneously with Sakai in line 10, as the brackets indicate.

After the first paired lines in lines 9 and 10, Sakai changes the initial word from *sō* to *kore* in line 11 and rhymed with his own speech in line 9, repeating and

maintaining the same rhythm in three intonation units. Lines 9 and 11 are syntactically identical except for one semantically distinct word. As in line 9, Sakai in line 11 clearly segments each intonation unit, and pauses before *desu* so that Kabira can utter it simultaneously. In line 12, Kabira utters *desu* during the last intonation unit of Sakai's speech. The recurrence of the syntactically identical lines in lines 9 to 12 not only reinforces the semantic and syntactic parallelism of the lines but also contributes to the repetition of rhythm. This elaboration achieves aesthetic intensity by a slight variation of similar linguistic resources.

In the third sequence of paired lines, Sakai includes a semantically and syntactically different version in line 13, although he maintains the rhythm in intonation units. In order to maintain the rhythm, the first intonation unit *mō ikkai* is speeded up so that it can be uttered in one breath. Then, he pauses, says the second intonation unit *yari*, waits for Kabira to join before the last one, and slowly says *masu* with Kabira and Kimura, the assistant. The insertion into an entirely different line of the same number of intonation units produces a familiar pattern with a dissimilar line, and makes the conversation entertaining, so that viewers are able to enjoy this variation in their verbal play.

From line 9 to line 14, sequences of paired lines are initiated by Sakai three times. In line 15, Kabira initiates the paired lines for the first time and makes his own contribution to the sequences. Kabira's speech, consisting of the five intonation units: *ashita mo*, *mi ni*, *kite*, *kuda*, and *sai*, loses the original rhythm in three intonation units and differs from the other paired lines. This gives the sequences a preparatory moment for a close that happens later. When Sakai and

Kabira simultaneously utter the last intonation unit (*sai*), which is the last syllable of the word *kudasai* in line 16, the aligned sequences of the paired lines reach saturation point. It would have been uncomfortable for Sakai and Kabira to sustain the pairing. It would also be tiring for viewers to watch them keep making the sequences. As soon as Sakai utters *sai* in line 16, he takes the turn back from Kabira and says *shio*, *furi*, and *masu* ('I'll add salt') in three intonation units. In addition to bringing the original rhythm back to the aligned sequences, Sakai in line 16 shifts the topic of the conversation from theatrical performance to cooking, which is their primary theme in the show. His turn-taking and the change of the conversational topic function as indexical clues of the close of their simultaneous attunement sequences.

Verbal humor brings variety and aesthetic intensity to conversation (Bauman 1975, 1977; Sherzer 2002). By inserting simultaneous attunement sequences of polite forms, Sakai and Kabira give verbal humor to their conversation. When their sequential uses of unexpected speech forms go on for five turns, they seem to reach a saturation point, after which speakers lose the sense of aesthetic intensity and stop immediately. However, the sudden ending of the attunement sequences also intensifies the participants' excitement at sharing the moment.

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined attunement sequences in the use of honorific speech forms. Each example illustrates several points about attunement

in interaction.

First, the speaker is not the only person who enters into social relations. The unit of speech production is not the speaking subject alone, but the set of participants engaged in a conversation. Attunement sequences show that interaction is a relational process by several participants and that the use of speech forms in ongoing interaction is a multiparty, collaborative activity. As I further show in Chapter 7, attunement is not an achievement of one individual, but represents all participants' co-engagement.

In the social relationships in which all participants are involved, a change in one speaker's speech can influence the others' speeches. Participants are generally sensitive and responsive to a change that occurs on indexical grounds. The reason why participants attune to others even if they use speech forms incorrectly is that attunement is a major goal in interactions. When participants use speech forms correctly according to syntax and pragmatics but fail to achieve attunement, such interaction is not considered successful by other participants, as I will show in the next two chapters. In order to achieve attunement, participants employ honorific or non-honorific speech forms.

In the unexpected sequences of speech forms, appropriate speech forms are chosen in each interactive context, often based on attunement. As participants individually organize their contributions in relation to other participants, properties of context such as age, degree of familiarity, and group membership cannot often tell us which forms of speech are most appropriate in a given interactive context. Relevant context is not pre-structured but arises spontaneously in response to prior

utterances.

Whether each instance of speech forms is interpreted as presupposing or creative or expected or unexpected depends on its immediate interactive context, such as the conversational topic and participation framework. What speakers experience as presupposing or creative may shift based on prior context. The use of speech forms is on the one hand defined by the immediate interactive context, but on the other hand the interactive context is also defined by the use of speech forms (cf. Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Duranti 1992). During the processes of interaction and interpretation, the distinction between presupposing and creative aspects of indexicals is not static, but dynamic and constantly negotiated in situated contexts. As Hanks (1992) demonstrates the dynamic shifts on the indexical ground of deictic usage in Mayan, “presupposing” speech forms of honorification can be “creativized” at one moment, while “creative” speech forms of honorification can be “presuppose-able” at another moment.

In creating attunement sequences, honorific speech forms do not automatically encode a speaker’s deference to an addressee or signify the formality of the speech situation, as traditionally considered. In attunement sequences, participants’ primary purpose is to maintain uses of unexpected speech forms. Conventional meanings of honorifics are rather weakened, in other words, de-semanticized. Honorific speech forms are used as a means of achieving attunement.

Chapter 6

Breaching experiment:

Honorific usage from co-present participants' perspectives

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the data of a “breaching experiment” (Garfinkel 1963[1990], 1967), designed to break unstated social rules as a way of studying them. I also take native speakers’ metalinguistic commentaries about the experiment into consideration. I examine the extent to which the use of speech forms depends on the participation framework between speakers, addressees, audience, and by-standers. The purposes of this chapter are twofold: 1) to illustrate that linguistic attunement to one another’s speech forms can override properties of age, status and the familiarity among interlocutors; and 2) to show that the presence of “addressees” and “bystanders” plays a significant role in the speaker’s and addressee’s use of speech forms.

As described in Chapter 1, previous studies have tended to claim that certain properties of context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors’ social status or group membership, or the lack of intimacy) motivate the use of certain speech forms or that individual speakers determine the use of speech forms based on their linguistic ideologies. In the experiment described in this chapter, I examine one speech situation in which context does not necessary require the speaker to use polite forms. The data and native speakers’ metalinguistic commentaries suggest that the speaker’s decision is insufficient for deciding speech

forms. The speaker and addressee enter into relationships with addressees and bystanders who remain silent and construct themselves so as to negotiate their use of speech forms.

The Goffmanian approach and Garfinkel's breaching experiment

Goffman's work on American society illustrates that the articulation of norms, beliefs, and values is often possible only through the observation of violations such as gaffes and misfirings (Goffman 1963, 1967). For Goffman, the extreme cases are of interest, because of the light they shed on the normal ones. This Goffmanian approach is not new to linguists. Linguists often examine deviant examples that are ungrammatical or not well-formed and compare them with grammatical and well-formed ones, in order to formulate the rules that describe the forms of a given language.

Garfinkel (1967) pioneered the methodology of "breaching experiments," designed to break unstated social rules as a way of studying them. In order to uncover people's expectations, ethnomethodologists break rules or act as though they do not understand basic rules of social life so they can observe people's responses. Garfinkel sent his students out to perform breaching experiments. They brought ordinary conversations to an abrupt halt by refusing to acknowledge that they knew what others were saying, and demanded explanations and explanations of the explanations.

In the research I summarize in this chapter, I conducted a breaching experiment at a Japanese karaoke bar in Berkeley and tested people's expectations

and the limits of tolerance toward the breaking of expectations about speech forms. A waitress at the bar was a friend of mine who was five years younger than me. We are not close friends, but when we meet elsewhere, we use plain forms to each other. At the bar, I intentionally used plain forms with her, while she used polite forms with me. My purpose was to find out what is and is not usual, expected, and permissible in using such speech forms.

There is a methodological issue of conducting a breaching experiment. A critic might object that by using myself as one of the subjects and manipulating my linguistic choices consciously, I was creating an unreal situation and losing objectivity. The ideal way to test people's expectations and the limits of tolerance toward the breaking of expectations is to find an event in which expectations are broken. However, it is never possible to predict when such an event happens. When it happens, I may not be present or may not carry a tape-recorder to record the event. Manipulating my own linguistic choices was the only way to observe co-present participants' behaviors in an unexpected situation.

By conducting this breaching experiment, I attempted to determine if the previous accounts of honorifics are valid in actual interactions. The interaction at the bar had taken place at a casual environment, the waitress and I were friends and familiar with each other, I was five years older than she was. According to the social-norm based account, it was a situation where I could use plain forms, because of the casual environment at the bar, the level of familiarity between us, and my age. According to the speaker-centric account, I could decide to use plain forms to the waitress, particularly since I was not strictly expected to use polite

forms. In other words, it was a situation in which I could, with equal propriety, use either plain or polite forms.

In what follows, I examine whether a speaker in this context can in fact use any form of speech she wishes, and whether particular real-world aspects of interaction require the use of specific speech forms.

The setting and participants in the experiment

One evening in October 2003, I went to the karaoke bar with my close friends, Nobuko, 28, and Takayuki, 29. At the time of the recording, Nobuko and I were living in Berkeley, while Takayuki was visiting Berkeley. We had been to the bar together on several previous occasions; and therefore this bar was a natural place for us to have dinner and for me to observe participants' reactions.

The waitress and I were the primary ratified speaking participants. Nobuko and Takayuki were also ratified participants, although they were mostly silent when I was talking to the waitress. Customers and other employees were "unratified participants" (Goffman 1981: 131-132), who were present at the bar but were not expected to be part of the communicative event. While the interaction took place, two other customers were having dinner. We and they could hear each other's conversations. In the kitchen at the back of the bar, two people were working. When we entered the bar, these employees recognized and greeted us from the kitchen, but they could not hear our conversation. While recoding the conversation, I did not have my MD-player visible.

Data analysis

In this section, I examine my interactions with the waitress and the co-participants' reactions to them in chronological order. In representing my conversations with the waitress, I provide the conversational data in both Japanese and English. To save space, in representing my conversations with Nobuko and Takayuki, I give only the English translation of our conversation. My purpose is not to analyze Nobuko's and Takayuki's speech but to make use of their reactions and metalinguistic statements. In Appendix C, I provide the entire conversation transcribed in the Roman alphabet, word-for-word glosses, and free translations into English.

When we entered the bar, Nobuko and Takayuki noticed that the waitress and I acknowledged each other as acquaintances, as shown in lines 5 and 6 in Appendix C. Nobuko, Takayuki, and I sat at the table and talked for a while before the waitress came. The conversation after the waitress's arrival at the table is presented in (1).

(1) The waitress came to our table with water.

- 36 Waitress: *ano go-chūmon wa o-kimari desu ka?*
well **RESP.PRE**-order TOP **RESP.PRE**-decide COP:**POL** Q
'Well, have you already decided (your) orders?'
- 37 *o-nomimono wa?*
RESP.PRE-drink TOP
'Any drink?'

- 38 Makiko: *o-mizu de ī yo*
 HONP-water with good SFP
 ‘Water is fine.’
- 39 *o-mizu kuda a chōdai*
 HONP-water (please) oh give:IMP
 ‘Pl(ease), oh, give (us) water.’
- 40 *menū wa (0.4) mada kangaeteru kara ato de ne*
 menu TOP still think:PROG so later TEMP SFP
 ‘About menu, (0.4) (we’re) still deciding, so, later.’
- 41 Waitress: *a hai*
 well yes
 ‘Well, yes.’

In (1), the waitress used the honorific prefix and the polite form, whereas I did not.¹⁶ If I had used speech forms of honorification, I would have added the polite form of the copula *desu* in line 38 between *ī* and *yo*, and used *kudasai* (‘please:POL’) instead of *chōdai* (‘give:IMP’) in line 39, and *onegai shimasu* (‘I’d like to ask ...’) between *de* and *ne* in line 40. In the middle of line 39, I said *kuda*, the initial part of the polite form of the word *kudasai* (‘please’). Saying *kudasai* was so automatic to me that I needed to make an extra effort to stop saying *kudasai* in the middle of the utterance and to say *chōdai* (‘give:IMP’) in a plain form.

After the waitress left, there were five seconds of silence at our table.

¹⁶ I used the beautification honorific prefix *o-* in lines 38 and 39. The beautification honorific prefix is different from the honorific prefix *o-* or *go-* that is used to refer to objects that are worthy of respect. See Chapter 2 for the difference between the honorific prefix and the beautification honorific prefix.

Then Nobuko started talking, as in (2).

- (2) 42 Nobuko: (0.5) Incredible, (0.3) Maki.
43 Makiko: What?
44 Nobuko: Don't say *chōdai*. Say *kudasai* or *onegai-shimasu*.
45 Makiko: Why?
46 Nobuko: After all she has to work. You (M)¹⁷ are not her close friend.
47 Makiko: Yeah.
48 Takayuki: She was frozen. It's awkward for both of you (M & the waitress) to meet here.
49 Nobuko: That's right. Aren't you (M) writing your dissertation on honorifics?
50 Makiko: So?
51 Takayuki: So, speak with *desu* or *masu*!
52 Makiko: Okay.
53 Nobuko: Are you (M) really writing a dissertation on honorifics, Maki?
54 Takayuki: She (M) thinks about honorifics too much and gets confused. Or, this can be a new language among young people in Japan.
55 Nobuko: That's impossible.
56 Makiko: Okay, but tell me more.
57 Nobuko: You (M) don't understand the correct ways of using honorifics.
58 Makiko: What are the correct ways of using honorifics?
59 Takayuki: Ordering without honorifics makes you an obnoxious customer.
60 Makiko: But I'm a customer, a few years older than her, and I know her.
61 Takayuki: But you (M) aren't a middle-aged man. "Miss, give us water" is no good.
62 Makiko: Oh, the waitress is coming back. Can I order the usual dishes?
63 Nobuko: Use *desu* or *masu*. Well, I'll order, I'm worried about Maki.

¹⁷ In the parentheses, the capital letter specifies the individual referent. The letter M stands for Makiko, S for Nobuko, and T for Takayuki. When the second personal pronoun refers to people in general, there is no indication of the specific referent.

Here, Nobuko and Takayuki criticized the way I talked to the waitress in (1). They thought I should not say *chōdai* ('give (me)') but *onegai-shimasu* ('(I) would like to ask (you)...') in the polite form, because the waitress and I were not close friends. In line 51, Takayuki told me to use *desu* or *masu* (technically termed as "polite forms" in this dissertation), as Nobuko told me the same in line 63. When Nobuko and Takayuki referred to honorifics (*keigo*) here, they only meant polite forms, and did not mean respectful and humble forms.

According to Takayuki in line 59, I had to use polite forms to the waitress because 'speaking or ordering without honorifics makes you an obnoxious customer' (*keigo nashi de chuumon suru nante erabutteru kyaku jan*). In order to figure out why they felt I needed to use polite forms to the waitress, I tried to explain in line 60 that I was a customer, older than the waitress, and personally acquainted with her. Takayuki jokingly implied that only obnoxious middle-aged men would order without polite forms. In (2), Nobuko and Takayuki explained that it is inappropriate for anyone to order in plain forms at a service encounter. Because I used plain forms to the waitress in (1), Nobuko and Takayuki thought that I did not know the correct ways of using honorifics (*tadashii keigo no tsukai kata*), as they joked in lines 49, 53, and 57. Nobuko urged me to use *desu* and *masu* (polite forms) in line 63.

In my second interaction with the waitress, I again deliberately talked to her in plain forms.

- (3) 64 Makiko: *a chottō ano ne nasu no miso dengaku*
 oh well well SFP eggplant GEN bean paste daubed
 ‘Well, baked eggplants daubed with soy bean sauce,’
- 65 *saba no miso-ni ato wa*
 mackerel GEN boiled with soy bean paste rest TOP
 ‘Mackerel with soy bean paste, and ...’
- 66 Nobuko: *tori no karāge to daikon sarada to*
 chicken GEN fried and daikon salad and
 ‘Deep fried chicken, daikon salad, and’
- 67 *okonomiyaki mikkusu no ika to butaniku de*
 Japanese pizza mix GEN squid and pork INSTR
 ‘Japanese pizza with squid and pork.’
- 68 Makiko: *ato gohan mo*
 and rice too
 ‘And rice, too.’
- 69 *a honjitsu no menū wa nani?*
 oh today GEN menu TOP what
 ‘Oh, what is today’s menu?’
- 70 Waitress: *asoko ni kaitearu mono ni nari masu kedo*
 there LOC write thing become POL but
 ‘Today’s menu is what is written there, though.’
- 71 Nobuko: *e jā agedashi dofu onegai shimasu*
 oh then deep fried tofu HONP.ask do:POL
 ‘Oh, then, deep fried tofu, please.’

72 Waitress: ((writing the order)) *ijō desu ka?*
above COP:POL Q
'Is that all?'

73 Makiko: *un ijō =*
yeah above
'Yeah, (that's) all.'

74 Nobuko: = *hai suimasen onegai shimasu*
yes sorry:POL HONP-ask do:POL
'Yes, sorry, please.'

((the waitress was leaving our table))

75 *mō maki-chan mittomonai kara yamete sugoi shitsurei*
well Maki-DIM shameful so stop very rude
'Well, Maki, (it's) embarrassing, so stop (it). It's very rude.'

In ordering food in lines 64 through 69, Nobuko and I did not use any predicates. In ordering food, customers often omit predicates, so Nobuko's and my speeches in these lines contained no copula in either polite or plain forms. But what was problematic was that I did not use *desu*, the polite form of the copula in line 69, in asking about the special menu. I ended my utterance without *desu* and the question particle *ka*. In line 70, the waitress used the polite form *masu*. Nobuko immediately took her turn in line 71, as if to prevent me from interacting with the waitress. She used *onegai shimasu* in the polite form. Lines 72 and 73 show the contrast between the waitress's speech and my speech. The waitress

used the polite form in line 72, whereas I did not use the polite form *desu* in line 73. In line 74, Nobuko latched to my speech, apologizing and saying *onegai shimasu* again. Here, one of the customers at another table also looked back to see us. In the small space, he probably heard my interaction with the waitress. In line 75, Nobuko continued her speech and criticized me for being rude (*shitsurei*) in a loud voice.

Nobuko's speech in line 75 did the face-work (Goffman 1974) in several ways. First, Nobuko tried to protect the waitress who talked to me in polite forms but was responded to by me in plain forms. Nobuko implied that the waitress did everything right, while saying that it was my rudeness to talk to her in plain forms. In line 75, Nobuko's voice was loud, because she was actually speaking to the waitress, or for her benefit. Second, Nobuko showed that she knew how to be polite and how to use honorifics, unlike her friend. Nobuko had to criticize me to the waitress's face, so that the waitress would know that Nobuko is a polite and normal human being. Thus, her direct criticism of me in the presence of the waitress was saving the waitress's face and her own face as a co-present participant as well as a friend of mine. This suggests that one speaker's action has repercussions in the rest of the participants' actions and feelings.

In (4), after the waitress left, Nobuko and Takayuki talked about reasons why polite forms were necessary in my interaction with the waitress.

(4) 76 Takayuki: Is this an experiment? What happens if we are rude?

77 Nobuko: We (N&T) feel embarrassed, if you (M) don't speak properly.
Terrible.

- 78 Takayuki: I must say it's quite unbearable.
- 79 Nobuko : Yes, I had to apologize. Talk to her as you (M) talk to professors.
- 80 Takayuki: That's unnecessary. Talking to professors is different from this.
- 81 Nobuko: Why do we have to teach the linguist how to use honorifics? If we were typical Japanese, everyone would remain silent and later would say you're terrible. Because you (M) are with us, we can warn you.
- 82 Takayuki: I think we are experimental hamsters. She (M) does it on purpose. Look, she (M) is giggling. Experimental physicists do experiments in the laboratory, string theorists calculate in the office, so we are harmless researchers. These humanities guys do dangerous things out there.
- 83 Makiko: Yes, people at this bar may report to the Human Subjects that there is a suspicious Japanese woman bullying the vulnerable population.
- 84 Takayuki: See, she (M) admitted.
- 85 Makiko: No, no, no, no. I'm genuinely wondering. But so what?
- 86 Takayuki: For example, teachers are older, they are teachers, so we respect them although I didn't. Use honorifics to respectable people.
- 87 Makiko: Uh-huh, then, what about using honorifics at this dingy bar?
- 88 Nobuko: It's rude, if you don't. You (M) are saying "this dingy bar"!
- 89 Makiko: You (N) are the one who said this is a dingy bar! Anyway.
- 90 Nobuko: Waiters must use honorifics to customers, oh, but if this was a dingy bar in Japan.
- 91 Makiko: Like a bar along national highway?
- 92 Nobuko: Yes, yes, yes, yes, there, waiters might not use honorifics.
- 93 Takayuki: Then, it's difficult to analyze. But because the waitress was using *desu* and *masu*, we should also use *desu* and *masu* to avoid needless offense. (0.6) There should be customers

- who wouldn't use honorifics, like middle-aged men.
- 94 Makiko: Why don't middle-aged men have to use honorifics?
- 95 Nobuko: They have to use honorifics. But some middle-aged women wouldn't use them, either, but it's unacceptable.
- 96 Makiko: Why?
- 97 Takayuki: I would feel uneasy to be with a strange friend.
- 98 Nobuko: Yes, we feel embarrassed and sorry for waiters.
- 99 Makiko: Then, did you (N&T) feel sorry for the waiters here?
- 100 Nobuko: I really felt so, and apologized.
- 101 Makiko: What do you (T) think the waiters are thinking now?
- 102 Takayuki: In the kitchen they are now talking about a strange customer today.
- 103 Makiko: What do the waiters think about you (T), Takayuki?
- 104 Takayuki: A friend of a strange person. It's fairly risky. First, the interlocutor feels bad. And other people will label you as a strange person.
- 105 Makiko: What about people sitting at the same table?
- 106 Nobuko: Terrible, they feel like they are committing a crime. So I apologized.
- 107 Makiko: I see.
- 108 Nobuko: You (M) always speak properly, so I wonder what's wrong today.
- 109 Takayuki: So this has to be an experiment.
- 110 Nobuko: Maybe, but you (M) have to apologize later.

In (4), Takayuki and Nobuko pointed out the significance of linguistic attunement, in particular, alignment in the use of the same speech forms. Although Takayuki and Nobuko admitted in lines 93 and 95 that some people might not use polite forms at a service encounter, it is safer for customers to use polite

forms when the waitress uses polite forms, as Takayuki claimed in line 93. When all speakers use the same speech forms, there is no chance of offense (*kado ga tatanai*).

Furthermore, Nobuko and Takayuki talked about my use of speech forms from the co-present participants' perspective. In lines 77, 78, 98, 100, and 106, Nobuko and Takayuki mentioned that the co-present participants feel shamed and embarrassed, if one of their co-present participants does not try to show their consideration to the addressee. As they felt uneasy about my interaction with the waitress, my use of speech forms had repercussions in their feelings. In other words, the speaker and the addressee enter into social relationships with co-present participants. The individual speaking subject who seems to be speaking and acting alone enters into social relations with other participants such as other addressees, audience, overhearers, and bystanders. Because of their co-engagement in interaction, if one speaker fails to align the use of speech forms with another's use, it not only shows the speaker's lack of communicative competence but also creates confusion and offence among the entire party. It also suggests that the speaker's friends are equally incompetent in communication, as their embarrassment attests.

As an ethnographer and a native speaker, I even felt uneasy and unnatural using plain forms to a waitress who was using polite forms. It was so unnatural that I almost used the polite form in 39 and so unnatural that Takayuki immediately suspected that I was conducting an experiment. By my third exchange with the waitress in (5), I felt bad about causing offence to her and the other co-participants.

When the waitress came back to our table, I switched to polite forms.

- (5) 111 Waitress: *o-matase shimashita*
HONP-wait:PASS do:POL:PAST
'(We) have kept (you) waiting.'
- 112 *nasu no dengakuto daikon sarada degozaimasu*
eggplantGEN daubed and daikon salad COP:SUPER.POL
'These are eggplant daubed with soy paste and daikon salad.'
- 113 Nobuko: *hāi*
yes
'Yes.'
- 114 Waitress: *torizara wa?*
each plate TOP
'(How about) plates?'
- 115 Makiko: *a hai onegai shimasu*
oh yes HONP.ask do:POL
'Yes, please.'
- 116 Waitress: *hai*
yes
'Yes.'
- 117 Makiko: *suimasen*
sorry:POL
'Thank you.'
'Yes.'

(6) The waitress left the table.

118 Takayuki: Wow!

119 Nobuko: Wonderful!

120 Takayuki: Wonderful!

121 Makiko: How was my speech?

122 Takayuki: It was good. I was relieved.

123 Nobuko: Me, too.

In lines 111 and 112, the waitress talked to us in polite forms. In lines 115 and 117, I talked back to her in polite forms. I showed alignment with her speech, instead of using speech forms complementarily. Nobuko and Takayuki heard me speak to her in polite forms and expressed relief, as Takayuki said in line 122.

Metalinguistic commentaries from non-present native speakers

Rather than discussing the experiment solely based on Nobuko's and Takayuki's metalinguistic statements, I asked non-present native speakers who listened to my interactions with the waitress what they thought about them and whether they agreed with Nobuko and Takayuki.

I interviewed two groups of Japanese friends, one group in their 30s, the other in their 60s. One member of in the younger group was working as a waitress at a restaurant in Tokyo at the time of the interview. Another man in the younger group had a part-time job as a waiter at a Japanese-style dining bar (*izakaya*), when he was a college student. One member of the older group has been a shop owner for twenty years.

I played the recordings of my conversations with the waitress (Examples 1, 3, and 5) to them and asked them to talk freely about them. In order to avoid biasing their responses, I did not mention my interest in polite vs. plain forms. I wanted to see if native speakers who are removed from the actual interaction would find odd or rude my use of plain forms to a waitress who used polite forms to me. The interviews are transcribed in the Roman alphabet and translated in English, in Appendices D and E.

When the older group listened to the recordings, none of them guessed that the waitress and I were friends (lines 81 and 86 in Appendix D). However, at the beginning of the interviews, they did not find the interaction between the waitress and me odd (lines 21, 39, 40, 41, 58, and 59 in Appendix D). After they found out that the waitress and I were friends, they began to understand the conversation from the waitress's point of view. They also said that I should have used polite forms to the waitress (lines 80, 92, 107, and 113 in Appendix D). Sonoko (the shop owner) talked about her own experience at a service encounter. In lines 95, 103, 104 in Appendix D, she mentioned that her speech tends to attune to the way each of her customers speaks. Considering the waitress's situation in which other customers were listening and co-present participants were at the same table, Sonoko thought that it would have been nice if I used polite forms matching the waitress's uses. It has to do with the presence of non-ratified observers. Sonoko said so, using the word *awaseru* ('attuned' or 'coordinated') in line 103.

The people in the younger group found my interaction with the waitress not very problematic. Only Haruko noticed that I was using plain forms to the

waitress, while the waitress was using polite forms to me (lines 11 and 14 in Appendix E). Later in line 155 in Appendix E, she said that I was not using polite forms to ask the waitress for water in the recordings.

Throughout their interviewing conversation, the people in the younger group talked about their experience as service-providers who had their friends visit their shops or as customers who visited their friends' shops. They said when friends met at service-encounters as either service-providers or customers, they could not help behaving like strangers (*taningyōgi ni naru*) and tended to use honorific register, as in Haruko's actual example (lines 113 to 120 in Appendix E). They explained that they did so partly because they tended to feel uneasy and embarrassed interacting with friends in service contexts, especially when other customers were around, as Eri claimed (lines 81-83, 91, 142, 144, and 146 in Appendix E). After they heard Eri's comment, the others said that they could possibly not speak to Eri in plain forms at her restaurant, when Eri has spoken to them in polite forms, even though they were close friends (lines 151, 153, and 193 in Appendix E). On the other hand, they also talked about a kind of service encounter that Jiro often encounters in Chinatown in Yokohama (lines 165 to 176 in Appendix E). In such encounters, Jiro uses plain forms to ask for dumplings from a saleswoman who uses plain forms to him. They said that it is rather rude to respond to a person in (super-)polite forms of speech, if the person uses plain forms (Lines 198 to 202 in Appendix E). Like the people in the older group, the people in the younger group emphasized that it is important to coordinate with or attune to their interlocutors, using the word *awasete* ('coordinated' or 'attuned') (line 186 in

Appendix E). According to them, when their interlocutor is polite, they become polite. When their interlocutor is relaxed, they also become relaxed.

They also talked about phone conversations between couples. Couples who normally speak in plain forms to each other used polite forms, when husbands called home from their office phones. When their co-workers were not around, they spoke in plain forms, but when their co-workers were present, they spoke in polite forms. In response, the wife might either use polite forms, as Akemi and Nami said (line 129 and 139 in Appendix E), or the wife might make fun of the husband's speech, as Nami said. This means that even though only the couple is engaged in a phone conversation, in the presence of overhearers, one may use polite forms to one's spouse, while the spouse may or may not respond with polite forms. These anecdotes illustrate that the presence of co-present overhearers can play a significant role in one's choice of speech forms.

The native speakers who only listened to the recordings pointed out that the presence of other customer influences the ways in which service-providers can speak. They also thought that it was important to observe how the interlocutor speaks and to align with their way of speaking. Their viewpoints corresponded with those of the co-present participants, Nobuko and Takayuki.

Summary

In this chapter, I have used Garfinkel's method of conducting a breaching experiment (1963[1990], 1967, 1972[1962]). I examined interactions in a situation in which the speaker seems to have freedom to use either polite or plain

forms, depending on her relationship with the addressee. I showed complementation in my use of plain forms to the waitress's use of polite forms, while everyone expected me to show alignment with the waitress's use of polite forms. Based on this experiment and the subjects' metalinguistic statements, I showed that the conditions for the use of speech forms do not depend exclusively on certain properties of context and the speaker-addressee relationship. Rather, the examples in this chapter have suggested that speech forms are used to indicate a speaker's consideration for other participants, including the addressee. I have specifically made the following two points.

First, attunement is key in understanding the reason why the co-present participants felt uneasy during my interaction with the waitress. Since I did not attempt to align with the waitress linguistically, my use of plain forms to the waitress made all the participants (addressee, co-participants, and by-standers) at the scene uncomfortable. My failure to align with the waitress's speech caused offence and disgust among the party. Later when I explained to the waitress that I was doing an experiment, she confessed that she had complex feelings (*fukuzatsu na kibun*) about my complementary use of plain forms and wondered if she had offended me. Not only the waitress but also my friends, the co-present participants, felt unbearable/uncomfortable (*itatamarenai*), sorry/unhappy (*mōshiwakenaku*), and guilty (*warui koto shiteru kibun*). Furthermore, as Nobuko and Takayuki warned me, even others who might say nothing to my face could judge me as a rude person.

When one speaker's utterance contains polite forms, even though that

speaker is older or socially higher than, or familiar with the interlocutor, it is often safer for the latter to use polite forms so that offense is avoided, as Takayuki suggested. Since polite forms conventionally signify the speaker's deference toward the addressee, when one speaker uses polite forms, it is safer for the other to respond with a similar show of respect. But I do not mean to claim that service-providers and customers always use polite forms at a service encounter. In Chapter 1, I showed that at service encounters, one customer may use polite or plain forms to clerks, depending on her interlocutor's uses. When the clerk used polite forms to her, the customer used polite forms back. When the clerk used plain forms to her, the customer used plain forms back. The customer was linguistically aligning with her interlocutor's speech. Sukle (1994) analyzed interactions at a vegetable market in a local neighborhood. There, vendors and customers used plain forms more frequently than they used polite forms. From the perspective of linguistic alignment, people at the local vegetable market used plain forms to each other, in order to indicate that they were tuned into the situated interaction and to augment their feeling of connectedness. Linguistic attunement should be regarded not produced by the application of a specific and formal rule but rather as meta-principles or interactive ends that help reach us successful communication and better interpersonal relationships.

Second, many, if not all, speeches that might be seen as the product of one speaker, are in fact the collaborative work of several participants. In the series of interactions with the waitress, it looked as if I had control over which speech forms to use, since I knew her, was a couple of years older than her, and the speech

situation was informal. However, by using plain forms, I made not only the waitress but also all co-present participants feel awkward, and received silent disapproval from unrati ed participants who were bystanders. My choice had negative consequences -so, in a sense, I had no real choice. The actual speaker and addressee were not the only people who entered into the discursive relations and experienced the consequences of their speeches. The presence of audience and bystanders plays a significant role in the speaker's and addressee's choices of speech forms. By incorporating Goffman's participation framework into the analysis of honorific use, I have shown that the use of polite or plain forms of speech produced by one individual is actually the agreement and achievement of the group engaged in interaction.

In this chapter, my attunement style was complementation, although alignment was expected and preferable. In the next chapter, I examine an opposite case of preferred attunement styles to the one that I analyzed here. I look at an exchange between two participants. One showed aligned uses of speech forms with another, while the other expected complementary uses of speech forms of polite and plain between them. I will demonstrate how their interaction fails to achieve real attunement.

Chapter 7

When attunement fails

Introduction

Attunement is the moment-by-moment realization of being co-present in social context. In this chapter, I analyze the data of an accidental encounter between two acquaintances. I illustrate the contextualization and indexing practices of the two who come together in the rapidly changing footing of interaction. In their interaction, one participant showed aligned uses of speech forms with another, while another expected complementary uses of speech forms between them. Each one of them failed to figure out and adapt to an attunement style that the one expected. The two participants' expectations of different types of attunement to be employed in their interaction did not give them a sense of mutual participation in interaction.

In what follows, I examine moment-by-moment indexing by the two participants and identify what speech forms are appropriate for them to use.

Accidental Encounter

On July 12, 2003, my friend, Hide and I were visiting Hakone, in the Tokyo countryside to see a Japanese traditional lion dance performance. Hide is a 32-year-old engineer, working in Tokyo. I have known him for ten years, since we met at an English conversation school in Tokyo. When we arrived in Hakone, Hide met Akira, a 24-year-old man, outside the train station by chance. Hide and

Akira first met at a university in the United States, when Hide was a graduate student and Akira was an undergraduate exchange student from Japan. They returned to Japan at different times. More than two years have passed, since they last met in the United States. I had never met Akira before. Below is the entire conversation between Hide and Akira, recorded in the MD Recorder that I had in my backpack.¹⁸

- (1) 1 Hide: *ō hisashiburi*
wow long time
'Wow, long time no see.'
- 2 Makiko: *a konnichiwa* ((bowing to Akira))
oh hello
'Oh, hello.'
- 3 Akira: [*a konnichiwa* ((bowing))]
oh hello
'Oh, hello.'
- 4 Hide: [*yappa kaetteta n daa*]
after all return:PAST NOM COP
'(You are) also back (in Japan)!'
- 5 Akira: *ā mō ni nen gurai tatsu kedo =*
well already two year about pass but
'Well, (it's been) already about two years, though.'
- 6 Hide: *= ja onaji kurai da*

¹⁸ After this encounter, I contacted to Akira and got his consent to use this data.

then same about COP

‘Then, same (for me).’

7 *ima gakusē?*

now student

‘(Are you) a student now?’

8 Akira: *iya mō hataraitte* [*te*

no already work GER

‘No, (I’m) working.’

9 Hide: [*e ima doko sunderu?*

then now where live

‘Where (do you) live now?’

10 Akira: *inokashira sen no ikenoue*

Inokashira line GEN Ikenoue

‘(I live) in Ikenoue on Inokashira Line.’

11 *e dō?*

oh how

‘Oh, how (are you)?’

12 Hide: *iya māmā* (0.2)

no so-so

‘Well, so-so.’

13 *kyō wa doko ni iku n desu ka*

today TOP where LOC go NOM COP:POL Q

‘Today where (are you) going?’

- 14 Akira: *anō*
well
'Well...'
- 15 Hide: *onsen toka ikareru n desu ka?*
hot spring sort **go:RESP.PASS** NOM COP:**POL** Q
'(Are you) going to a hot spring or something?'
- 16 Akira: *a mae no dōryō to au dake desu kedo*
oh previous GEN co-worker and see just COP:**POL** but
'Oh, (I'm) just going to meet my previous co-worker, though.'
- 17 Hide: *ō kuruma de kita? odakyū?*
oh car INSTR come:PAST Odakyu
'I see. (Did you) come (here) by car? (Or by) Odakyu line?'
- 18 Akira: *odakyū ssu tōi ssu ne koko*
Odakyu COP:**POL** far COP:**POL** SFP here
'By Odakyu train. This place is far (from Tokyo), isn't it?'
- 19 Hide: *dandan keshiki ga inaka ni naru tte iu ka na*
gradually view SUB countryside LOC become QT say Q SFP
'It's like the view (from the train) slowly turning into a country view.'
- 20 Akira: *oi tanbo da yo tte*
hey rice field COP SFP QT
'It's like "Hey, (there's) a rice field!"'
- 21 *a hide-san onsen iku (0.1) no?*
oh Hide-SUF.POL hot spring go SFP

‘Oh, Hide-san, (are you) going to a hot spring?’

22 Hide: *iya uchira sisimai o mi ni iku n desu kedo*
no 1pl lion dance O see DAT go NOM COP:POL but
‘No, we are going to see a lion dance.’

23 Akira: *yūmeina n desu ka?*
famous NOM COP:POL Q
‘Is (it) famous?’

24 Hide: *ttsūka tada shiriai ga yatteru tte dakede =*
QT:say:Q only acquaintance NOM doing QT only
‘Well, it’s just someone (I know) is performing.’

25 Akira: *= ō sasuga.*
wow great
‘Wow, (that sounds) great!’

26 Hide: *iya jā mā mata ano genki de*
no so then again well fine and
‘So, then, (see you) again, well, take care.’

27 Akira: *a dōmo hide-san mo*
oh well Hide-SUF.POL too
‘Oh, (you), too, Hide-san.’

Hide and Akira are acquaintances and eight years apart in age. Conventionally, such a difference is enough to cause the younger person to use polite forms to the older one, unless both are very close friends or related to each

other. So it was normal for Hide to expect Akira to use polite forms to Hide, but Hide himself could use plain forms to Akira. Hide expected their uses of speech forms to be complementary. The use of plain forms was unmarked to Hide, whereas the use of polite forms was unmarked to Akira.

On the surface, their interaction seems to be normal and smoothly completed. But it was an unpleasant experience to Hide, as he told me after the leave-taking as in (2).

- (2) 32 Hide: Oh, no, I wonder why that guy doesn't use honorifics.
33 Makiko: What?
34 Hide: Well, (I) kind of got angry.
35 Makiko: Why?
36 Hide: He is much younger than I am.
37 Makiko: Yeah.
38 Hide: In order to let him understand, I tried hard to use polite forms.
39 Makiko: Yeah.
40 Hide: But, but, he didn't try to use them by himself.
41 Makiko: So, (you got) angry?
42 Hide: Well, talking in plain forms as if (we were) friends is no good.
43 Makiko: I see.
44 Hide: Usually, if (they're) younger, (they) use honorifics.

The entire conversation between Hide and me in Japanese appears in Appendix F. To summarize Hide's comments, he expected complementary uses of plain and polite forms between himself and Akira. Although Akira did use polite forms, Akira's use of polite forms was neither voluntary nor spontaneous, because they

were used only to respond to or align with Hide's. Since Hide expected Akira to use polite forms spontaneously and complementarily, Hide found Akira's overall speech both unsatisfactory and irritating. Hide explicitly said that he used honorifics in order to induce Akira's use of honorifics. Below, I examine the interaction between Hide and Akira sequentially, in order to show how their use of two different systems of attunement destroyed any sense of mutual interaction. My analysis is based on Hide's comments on his interaction with Akira.

In line 1 in (1), Hide started their interaction in a plain form, expressing his surprise at meeting Akira. In line 2, I greeted Akira, saying *konnichiwa*, a formally polite greeting. In line 3, Akira repeated my words exactly. After our greetings (lines 1-3 in (1)), I stepped a few yards away from them and kept myself just outside the sphere of their interaction, so that Hide and Akira alone could continue talking.

In line 4, Hide talked in a plain form. In lines 1 and 4, Hide had set up his footing, interacting with Akira in plain forms. The choice of plain forms would normally mean that he construed their interaction as informal. Later, Hide implied that he is older than Akira and so did not have to use polite forms to him (line 89 in Appendix F).

In line 5, Akira responded to Hide in a plain form. In the verbal predicate, Akira could have inserted the polite form *masu* attached to the verb *tachi-*, as in *tachi-masu-kedo* (pass-POL-but), or the polite form of the copula *desu* attached to the verb and the nominalized form *tatsu-n-* as in *tatsu-n-desu-kedo* (pass-NOM-POL-but), but he did not. Akira's footing in line 5 was in alignment

with Hide's earlier use of plain forms. Akira's use of plain forms in line 5 could be interpreted as the first misfire of their interaction. However, at the time, Akira's speech did not seem to be problematic. For example, Akira's turn in line 5 was latched by Hide's in line 6, making it unclear whether Akira would continue his turn. If Akira had continued his speech, he might have used polite forms in verbal elements. Furthermore, Akira lowered his voice towards the end of line 5, thereby omitting the use of a predicate, and being ambiguous about whether he was using asymmetric or symmetric footing. But, since Akira did not use polite forms in line 5, he showed symmetry to Hide's turn. In other words, Hide's and Akira's turns were in alignment. In line 7, Hide asked Akira a question in a plain form, because, conventionally, Hide as the older person could use plain forms to Akira, as he claimed afterwards (line 89 in Appendix D).

In answer to Hide's question at line 8, Akira did not use a polite form. Akira might have inserted such a form in the verbal predicate (as in *hataraitte-(i)mashite* (work:GER-POL:GER)). But the insertion of the polite form would make the utterance longer. Moreover, it was still unclear whether Akira was trying to continue his speech, when Hide interrupted Akira's speech in line 9. In line 9, Hide asked him another question, using a plain form. By this point, Hide's footing in interacting with Akira was constantly in plain forms.

In line 10, Akira answered Hide's question and ended his speech with a proper noun without any polite form. Although Akira's turn in line 10 could still include the polite form of the copula *desu*, it is very common to omit predicates, in giving answers that involve proper nouns or in ordering food. Here, Akira only

provided the necessary and sufficient information about the propositional content of Hide's question, thus we could be correct in saying that it was not crucial for Akira to use polite forms.

Up to line 10, there might have been several reasons why Akira's turn did not contain polite forms. Using polite forms can make an utterance and hinder the flow of interaction. Sometimes speakers do not use polite forms, in order to maintain the natural and speedy flow of interaction. Furthermore, Akira was trying to figure out whether to use asymmetric or symmetric footing, in relation to Hide. In Japanese, plain or polite speech forms in verbal predicate elements most clearly encode the speaker's perception of the speech situation and interpersonal relations, as mentioned in Chapter 2. In figuring out which footing to take, speakers of Japanese often articulate predicate elements ambiguously, making predicate elements unclear or unexpressed, lowering the voice, slowing down, using hedges, or ending speech with nominal elements. Particularly when the interlocutor's age is unknown but appears to be close to the speaker's age, the speaker tries to express predicate elements as unclearly as possible in order to make room for any footing that their interlocutor may take. This way, if a discrepancy exists between the speaker's footing and the interlocutor's footing or if the discrepancy needs to be fixed, speakers can easily fix their footing. But once both parties' footings are set, they are difficult to change.

Nevertheless, Akira always had a choice of using polite forms but he did not use polite forms. If he were willing to use polite forms, he would have still used them, even if the use of polite forms would make speech longer and block the

flow of interaction.

But these interpretations of Akira's use of plain forms failed at line 11, where Akira used a rising tone and did not make his speech ambiguous. Akira set up his footing in symmetry with Hide, by using plain forms. It was not grammatical structures or the interrupted context that made Akira avoid using polite forms in lines 5, 8, and 10. Akira did not use polite forms, because he was not intending to do so. This means that Akira displayed his persona as someone who did not use polite forms to someone to whom the use of polite form was normally expected.

From Hide's perspective, line 11 was a pragmatically inappropriate utterance. Later, Hide confessed that he was surprised and annoyed by Akira's use of plain forms (lines 34 and 42 in (2), and line 48 in Appendix F), as also suggested in the silence after line 12 in (1). Since Akira did not seem to know what was expected of him, Hide needed to let Akira know that Akira had to use polite forms (line 38 in (2) and lines 50, 54, and 56 in Appendix F). The most face-threatening but explicit way would be to tell Akira to use polite forms to Hide, as I suggested Hide later (lines 63 and 65 in Appendix F). But Hide thought that that would have insulted Akira, and besides, Hide would not have been satisfied, unless Akira used the polite forms spontaneously and voluntarily (lines 68, 70, 72, and 73 in Appendix F). In order to bring about Akira's voluntary use of polite forms in subsequent turns, Hide asked a question at line 13 with the polite form *desu*. Contrast line 13 with line 9, as below.

(2) 9 Hide: *e ima doko sunderu?*
 then now where live
 ‘Where (do you) live now?’

13 Hide: *kyō wa doko ni iku n desu ka*
 today TOP where LOC go NOM COP:POL Q
 ‘Today where (are you) going?’

The two lines were both interrogative sentences using temporal and spatial nouns: *ima* (‘now’) and *doko* (‘where’) in line 9, and *kyō* (‘today’) and *doko* in line 13. But line 9 had an ellipsis of topic, locative, and question particles, while line 13 had all three particles explicitly present and the polite form *desu*. The complete interrogative utterance in line 13 was a clear instance of the shift in Hide’s footing. While Akira hedges in line 14, Hide hastened to speak in line 15, using not only the polite form for the second time but also the respectful form *ikareru* (‘go:RESP.PASS’).¹⁹ Generally, respectful forms are much less frequent than polite forms. In the sequences of plain forms in their interaction, Hide’s use of the respectful form marked a significant change in footing, which might be expected to affect Akira’s next turn.

The respectful form in line 15 was not used to signal the conventional meaning of the speaker’s deference to the referent. Hide used the respectful form, in order to enforce Akira to use honorifics to Hide. Thus, Hide’s use of the respectful form in line 15 not only emphasized the shift in his footing that he

¹⁹ In some dialectal varieties of Japanese, the morpheme *-are* used in an interrogative sentence does not carry the meaning of respectfulness or passivity as it does in a Tokyo-dialect variety. Hide who is a Tokyo-dialect speaker used the morpheme *-are* as a respectful form in line 15, even though he did not mean to be respectful to Akira.

already showed in line 13, but also urged Akira to change his footing immediately.

In line 16, Akira answered Hide's question with the polite form *desu*. Akira made alignment with Hide's footing through his use of polite forms. From Hide's perspective, Akira's use of the polite form in line 16 assured him that Akira was now on the "correct" footing. As he said later (lines 79 and 80 in Appendix F), Hide assumed that Akira would continue using polite forms at this point, but at line 17, Hide dropped polite forms. Perhaps Hide wanted to see whether Akira would continue using polite forms.

In line 18, Akira used *ssu*, the truncated form of the polite form *desu*, twice. Even though Hide did not use a polite form in line 17, Akira used them in line 18. In lines 17 and 18, Hide's and Akira's turns were finally complementary in their use of polite and plain forms. Reassured that Akira understood his expectation, Hide thought that he no longer had to use polite forms.

Up to line 12, Hide and Akira asked questions about each other's life. From line 13, they started to talk about their visits to Hakone, but they themselves were still the main topics of their interaction.

In line 19, the referent of Hide's speech shifted from Akira to the countryside view from the train. Partly because Hide's speech did not have to deal with interpersonal relations with Akira and partly because he tried to maintain his footing in plain forms, he used plain forms in talking about his feelings about visiting the countryside.

In his pretended quote in line 20, Akira aligned to Hide's topic and expressed his feeling about watching the rice field from the train. Akira talked to

Hide in plain forms. Akira maintained not only the same topic but also the same footing as Hide's in line 19. Here it was not necessarily face-threatening for Akira to use plain forms, because their interpersonal relations were not dealt with in line 20.

In line 21, Akira asked Hide if he was going to a hot spring in Hakone. After pausing for one second, Akira ended his question with a sentence-final particle and did not add the polite form *desu* and the question marker *ka*. Akira used plain forms in line 21, in asking Hide about his plan in Hakone. Here, the topic again shifted from the countryside view to their interpersonal relations. Because of this shift, it became problematic that Akira maintained the footing of his pretended quote in line 20 with plain forms. Even though Akira addressed Hide with the polite suffix *-san*, it was not enough to compensate for the lack of polite forms in the predicate elements of Akira's speech. The lack of polite forms in line 21 was far more serious than in his earlier lines 5, 8, and 11, in which Akira did not use polite forms, either. By this point, Hide had already assumed that Akira understood the need for using polite forms to Hide, as he mentioned in lines 79 and 80 in Appendix F. After Akira responded to Hide's questions in polite forms in lines 16 and 18, Hide hoped that Akira would use polite forms, especially in asking personal questions as in line 21. But Akira's response made it clear that he did not understand Hide's efforts and would not use polite forms. It demonstrated that Akira used polite forms in lines 16 and 18, only to make alignment with Hide's use of polite forms. Akira's use of polite forms in lines 16 and 18 was triggered by Hide's use of polite forms but not based on Akira's recognition of complementary

uses of speech forms between Hide and Akira. Furthermore, it was as if Akira was mimicking Hide's speech, without recognizing the need for complementary uses of speech forms. Therefore, line 21 was doubly insulting and gave Hide an additional sense of frustration.

In line 22, Hide again used the polite form *desu* to answer Akira's question. This was his second attempted to force Akira to use polite forms. In line 23, Akira asked a question in a polite form. As in the previous lines, Akira consistently repeated and aligned with Hide's use of polite forms, but he never used them without Hide's use in a preceding turn.

In line 24, Hide answered Akira in a plain form. In line 25, Akira uses a plain form, although he could have used a polite form. Hide said later, '(I) couldn't stand talking (to Akira) anymore (*mō shabette rarenai*)' (line 82 in Appendix D), so at line 26, he abruptly broke off, to which Akira responded in line 27.

Immediately after Akira left, Hide turned around and said me 'why doesn't that guy use honorifics? (*nande aitsu wa keigo o tsukawanai n darō*),' as in line 32 in (2). Hide revealed his intentional efforts to make Akira aware of the necessity of using polite forms: 'I used polite forms myself and tried so hard to let the guy know the point (*issō kenmei aitsu ni wakarase yō to shite ore ga teineigo o tsukatta noni*)' in line 38 in (2). Nevertheless, the brief exchange with Akira was annoying to Hide, because 'that guy did not try to use (honorifics) by himself' (*aitsu jibun kara tsukaō toshi nai*)' as in line 40 in (2).

Their choices of speech forms were based on different expectations of

different styles of attunement. Hide expected the complementary uses of polite and plain forms between him and Akira, whereas Akira expected to show his alignment with Hide's use of speech forms. However, Hide had the impression that Akira did not use any form of honorifics, because Akira did not use them spontaneously and complementarily. Only when polite forms were spontaneously used, could the interaction have become appropriate to Hide. For him, the use of polite forms should be spontaneous but not simply dialogic.

Summary

In this chapter, I have closely analyzed an episode of talk-in-interaction. I have attempted to explicate the intricate process of indexicality and shed light on how polite forms are used in on-going interactions.

In the interaction that I have examined here, one participant (Akira) showed aligned uses of speech forms, whereas another (Hide) expected complementary uses of speech forms. In terms of attunement styles, one participant preferred alignment to complementation, while another preferred complementation to alignment. Akira was successful in looking at his prior turn in Hide's speech and aligning with Hide's use of polite forms. Nevertheless, Hide's impressions on Akira and his use of speech forms became very negative, because Hide expected Akira to use polite forms spontaneously and complementarily. Akira failed to figure out which attunement style he was expected to demonstrate. As a result of their different expectations and employment of attunement styles, their interaction became awkward and unpleasant. This does not mean that complementation is

preferable to alignment in attunement styles. In the previous chapter, one participant showed complementary uses of speech forms with her interlocutor, while others expected her to align with her interlocutor's use of speech forms. In that case, alignment was preferable to complementation. So far, I have not found any evidence to claim any order in the three styles of attunement that I introduced in Chapter 4. However, the data in both this and previous chapters show speakers who were strongly advised and expected to use polite forms to their interlocutors. When speakers are in doubt, the use of polite forms is safer.

Not all interaction between two participants of different ages creates communication breakdowns like the example presented in this chapter. However, as moment-to-moment contingency shapes the use of speech forms deployed in situated actions of the participants, attunement styles also move, shift, and change at each moment of interaction.

Chapter 8

Effects of attunement: Speakers' use of self-respectful forms

Introduction

This chapter investigates effects of attunement in interaction, by analyzing formally similar examples of honorific usage. Examples in this chapter present a superficial similarity on the formal level of unconventional honorific usage. All speakers in the examples use self-respectful forms purposefully against the pragmatic conventions of Japanese honorific usage, even though it is normally considered inappropriate to use self-respectful forms in Modern Japanese. Their use of respectful forms appears sequentially in informal peer-group conversations, after their interlocutors use respectful forms to refer to them. On the formal and surface level, examples in this chapter show attunement in conversational sequences and could be categorized as the same species of unconventional honorific usage. However, interactional effects in such uses of respectful forms vary according to social relationships among participants. Depending on social relationships among participants, speakers' unconventional use of self-respectful forms conveys an acknowledgement of close friendship, a sense of humor or irony, or an invitation to let their interlocutors use fewer respectful forms to them. Thus, attunement in interaction cannot be defined as a formal and superficial similarity of linguistic forms. Linguistic forms do not characterize the effects of attunement, since the effects derive from a momentary social relationship among participants.

In the next section, I explain speakers' use of self-respectful forms from the

perspective of historical linguistics. In the history of the Japanese language, there were times that speakers' use of self-respectful forms was appropriate. Such use of respectful forms gradually disappeared from the Japanese language. In Modern Japanese, regardless of their status, it is considered inappropriate for speakers to apply respectful forms to themselves. Since the pragmatic inappropriateness of using self-respectful forms is widely recognized, speakers' use of self-respectful forms creates contextual cues and brings indexical meanings into focus.

Then, I analyze three examples of self-respectful forms that appear to present a similar case of attunement. These examples appear in different social relationships, such as among very close friends, among friends different in age and social status, and among new acquaintances. Even though the examples seem to be formally similar, the different social relationships create different effects in interaction. When self-respectful forms are used among close friends, they convey their attempts to make their interactions unusual and playful. Among those different in age and social status or among those who are new to each other, self-respectful forms tend to depreciate the honorific value of these linguistic forms. In the latter cases, although speakers superficially attune to addressees by repeating part of their speech, speakers' use of self-respectful forms conveys a metamessage that their addressees do not have to use respectful forms. Thus, superficially similar linguistic phenomena work differently in different social relationships.

History of self-respectful forms

Before turning to the analysis of the data, I present a brief history of

speakers' use of self-respectful forms in Japanese. In Modern Japanese, the use of self-respectful forms is "prescriptively incorrect". However, in the past, sometimes speaker's use of respectful forms was not considered incorrect. In pre-Old Japanese (before A.D. 710) and Old Japanese (A.D. 710-794), emperors used respectful forms to describe their own actions, in order to aggrandize themselves as children of God and represent their hierarchical position in society (Nishida 1987; Tsujimura 1992). Historical documents such as *Kojiki* ('old Japanese history book') and *Manyoshu* ('anthology of Japanese poems') reveal that the self-aggrandizing use of respectful forms was generally available to those who held the highest social positions in Ancient and Medieval Japan. The use of self-respectful forms, while one of the significant aspects of honorific use in pre-Old and Old Japanese, primarily occurred in formal situations when emperors emphasized their power in public.

In Middle Japanese, the self-aggrandizing use of respectful forms was considered less appropriate than in pre-Old and Old Japanese. In her essay *Makura-no-soushi* ('Pillow Book'), Sei Shou Nagon mentions that aristocrats should avoid addressing themselves as *maro* (the self-praise form of the first person pronoun) in making commands to their servants in the presence of much higher-status aristocrats. In the 11th century when *Genji Monogatari* ('The Tale of Genji') was written, speaker's use of respectful forms in reference to themselves came to seem absolutely inappropriate. As the speakers' use of self-respectful forms gradually disappeared, speakers' use of humiliative forms in reference to themselves came into increasing use.

In Modern Japanese, except for the respectful form of the first person pronoun *chin* ('I') used by the emperor, self-respectful forms are hardly ever found.²⁰ The idea of raising the self almost entirely vanished from contemporary Japanese pragmatics. As explained in Chapter 2, the major function of honorific use in Modern Japanese is to raise others such as addressees or referents, or to lower the speaker and members of the speaker's ingroup with respect to others such as addressees and referents. To raise others, respectful forms are used. To lower one's own ingroup, humiliating forms are used so that the status of others is relatively raised. It is pragmatically inappropriate, though syntactically possible, to use respectful forms to describe oneself. Using respectful forms to oneself is generally considered to show a lack of knowledge of Japanese pragmatics.

In my database, there is no instance where speakers use respectful forms in reference to themselves, in interacting with strangers, elders, or seniors. In formal and ritualistic settings, such as parliamentary discussions and weddings, no speakers use respectful forms in reference to themselves. But especially in the speech of people in their 20s and 30s, there are instances of respectful forms of self-reference. As my interviews with them reveal in later sections, young speakers do know that applying respectful forms to themselves is inappropriate according to Japanese pragmatics. Nevertheless, some speakers sometimes, if not always, use respectful forms to themselves on purpose.

In what follows, I analyze speakers' own use of self-respectful forms in actual conversations and demonstrate that the inappropriateness of self-respectful

²⁰ In his public speech, even Emperor Akihiro almost never uses the respectful form of the first person pronoun *chin*.

forms, that is interpreted as inappropriate under normal conventions of Japanese honorific use, can be suspended by the notion of attunement. Speakers use respectful forms to themselves, in order to provide different effects to interaction than their usual and conventional use of honorifics. In order to discuss the effects of speakers' use of self-respectful forms in conversations, I also draw on metalinguistic commentaries from speakers in their 20s, 30s, 50s and 60s.

Attunement for creating playful interaction and strengthening social bonds

In interaction among close friends, unconventional uses of self-respectful forms often create playfulness. In this section, I examine participants' unconventional use of self-respectful forms in dyadic greetings between close friends.

In such greetings, speakers in my database sometimes use respectful forms in reference to themselves. These uses are unconventional and prescriptively incorrect, but they tend to occur after other speakers use them in reference to their close friends. Example (1) is an opening in a conversation between two female friends in their late 20s, Rika and Yumi. They have been good friends for ten years, since they met at an English conversation school in Tokyo in 1993. Rika is a full-time worker at a company in Tokyo and living in Yokohama with her husband. Yumi, living in Tokyo, has been a part-time worker for three years, since she quit her previous job.

(1) 1 Rika: *Yumi-chan, o-genki?*

Yumi-DIM HONP-fine?

'Yumi, (are you) fine?'

2 Yumi: *un o-genki*
yeah HONP-fine
'Yeah, (I'm) fine.'

3 Rika: *atashi mo*
1sg too
'Me, too.'

In order to understand Yumi's speech in line 2, I need to examine Rika's speech in line 1, since Yumi's use of the honorific prefix to herself is a reflection of Rika's use of the same form in line 1. In asking about Yumi's health, Rika chose *o-genki?* from the numerous ways to open a conversation. *O-genki?* contains the honorific prefix *o-* and the content word *genki* ('fine.'). The use of the honorific prefix is not necessary between close friends; they would typically say *genki?* to each other. The use of *o-genki?* was unusual in this context, because the honorific prefix *o-* signifies a speaker's deference to the addressee. In this kind of greeting, the use of the honorific prefix does not convey the speaker's deference to the addressee but rather an implicature (Grice 1971, 1978) or a conversational inference (Gumperz 1982) that Rika was trying to make this interaction different from their usual way of greeting (such as *genki?* without the honorific prefix). Especially since Rika and Yumi have been friends for a long time, Rika's unusual use of the honorific prefix in line 1 provided such an implicature and sets up a playful frame at the initial stage of their interaction. Then, Rika's playful opening

with the unusual phrase *o-genki?* in line 1 motivated Yumi to answer in an unconventional and playful way in the next turn.

Yumi's answer *un* 'yeah' in line 2 was an informal one expected in a peer-group conversation like this one. However, her next utterance *o-genki* was prescriptively "incorrect," because of the honorific prefix *o-*. The honorific prefix *o-*, suffixed to nouns or verbs, was conventionally used to describe objects and people that are worthy of the speaker's respect. In talking about their own actions, belongings, or states of being, speakers, regardless of their positions, are not supposed to raise their status and apply respectful forms to themselves, because the idea of honoring oneself that was once acceptable is no longer a part of Japanese pragmatics. In a follow-up interview with Yumi, I found that she was fully aware of her unconventional and pragmatically incorrect use of the honorific prefix to herself. So why did Yumi use the honorific prefix in this interaction?

I would like to argue that Yumi's use of the respectful form to herself was triggered by Rika's in line 1. Without Rika's atypical use of the honorific prefix, Yumi's use of the honorific prefix would not have occurred. If Rika's speech in line 1 were *genki?* without the honorific prefix, Yumi would not have used the honorific prefix, either. Rika's unusual way of opening the conversation in line 1 motivated Yumi to speak differently than usual and use the honorific prefix against prescriptive rules of honorific use. Yumi's use of the honorific prefix in line 2 was a response to the unusualness and playfulness of Rika's speech in line 1. For Yumi, the purpose of using the honorific prefix was to respond to or attune to Rika's attempt to convey playfulness in their conversation. The honorific prefix

was certainly not used by Yumi to encode deference to herself.

I have already discussed a similar point in Chapter 5 that interlocutors are sensitive and responsive to contextualization cues and subtle differences that others make in the process of interaction. For example, when one speaker suddenly changes their register, footing, or lexicon, other speakers respond to the change, by adopting or attuning to the change themselves. In (1), the honorific prefix *o-* in line 1 served to make a very intricate meaning in interaction. Although Yumi's speech seems to imitate and repeat part of Rika's speech, what Yumi actually did in line 2 was not just a repetition of the honorific prefix *o-*. Yumi displayed a behavior of attunement that could strengthen their feelings of engaging and sharing with the same moment of interaction.

However, it was not risk-free for Yumi to use the honorific prefix onto herself. The addressee might interpret it as a lack of communicative competence or as an insult. Yumi would not have used it with people that she did not feel comfortable with, since the usage violated conventions of honorific usage in Modern Japanese. The fact that Yumi used the honorific prefix to herself suggests that Yumi and Rika had a good social relationship. Without that social relationship, their unconventional exchange could have been misinterpreted. Yumi's use of the honorific prefix not only signified her effort at attunement but also confirmed their friendship. The two participants in (1) knew that their respective addressee would understand their unconventional speeches as an indication of their friendly sense of humor. Knowing and understanding this helped to strengthen their bonds. In this sense, Yumi's use of self-respectful forms

acknowledged and reassured their friendship.

In (1), the two instances of the honorific prefix did not encode the speaker's deference to the referents, which was Yumi. The first turn had more to do with making their interactional opening playful than showing deference to the addressee. The second turn had to do with conforming to the first speaker's efforts to make the interaction playful. Neither the use of the honorific prefix itself nor showing deference to the referent was a primary purpose of their interaction. It was attunement that the speakers ultimately strove to achieve in their exchange. To this end, the speakers employed honorifics.

Attunement for reverse-attunement

Speakers' use of self-respectful forms can function to depreciate the honorific value of the expressions. In this section, I examine two unconventional uses of self-respectful forms in interactions among people who are more socially distant than the speakers in the previous sections. Unlike the speakers in the previous section, speakers in this section are different in age and social status. In interactions with people whose ages and social statuses differ, elder or senior ones sometimes use respectful forms to themselves, immediately after their interlocutors use respectful forms to them. Although such speakers seem to show linguistic attunement to the addressee's speech, their real purpose is not to augment the degree of attunement to their interlocutors on the behavioral level. Speakers use respectful forms to themselves, in order to mock referentially encoded deference or depreciate the honorific value that respectful forms normally convey. By doing so,

speakers imply non-insultingly that their addressees do not need to use too many respectful forms to the speakers. Thus, a phenomenon that takes the superficial form of linguistic attunement may be used in order to change others' behaviors – to make others adjust.

Example (2) is taken from a phone conversation between two people different in age and gender. I have known both of them for several years. Yasuo Nonaka is a professor in his mid-40s. He lives in Osaka, after living in the United States for fifteen years. Yoko Sasaki is a graduate student in her late 20s living and studying in Tokyo. Yasuo and Yoko became acquainted at a conference in the United States. Yasuo does not consider himself professorial and does not want others to treat him as a professor who is automatically worthy of respect. Since Yoko is not his own student, Yasuo especially insists that she should not call him Nonaka-*sensei* (“teacher” or “professor”) but Yasu or Yasu-san.

The example begins with a typical sequence of initiating a phone conversation.²¹ Yoko called Yasuo, in order to discuss her research. After Yasuo answered the phone, Yoko mentioned her name and they exchange greetings.

(2) 1 Yasuo: *moshimoshi?*

hello

‘Hello?’

2 Yoko: *moshimoshi sasaki desu*

hello Sasaki COP:POL

‘Hello, (this) is Sasaki.’

²¹ Yoko recorded her phone conversation with Yasuo.

- 3 Yasuo: *a konbanwa*
oh good evening
'Good evening.'
- 4 Yoko: *konbanwa*
good evening
'Good evening.'
- 5 *sensei o-genki desu ka?*
teacher HONP-fine POL Q
'Professor, how are (you)?'
- 6 Yasuo: *o-genki desu yo*
HONP-fine POL SFP
'(I'm) fine.'
- 7 *sasaki-san wa?*
Ms. Sasaki TOP
'(How about you), Ms. Sasaki?'
- 8 Yoko: *hai o-kage-sama de*
yes HONP-thanks-POL INSTR
'yes, (fine), thank (you).'
- 9 Yasuo: *yamete yo sore*
stop SFP it
'Stop (doing) that.'

The focus of my analysis in (2) is on Yasuo's speech in line 6 in relation to Yoko's

speech in line 5. Both turns included the use of the honorific prefix *o-*, as in lines 1 and 2 in (1), and the polite form of the copula. While the repetition of the honorific prefix in (1) was used to increase the degree of attunement and social bonds among participants, the repetition of the honorific prefix and the polite form in (2) was used to mock the deference given by Yoko. Yasuo's metalinguistic commentaries reveal that the superficial similarities of linguistic expressions in (1) and (2) do not always induce the same effects in interaction.

In (2), Yoko used both the honorific prefix (respectful form) and the polite form to Yasuo. For a student such as Yoko, polite and respectful forms were unmarked forms, in talking to a professor. Although they are acquaintances, Yoko usually talks and refers to Yasuo in polite and respectful forms, as she did in line 5.

For Yasuo, Yoko's speech line 5 was too deferential, as he told Yoko to stop being respectful to him in line 9. Later in their phone conversation, Yasuo told Yoko that he always feels *kimochiwarui* ('creepy') and *koppazukashii* ('embarrassed,') when people talk to him in respectful forms. In my interview with him, Yasuo also said that he did not like people to use respectful forms in talking to him.

In line 6, he repeated Yoko's speech, turning her interrogative into an assertion. Unlike line 2 in (1), Yasuo's turn in line 6, while apparently a repetition of or attunement to Yoko's turn in line 5, was not only an indication of his close friendship with Yoko. Yasuo used the honorific prefix in the sequences, in order to depreciate and minimize the honorific value that the honorific prefix conventionally carries. In the interview, Yasuo explained that he hoped Yoko

would stop using respectful forms to him and use more plain forms, as he did to Yoko. By imitating Yoko's speech and using the honorific prefix on himself against the conventions of Japanese honorific usage in line 6, Yasuo pointed out Yoko's use of the honorific prefix and her respectful speech to him. Thus, even though his speech appeared to show attunement to Yoko's speech on the surface, his superficially attuned speech to Yoko's speech induced Yoko's non-use of respectful forms in her subsequent turns. As Yasuo approximates western norms of interaction, his purpose of using the honorific prefix in (2) was not to indicate their close friendship. He used the honorific prefix, in order to let Yoko know that using the honorific prefix to him was unnecessary and to make Yoko stop using respectful forms to him. Yasuo's superficial attunement on the level of linguistic forms created "reverse attunement" in their conversation.

Examples (1) and (2) suggest that the differences in the participants' social relationships create the different effects in the similar use of linguistic forms. In both examples, speakers show attunement on the surface level of using self-respectful forms. One speaker repeats the honorific prefix in their interlocutor's speech and applies it to themselves sequentially, in spite of the fact that such usage is conventionally considered inappropriate. However, the formal and superficial similarity in the two speakers' act of linguistic attunement does not create the same effect in the two conversations. In (1), the speaker's use of self-respectful forms conveys the speaker's playful attitudes and functions to increase social bonds between the participants. In (2), the speaker's use of self-respectful forms conveys a sense of irony (in a non-insulting manner) and

functions to reduce the referential value of deference in the linguistic forms. In these examples, the similar act of linguistic attunement provides the different effects, primarily because of the differences in the participants' social relationships. In (1), the participants are close friends, whereas in (2), the participants are different in age and social status and are not close friends. Even though the speakers in (1) and (2) appear to use self-respectful forms and show attunement in the similar conversational sequences, the linguistic forms themselves do not determine the effects of attunement in interaction.

Attunement for reducing feelings of embarrassment

My next example also illustrates reverse attunement among people who are new to each other. As Goffman (1967) argues, people often use humor in reducing feelings of embarrassment and denying the reality. In an example below, the speaker tries to deal with her embarrassment at the respectful forms used by her interlocutor against the conventions of honorific use in Japanese. By her own use of the self-respectful form, she attempts to joke about herself, depreciate the value of honorifics, and consequently downgrade herself.

Example (3) is part of a conversation among three participants: Sakio, Fumiko, and Mika.²² At the time of the recording, all three had been studying in California for five years. Sakio, age 33, is Fumiko's boyfriend. Mika, age 29, and Sakio have known each other, since their graduate studies in Japan. Fumiko, age 24, and Mika met through Sakio two days before this conversation was

²² I was sitting at the table next to them at a café when the conversation was recorded. During their conversation, I pretended that I was studying but I was taking notes.

recorded. Throughout the conversation, Fumiko invariably used polite forms to Mika and often to Sakio. Mika and Sakio used plain forms in their conversation.

- (3) 1 Fumiko: *Tanabe-san yoku go-ryokō toka nasaru n desu ka?*
Miss Tanabe often HONP-trip sort do:RESP NOM COP:POL Q
'Miss Tanabe, do (you) often do honorable-traveling?'
- 2 Mika: ((smiling)) *nasai- masen*
do:RESP POL:NEG
'(I) honorably do not.'
- 3 Sakio: *ima no hāmonī?*
now NOM harmony
'(Was that) a harmony?'
- 4 Mika: *datte go-ryokō nasaru nante chō teineini iu n damon*
cause HONP-trip do:RESP like verypolitely say NOM COP.SFP
'Because (Fumiko) was too polite and said 'honorable-traveling.''

In line 1, Fumiko used the polite form of the copula *desu* in addition to two respectful forms: the honorific prefix *go-* and the respectful form of the verb 'to do' *nasaru*. In response to Fumiko's highly respectful speech in line 1, Mika grinned and used the respectful form of the verb 'to do' *nasai-*, which was attached to *masen*, the negative form of the copula in the polite form. Mika's use of the respectful form in line 2 is pragmatically inappropriate for the reason that the speaker is not supposed to honorify herself. If any honorific form were used in

line 2, following the conventions of honorific usage in Japanese, it would have to be the humiliative form of the verb ‘to do’ *itashi-*, instead of the respectful form *nasai-*. Or, Mika could have avoided an honorific form, by using a plain form such as *shi-* (‘to do’). The fact that she smiled in line 2 shows that she was aware of pragmatic conventions and still used the respectful form to herself.

To consider why Mika used the unconventional form, we need to examine Fumiko’s utterance in line 1 more closely. Before this segment of conversation occurred, Fumiko was using polite forms to Mika. In her previous utterances, she used respectful forms together with polite forms, but no more than one instance of respectful forms appeared in her single utterance. Her speech in line 1 was the first time that her single utterance included more than one instance of respectful forms. Fumiko showed her maximum respect to Mika who is a friend of Fumiko’s boyfriend. If her speech in line 1 only had either the honorific prefix *go-* or the respectful form of the verb, as *go-ryokō suru* (‘HONP-trip do’) or *ryokō sareru* (‘trip do:RESP’), instead of having both the honorific prefix and the respectful form as in *go-ryokō nasaru* (‘HONP-trip do:RESP’), it could have been more consistent with her previous way of speaking to Mika. Then, Mika’s response in line 2 might have been different. But as Mika claimed in line 4, Fumiko’s speech sounded to Mika overly deferential, because of the two respectful forms in line 1. To Mika, being five years older than Fumiko is perhaps not significant enough as to make two instances of the respectful forms necessary. Mika was overwhelmed that Fumiko was giving so much deference to her, as suggested in line 4.

For Mika, the most direct and face-threatening response would have been to assert that it was unnecessary for Fumiko to use so many respectful forms. However, Mika did not say so explicitly but played with Fumiko's respectful form of the verb *nasaru-* and keeping the respectful form in her answer *nasai-* in line 2.

Mika had at least two more conventional options: the humiliative form *itashi-* and the plain form *shi-*. If she had chosen the former, it would mean that she was using honorifics conventionally and accepting Fumiko's expression of deference. To reduce the amount of deference given to Mika, it would have been ineffectual to use a humiliative form. If she had chosen the latter, it would have been both unmarked and consistent with her previous speech, as she always used plain forms. Using the plain form would have also implied that Mika accepted Fumiko's highly deferential speech. Neither humiliative nor plain form would have been as effective.

Because of the big smile on her face and her comment in line 4, Mika's use of the respectful form in line 2 allows only one interpretation. Her "unconventional" and "incorrect" use of the respectful form in her speech in line 2, which would normally create face-loss for her mocked her own status and suggested that she is a person who does not deserve much respect. Consequently, Fumiko did not need to show much respect to Mika. In other words, Mika tried to remove the referentially encoded deference, by aligning her speech to Fumiko's and violating the conventions of honorific usage in Japanese.

On the surface, Mika's speech demonstrated attunement to Fumiko's speech. Their linguistic expressions formally included the repeated instances of respectful

forms. But Mika's use of respectful forms did not convey respect to herself. By imitating Fumiko's speech, Mika implied in a friendly and humorous way that Fumiko should stop using so many respectful forms to Mika. After line 2, Fumiko maintained her constant use of polite forms to Mika, but never used respectful forms for the remaining twenty minutes of their conversation. Fumiko has understood that she did not have to refer to Mika with respectful forms. Mika has made reverse attunement possible.

Mika's speech still looked like a face-threatening act, since it repeated part of Fumiko's speech and used the respectful form with respect to herself. But Mika's use of the respectful form was a humorous act that made reference to their social relationship. Mika showed that she could be foolish and did not have to feel embarrassed about her "incorrect" use of the respectful form in Fumiko's presence. Mika and Fumiko were in a relationship in which "incorrect" usage did not matter and was not judged as an indication of communicative incompetence. Thus, Mika's use of the respectful form assured Fumiko that their relations are good enough to make respectful forms unnecessary.

To summarize, speakers' use of self-respectful forms in examples (2) and (3) accomplishes several things. First, by applying respectful forms onto themselves, speakers respond to the deference that their interlocutors show in their preceding speeches. Speakers use respectful forms to themselves partly out of embarrassment at the excessive amount of deference that their interlocutors express. In discussing how to deal with embarrassment, Goffman (1967) claims that exaggeration or mock insults can be used to deny the reality of the situation and

reduce the seriousness of the conflict. In order to do so, the speakers in these examples use respectful forms to themselves contrary to the conventions of honorific use in Japanese. They exaggerate the amount of deference initially shown to them by their interlocutors. Using honorifics against pragmatic conventions provokes another contradiction in linguistically encoded deference. Because of the exaggerated honorific value and the violated use of respectful forms, speakers' use of self-respectful forms to themselves functions to depreciate the honorific value of these linguistic expressions. The speakers' use of respectful forms to themselves has nothing to do with encoding the actual meaning of respect to themselves to which respectful forms are applied. Rather, honorific-related presupposed meanings and other more creative meanings of respectful forms arise in situated contexts of interaction.

Second, even similar linguistic forms look similar do not automatically indicate attunement. In (2) and (3), repetition of interlocutors' speech forms mocks referentially encoded deference and depreciates the honorific value that respectful forms conventionally convey rather than showing the speakers' fine-tuned coordination with their interlocutors. Attunement on the level of linguistic or behavioral forms does not always entail an intention of being coordinated with others.

Native metalinguistic commentaries about speakers' use of self-respectful forms

To learn more about Japanese speakers' use of self-respectful forms, I draw on native speakers' metalinguistic commentaries. Although what native speakers

say about their language use does not always reflect what they actually do, their metalinguistic commentaries offer insights into native speakers' understanding of their language and its use (Silverstein 1981; Hanks 1993; Lucy 1993; Duranti 1994). I interviewed three native speakers from four generations (in their 20s, 30s, 50s and 60s), in order to collect a wide range of responses. I played the recordings of the examples in (1) - (3) to them. I asked them to tell me why they thought the speakers in the examples used respectful forms.

Their metalinguistic commentaries demonstrate generational differences in the subjects' understanding of honorific use. The older they are, the more restricted are their views of honorific use. The younger they are, the more sympathetic and flexible are their views. My survey elicited the widest range of possible interpretations for the uses of respectful forms in the examples from speakers in their 20s and 30s.

The majority of subjects in their 50s and 60s found it extremely difficult to comprehend what was going on in examples (1) - (3). They found "mistakes" in the actual examples of honorific use. The examples were unbearable to listen to (*kikizurai*) and therefore hard to comprehend (*wakaririkui*). Many thought that the use of self-referential respectful forms was always a mistake, that they had never known any speaker to use such forms, and that they never used such forms themselves. We do not know if these metalinguistic commentaries are accurate. Speakers may use such forms without being aware of it, or may be unwilling to admit they do so. To subjects in their 50s and 60s, *keigo* ('honorifics') signal deference, unless they are intentionally used to convey sarcasm. They thought

that respectful forms could be used conventionally to convey deference or sarcasm, but never unconventionally to convey other effects. When they heard the examples, their main concern was whether these forms were grammatically correct and pragmatically appropriate. Their response to the unconventional uses of respectful forms in (1) - (3) was to attribute to their speakers a lack of common sense and proper education.

Compared to subjects in their 50s and 60s, those in their 20s and 30s were mostly sympathetic to the speakers' use of respectful forms with respect to themselves. They also regarded these forms as linguistic resources that people use to judge personality, common sense, and upbringing. However, for them, *keigo* refers to linguistic expressions that express respect to others and situations or humility to oneself, but they may also be linguistic expressions with which they can play. Although all of them agreed that applying respectful forms to oneself is "generally not considered *tadashii keigo* ('correct use of honorifics,')" female speakers especially claimed that they had heard and used respectful forms like those in (1) - (3), when talking to close friends. Most of them did not associate the speakers' uses of respectful forms with a lack of common sense or proper education. Rather, they understood such unconventional uses of respectful forms as demonstrating a sense of humor. One subject said, "By daring to use respectful forms unconventionally, the speakers in the examples try to present their friendliness rather than rudeness and ignorance." Some also said that one purpose of using respectful forms in this way is to create humor, and another is to make the hierarchical relationship implied by previous speakers' use of respectful forms

ambiguous. This way, the speakers can lessen the deference that the previous speakers showed to them and demonstrate their egalitarian relationship with their addressees. For young speakers, using respectful forms onto oneself in peer-group conversations is generally a humorous act through which they can increase the sense of connectedness between individuals.

These generational differences in their perception and use of speech forms occur for several reasons. First, linguistic conservatism tends to increase with age (cf. Eckert 1996). Older speakers have fixed views as to how people should use honorifics. Among younger speakers, a change is occurring in the perception and understanding of honorifics: they are less constrained than are older speakers by the prescriptive rules for the use of honorifics. They understand the convention but are not bound by it. One woman in her 20s said that honorifics can be unconventionally used in order to create and enjoy different realities, and as a way to bond with friends. Second, some studies have suggested changes in women's speech over different generations (Okamoto & Sato 1992, Okamoto 1995, 1997, Matsumoto 1999). There have been changes in actual use in the community. If we believe the metalinguistic statement of subjects in their 50s and 60s, they do not use self-respectful forms to themselves. The reason why this use of respectful forms has been unexplored until now may be that it is a relatively new phenomenon. It has not caught the attention of older researchers, since they did not encounter examples of such uses. If this is the case, we might expect an increase in speakers' uses of respectful forms among younger speakers.

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined three cases in which speakers used respectful forms to themselves after other participants used respectful forms in previous turns. Because it is pragmatically incorrect for speakers to use self-respectful forms, speakers' use of self-respectful forms can be interpreted as an indication of deference or lack of communicative competence. In order for speakers to use respectful forms on themselves but not to be interpreted as incompetent, they have to be in a social relationship that is comfortable enough to include the pragmatically inappropriate use of linguistic forms. Then, co-present participants have to be willing to interpret speakers' pragmatically inappropriate use of linguistic forms not as a misuse but as an attempt to provide some meaningful effects to their interaction.

Competent speakers of Japanese know that using self-respectful forms is conventionally inappropriate. They also know that they might be judged negatively by doing so. Nevertheless, they used self-respectful forms, because they were engaged in conversations in which they would not be judged by their use of self-respectful forms. In other contexts in which they might risk losing face through the deliberate use of self-respectful forms, they would not have used them. Use of self-respectful forms is indicative of good relationships among participants. Without that, the speakers would not risk using self-respectful forms. Without the other participants' understanding of the speakers' sense of humor, their use of respectful forms would not be effective. Their use of self-respectful forms conveys their good relations with other participants, while the addressee's

understanding of the speakers' good will helps to increase the solidarity between them. In this sense, in conversation respectful forms do not just diminish referentially encoded deference but also confirm the mutual understanding of their relationship.

In the examples analyzed in this chapter, participants were responsive to contextualization cues and subtle differences at each moment of their interaction. All speakers seemed to be attuning to their interlocutors. But some speakers' use of respectful forms to themselves was simply to respond to or attune to others, while others' was to make their interlocutors adjust. For those who attune to others, knowing and understanding the effects of humor brings them together and acknowledges their relationship. For those who want others to adjust their speech, using self-respectful forms was one way of dealing with their embarrassment over their interlocutor's use of respectful forms to them. In this case, speakers mock themselves or their own status, by using self-respectful forms. When respectful forms are used contrary to convention, they lose the honorific value that they typically have, so that their interlocutors notice no need for respectful forms.

Self-respectful forms in attunement sequences produce various effects, by reflecting peer-group social relationships among participants. When participants are close friends, the use of self-respectful forms marks the speaker's acknowledgement of their close friendship and gives the conversation a sense of playfulness. When participants are friends of different age and social status, the use of self-respectful forms conveys the speaker's metamessage that many respectful forms are unnecessary in their conversation. In this sense, the use of

self-respectful forms creates a new frame in their social relationship and brings participants to a higher level of friendship. Thus, it is not accurate to define attunement as based on formal linguistic similarities at the surface level. Attunement is not a formal linguistic phenomenon but an interactional effect that participants strive to achieve in the course of their interactions. This effect of attunement is derived from the on-going social relationship and constantly frames interactions and social relationships among participants.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Overview

This dissertation has examined the sequential use of Japanese honorifics in social interaction. I presented one recurrent pattern in Japanese honorific usage, attunement. By introducing the notion of attunement, I attempted to characterize honorific usage as a phenomenon that is dialogic, emergent, dynamic, and ever-changing in social interaction. While most of the existing literature on honorifics take a semiotic but not an interactional approach (Hill and Hill 1978; Errington 1985, 1988; Agha 1993, 1994; Irvine 1992, 1998; Morford 1997), this dissertation treats honorifics interactionally and suggests that an interactional approach is necessary to understand the function of honorifics. Honorific usage is seen not as an autonomous linguistic fact but as an interactional move that emerges out of the on-going process of interaction.

The findings of my analysis are summarized as follows.

(1) First, attunement, second, correct honorific use

Linguistic attunement to another's speech forms can often override prescriptive principles of grammar and pragmatics of honorific usage in Japanese. Even if participants use honorifics correctly according to syntax and pragmatics but fail to achieve attunement, such interaction is not considered successful. In attunement sequences of honorifics, participants tend to give priority to the maintenance of the flow of conversation and of the sequences even if the use of

honorifics is prescriptively incorrect. In order to create attunement, the “correct” use of honorifics can be regarded secondary. This claim is similar to the point that *kokugo shingikai* (‘National Language Council’) recently made in the new guidelines of communication, entitled “*Gendai shakai ni okeru keii hyōgen* (Deferential expressions in modern society)” (2002). As I will discuss later, the Council states that successful communication does not exclusively rely on the “correct” use of honorifics but involves all kinds of communicative behavior. My analysis has shown that attunement is one means of achieving successful communication and better interpersonal relationships.

(2) Responding to footing shift in others’ use of honorifics

In interaction, competent speakers pay attention to and respond to other speakers’ speech. So footing shifts or changes in one person’s speech are likely to motivate changes in another’s speech, as studies on style-shifts in other languages suggest (Giles and Powesland 1975; Baugh 1983; Bell 1984; Giles 1984; Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991). When one participant changes footing by using a different or unexpected honorific form, other participants respond to the change, often by adopting the honorific forms introduced by the first participant. Doing so contributes to the emergence and maintenance of unexpected honorific forms. Thus, the more significant the impact of the change in speech on the previously established context, the more likely that interlocutors will respond to the change by taking a similar footing.

(3) Co-presence in interaction

This point makes clear that the speaker and addressee enter into a discursive relationship together. But the actual speaker and addressee are not the only people who enter into discursive relationships and experience the consequences of their honorific usage. As Goffman (1984) discusses in his notion of a participation framework, the presence of audience and bystanders plays a significant role in speaker's and addressee's honorific usage. As interlocutors constantly pay attention to other interlocutors' speech and adjust their own speech accordingly, one person's honorific usage is still the collaborative result of everyone's co-presence in interaction (cf. Duranti 1986, C. Goodwin 1986, M.H. Goodwin 1990, Hayashi et al. 2002, Ochs 1997, Schegloff 1988).

(4) Context and de-indexicality of honorifics

In attunement sequences, the conventionalized meanings of honorifics, such as deference and respect, are often weakened. Especially when speakers use self-respectful forms, their purpose is not to convey deference to themselves but to make the interaction playful and confirm their close relationship. Speakers also try to reduce the referentially encoded deference that respectful forms normally convey, in order to imply non-insultingly that it is unnecessary for others to use respectful forms to them. Honorifics mean differently in different contexts.

Whether each instance of speech form is interpreted as a presupposing or creative (expected or unexpected) indexical sign depends on its immediate interactive context. What speakers experience as presupposing or creative may

shift based on prior context. During the processes of interaction and interpretation, the distinction between presupposing and creative aspects of indexicals is not static, but constantly changing. “Presupposing” speech forms can be “creative” at one moment, while “creative” speech forms can be “presuppose-able” at another moment. Thus, relevant context for honorific usage is not given but arises out of the interplay between conventional honorific use and the situated interactive context. The use of honorifics is defined by the immediate interactive context, while the immediate context is also defined by the use of honorifics.

(5) Context and conventional honorific usage

In stating (4), however, I do not mean to reject the existence of conventional honorific usage completely. The existence of some level of shared understandings of conventional honorific use is demonstrated by the fact that the use of unexpected honorific forms lasts for only four or five turns. After that, participants cannot sustain the use of unexpected (in other words, “creative”) honorific forms. Moreover, “creative” or unconventional meanings of honorifics arise because of shared understandings of “presupposing” or conventional meanings of honorifics. The ability to use honorifics playfully or mockingly depends on participants’ shared understanding of “traditional” honorific usage. Nevertheless, my point in this dissertation is to argue that meanings of honorifics are never static but interactionally situated. Therefore, it is necessary to treat the use of honorifics as an interactionally dynamic move that changes in the process of interaction.

Attunement in interaction

Throughout this dissertation, I have presented dynamic processes of interaction, in which co-present participants respond to, adjust, and negotiate each other's use of honorifics in the course of interaction. Unlike many previous studies on honorifics, this dissertation has found that the conditions for the usage of honorifics do not depend exclusively on relatively fixed properties of context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' social status or group membership, or the lack of intimacy among interlocutors). My examples have demonstrated that participants use or do not use honorifics, in order to linguistically attune to others' use or non-use of honorifics. Because not every honorific usage is locally rule-governed, the notion of attunement can better explain participants' dynamic honorific usage in ongoing interaction.

Attunement is a participant's moment-to-moment coordination with others and with the context in social relationships. In choral singing, singers constantly adjust their pitch and volume, and soften or harden the quality of their voices, in order to find good matches with other singers' pitch, volume, and voice quality. Likewise, linguistic attunement in interaction brings about a coordinating process in which interlocutors constantly seek perfect or near perfect fine-tuning in relation to others' behavior. Attunement is not an achievement of one individual, but represents the collaborative efforts of all participants in the same act. As human behaviors always move, shift, and change, conditions of attunement also move, shift, and change at each moment of interaction. Attunement involves interlocutors' momentary judgment to find the right timing, spot, and period for

coordinated behaviors.

Honorific usage in Japanese is about participants figuring out where to locate themselves in relation to addressees, referents, and audience and how to respond to their others' honorific usage. Competent interlocutors are able to adapt to new situations, by receiving and giving signals. If they fail to find the timing of attunement, they fail the process of co-adaptation. For instance, both Hide and Akira in chapter 7 failed to find the fine-tuning place in their interaction. As a result, they could not feel connected to each other. Being able to find the fine-tuning allows interlocutors to show deference to one another, because it increases feelings of connectedness between them. Additionally, it also conveys metamessages about the interlocutors themselves, who display their demeanor as socially engaged members of the group.

Attunement is the moment-by-moment expression of being mutually present with others in a situated context. Forms of attunement are not uniform, nor are the processes of attunement. As moment-to-moment presence shapes the use of speech forms used in situated actions of the participants, attunement styles may also change during an interaction. The notion of attunement enables us to show how human beings use linguistic resources to adapt to changing and unpredictable circumstances, and to connect to others.

Attunement is different from related notions, in particular, accommodation theory (Giles and Powesland 1975, Coupland 2001: 200). As in the case of finger-bowl etiquette that I introduced in Chapter 1, attunement is frequently observed when conventional or normative rules of use are suspended. My

analysis of Japanese honorific usage has shown that speakers can purposefully include prescriptively incorrect uses of honorifics or drop or add honorifics unexpectedly. Such “incorrect” or “unexpected” uses of honorifics seem to be ill-formed from the perspective of conventional honorific usage. But they still make for successful communication. Attunement can suspend the conventional rules of language use when politeness or face-saving is more important than observing the rules.

Situating honorifics in socio-political contexts of Japan

In this section, I will situate Japanese honorifics in the broader socio-political context of Japan, as language is inseparable from the society of which it is a part.

In contemporary Japan, a reformulation of the linguistic ideology of Japanese communication has become a focal point for a broad process of institutional restructuring. Changes are occurring in the underlying demographic and financial structure of the economy, governmental organizations, and educational institutions. As a result of these social changes, traditional Japanese forms of institutional organizations are perceived as inefficient, opaque, and hierarchical, as opposed to new (usually American or western) forms of institutional organizations, perceived as efficient, transparent, and egalitarian. Institutional reformulation necessitates a more general change in communication.

In recent years, many Japanese companies have merged with foreign-based corporations. In such companies, English has become the official language of the workplace. For example, when Nissan was facing the risk of going into

bankruptcy, it hired Carlos Ghosn, a Lebanese Brazilian educated in France (now the President and the CEO of both Nissan and France's Renault). As soon as Mr. Ghosn became a COO (Chief Operating Officer) of Nissan, a significant change occurred in corporate communication. Having a non-Japanese speaking person as the COO forced Japanese-speaking employees to use English in business documents and meetings. Consequently, younger English-speaking Japanese employees who were forced to be silent in the traditional Japanese corporate system, started to express their opinions (Hamada 2002). But older Japanese employees who had previously dominated business meetings on the basis of seniority held their tongues because they could not use English. After the comprehensive restructuring of the overall corporate culture, Nissan and France's Renault achieved profitable growth in the global market (Nissan Information 1999).²³

Their success in corporate restructuring and business revival became a model for other companies that had been suffering from the stagnated economy and great loss of profits. Companies consisting of Japanese employees have started to conduct business meetings in English (Asahi newspaper 2/2). They hope that using English will reduce inefficiency in communication and production, create a more open corporate culture, and achieve competitiveness on the global market. Some other companies have introduced a new policy of address terms in Japanese, as reported in the *New York Times* (Onishi 2003). They discourage their employees from addressing each other by honorific titles (e.g. 'president,' 'department chief,' 'manager,' etc.). Instead, they encourage the use of the polite

²³ <http://www.nissan-global.com/GCC/Japan/History/history/index-e.html> (A brief history of Nissan motor company).

suffix *-san* added to names, such as “Takekuro-*san*” (‘Ms. Takekuro’) as opposed to “Takekuro-*buchō*” (‘Department Chief Takekuro’). By addressing each other by names rather than by honorific titles, companies hope that their employees will exchange ideas freely, make decisions quickly, and develop innovative ideas and better human relationships.

This attempt is similar to feminists’ attempts to change English in 1970s (Lakoff 1975). Attempts were made to avoid *he*, the “neutral” masculine pronoun, and to use *he or she*, *s/he*, or syntactic circumlocutions like passivization, *they* (Lakoff 2004: 103). There have been attempts to substitute *Ms.* for *Miss* and *Mrs.* as a title for women (Lakoff 1975). Nowadays, *Ms.* is in many cases the norm, even though nonparallelism still exists in that men only have one choice for the title while women are often offered a three-way choice (Lakoff 2004: 112). This suggests that actual language usage tends to resist “change from above” (Labov 1972), especially authorities’ prescriptions for language change.

Nevertheless, similar changes are becoming common not only in corporations but also in many other parts of Japanese society. Onishi (2003) reports that egalitarian-minded parents no longer emphasize to their children the importance of using honorifics and that most schools no longer expect children to use honorifics to their teachers. Japanese honorifics, like traditional forms of institutional organizations, are seen as inefficient, undemocratic, and hierarchical, whereas English and Japanese without honorifics, like new forms of institutional organizations, are seen as efficient, democratic, and egalitarian.

In this current sociopolitical climate, honorifics have become a target for

change. Recently, *Kokugo Shingikai* (the Japanese Language Council) submitted the guidelines of language use, originally submitted to the Minister of Education in 1952 (Kokugo shingikai 2000). Unlike the previous guidelines for honorific usage, the new guidelines of the Council minimized the use of the term *keigo* ('honorifics'). Instead, they introduced the new term *keii-hyōgen* ('respect expressions'), incorporating ideas related to linguistic politeness in Anglo-European sociolinguistic studies (Lakoff 1973, 1975; Brown and Levinson 1987[1978]; Leech 1983). In discussing communication and language use in the New Age of Japan, the Council acknowledges that people use honorifics differently and have different judgments of language use. Some speakers do not wish to use honorifics, while others use too many honorifics. Foreigners and some non-standard dialect-speakers do not use honorifics like speakers of Standard Japanese, the dominant variety of Japanese. Furthermore, the Council states that what makes communication successful is not limited to the use of honorifics but involves all kinds of communicative behavior that indicate 'considerations towards others and situations' (*aite ya bamen he no hairyō*). Thus, the Council emphasized the importance of using *keii-hyōgen* based on 'reciprocal respect' (*sōgo sonkei*) rather than hierarchy and seniority. The members of the Council (Asamatsu 2001, Ide 2001) and the researchers involved (Sugito 2001) made their reports with the hope that even people whose social backgrounds, dialects, and beliefs about language differ greatly could still achieve smooth communication by employing honorifics, respect expressions, and other linguistic forms.

The next section discusses (mis)conceptions of honorifics, given the

socio-political context of contemporary Japan.

“Democratic” and “undemocratic” uses of honorifics

Despite the diverse functions of honorifics, most native speakers of Japanese believe that honorifics are markers of social hierarchy. Their belief is so strong that honorifics cannot be considered apart from the traditional Japanese social system, based as it is on seniority and hierarchy. Some think that honorifics are the cause of all social evils, because younger people or subordinates are lowered in status and prevented from speaking, when their elders or seniors misspeak or misbehave. For such people, honorifics are the symbol of anti-democracy and unfairness. But my analysis demonstrates that honorifics used in attunement sequences can function as markers of solidarity.

Whether or not speakers are willing to attune to others' honorific use makes the difference between successful and unsuccessful communications. In example (4) in Chapter 5, Ms. Fujita used two humiliating forms in her speech. Her use of these forms created a striking change in the conversation. Then, the next speaker, Mr. Suzuki used respectful and polite forms to Ms. Fujita, demonstrating complementary alignment with Ms. Fujita's use of humiliating and polite forms. Given Mr. Suzuki's position as a head of the volunteer group and the oldest person in the conversation, he had a choice of maintaining his previous use of plain forms. But Mr. Suzuki adjusted his speech in relation to his interlocutor's. What made their communication successful was his willingness to attune to his interlocutor's speech and to adapt to a newly developed context.

(Wetzel 1984, 1994a; Inoue 1999). Moreover, some argue that the function of honorifics has shifted from a hierarchy-based system to a solidarity-based one over a long period of time (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987, Held 1999), as Brown and Gilman's study (1972[1960]) on pronouns in European languages suggests. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 229) summarize Held's study on politeness in Japanese, quoting shifts in power relations as a change from social rank to social value, and from vertical to horizontal distance, in which social hierarchy is replaced by "psychological, affective components of proximity, familiarity (Held 1999: 24). Some of the examples of honorific usage and native speakers' metalinguistic commentaries about honorifics presented in the earlier chapters show change in progress in Japanese honorific usage. However, my analysis of attuned uses of honorifics by no means suggests that the function of Japanese honorifics has shifted from a hierarchy-based system to a solidarity-based one for the following reasons.

First, attunement in honorific usage is not limited to young speakers living in large cities. In chapter 5, I presented the example of attunement sequences in the speech of speakers in their 50s and 60s living in a rural community, who are unfamiliar with each other and different in age and status. Mr. Suzuki, who has lived in a rural village throughout his life, attuned to his interlocutor's highly deferential footing in a similarly deferential footing. Even though older speakers seem to follow conventional honorific usage more strictly than younger speakers, they also use honorifics to convey a sense of solidarity.

Second, even though younger speakers sometimes use honorifics playfully as a demonstration of solidarity, much of their honorific usage is based on

conventional Japanese honorific usage. For instance, they expect speakers who are much younger to use honorifics to them, as illustrated in Hide's interaction with Akira in Chapter 7 and in junior-high and high schools, senior students expect (or require) junior students to use polite forms. Each instance of honorific usage carries different meanings in interaction, but honorifics are most conventionally used to indicate speakers' respect and hierarchical differences among participants.

Third, speakers' use of self-respectful forms of honorifics and attunement sequences using unconventional speech forms are effective, because speakers understand the conventional uses of honorifics. If speakers do not, unconventional or unexpected honorifics cannot be used to provide additional meanings in an interaction.

To sum, attunement is a general interactional phenomena and part of the existing pragmatics of Japanese. Attunement is not a new kind of honorific usage, since the phenomena of attunement most frequently appears as an alternative possibility when the conventional uses of Japanese honorifics are suspended, as the case of finger-bowl etiquette in Chapter 1 suggests. Depending on the interactive situation, speakers of Japanese of all ages use honorifics either conventionally or unconventionally, in order to invoke conventional meanings such as hierarchy and formality or unconventional meanings such as playfulness and solidarity. It is too early to claim that Japanese honorifics have shifted to a solidarity-based system. Today's honorific usage is both power-based and solidarity-based, not in opposition but in co-habitation. Because of these functions of honorifics, speakers can utilize them for many purposes in social interaction.

Implications of the study

In previous studies, honorifics were mostly examined in formal situations (e.g. wedding reception, lectures, rituals, etc.), among those involving social hierarchy (e.g. professor-student interaction, corporate interaction between a boss and a subordinate, etc.), or unfamiliarity among participants (e.g. service-encounters, first encounters between strangers, etc.). In this dissertation I have collected data in these contexts, but for the purpose of this dissertation, I also analyzed peer-group conversations that did not involve the level of formality of the speech situation, social hierarchy, and unfamiliarity among participants. By doing so, I have provided evidence that honorifics are not limited to speech situations involving formality, social hierarchy, or unfamiliarity among participants. Honorifics are pervasive at all levels of Japanese interaction.

I have also demonstrated that interlocutors constantly respond to and make a minor adjustment to others' speech and behaviors. For learners of Japanese who wonder how they should learn honorific usage, I would suggest that they pay close attention to their interlocutors' use of honorifics, especially in ambiguous speech situations. If their interlocutors often drop polite forms and use plain forms in predicate elements, it may be safe for them to do so as well in similar contexts. If their interlocutors often use respectful or humiliating forms, they had better avoid plain forms and use respectful or humiliating forms in addition to polite forms. This augments the sense of mutuality between them.

For the future

The observed unpredictability, ambiguity, and dynamicity of honorific usage will remain the important subjects for sociolinguistic research. This dissertation has identified one recurrent pattern in honorific usage that makes interaction dynamic. However, attunement is not the only recurrent pattern that contributes to unpredictability and dynamicity of social interaction.

Many questions remain unanswered. This analysis has primarily focused on the change from the non-use of honorifics to the use of honorifics (e.g. from the use of plain forms to the use of polite forms) as unconventional and unexpected linguistic forms. My data have revealed what triggers interlocutors to change their speech forms and footing in the middle of interactions. But what triggers the first person to change speech forms or footing needs further investigation. We also need to know how the shift from the use to the non-use of honorifics occurs in interaction. When attunement occurs, extra-linguistic behavior such as gaze, bodily gestures, or postures go along with it. Videotaped data are necessary to investigate the co-occurrence of linguistic attunement with extra-linguistic behavior.

Participants develop new relationships through the use of honorifics and other modes of interaction. Interaction only provides resources of attunement and proliferates the phenomenon over the course. More studies are necessary for a complete understanding of attunement in interaction.

Appendices

Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
COP	copula
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HONP	honorific prefix
HUM	humiliative form of referent honorifics
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrument
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
O	object
PAST	past
PASS	passive
POL	polite form
PRE	prefix
PROG	progressive
Q	question particle
QT	quotative
RESP	respectful form of referent honorifics
SFP	sentence-final particle
SUB	subject
SUF	suffix
SUPER.POL	super-polite form
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
VOL	voluntary
()	length of silence
@ @	laughter
?	rising tone
=	latching
[speech overlap
(())	contextual details

Appendix B

DATA SETS

I describe a summary of data sets used for this dissertation. The summary includes the date, place, and detailed information regarding the participants; where they were born, where they live, their ages, gender, and careers. The following charts only include information about speakers in the recordings. Information about other participants such as audience and bystanders do not appear in the charts. Except for the researcher's name, all the names are pseudonyms.

Data Set I: Service-encounter at a supermarket

Date: July 29, 2003
Place: Yokohama, Japan

Name	Kanako	Clerk A	Clerk B
Birthplace	Shizuoka	Unknown	unknown
Residence	Yokohama	Yokohama	Yokohama
Age (2003)	29	32	33
Gender	Female	Male	male
Occupation	company employee	supermarket employee	supermarket employee

Data Set II: Peer-group conversation at a restaurant

Date: June 8, 2001
Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Makiko	Eri	Jiro	Haruko	Nami	Toru	Akemi
Birthplace	Tokyo	Tokyo	Shizuoka	Ibaraki	Sapporo	Nagoya	Kochi
Residence	Kawasaki	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Tokyo
Age (2002)	28	30	35	35	36	33	34
Gender	female	male	Male	female	female	male	female
Occupation	student/ researcher	waitress	Company Employee	part-time employee	company employee	engineer	house- wife

Data Set III: Conversation at a community center in Kariwa, Niigata

Date: December 28, 2002
Place: Niigata, Japan

Name	Makiko	Woman 1	Woman 2
Birthplace	Tokyo	unknown	unknown
Residence	Kawasaki	Kariwa	Kariwa
Age (2002)	28	unknown	unknown
Gender	Female	female	female
Occupation	student/researcher	unknown	unknown
Role	Visitor	volunteer	volunteer

Name	Suzuki-san	Mizuno-san	Ando-san	Fujita-san	Fujita-san
Birthplace	Kariwa	Kariwa	Kariwa	Tokyo	Tokyo
Residence	Kariwa	Kariwa	Minami Sakaishi	Tokyo	Tokyo
Age (2002)	late-60s	early-60s	early-60s	54	56
Gender	male	Female	female	female	male
Occupation	retired	Retired	retired	house-wife	company employee
Role	chief volunteer	Volunteer	visitor	visitor	visitor

Data Set IV: Conversations at a wedding reception

Date: June 28, 2003
Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Hitomi	Momoko	Saori	Junko	Hanako	Makiko
Birthplace	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo	Yokohama	Yokohama	Tokyo
Residence	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Kawasaki
Age (2003)	29	30	30	29	29	29
Gender	female	female	Female	female	female	female
Occupation	house-wife	company employee	company employee	civil officer	house-wife	student/researcher

Data Set V: Peer-group conversation at a restaurant

Date: January, 2000

Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Hitomi	Noriko	Naoko	Tami	Aki
Birthplace	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo
Residence	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Tokyo	Gunma
Age (2000)	26	26	26	26	28
Gender	female	female	female	female	female
Occupation	company employee	part-time worker	graduate student	company employee	house-wife/ company employee

Sayo	Wakako
Tokyo	Tokyo
Tokyo	Tokyo
26	26
female	female
company employee	graduate student

Data Set VI: Television cooking program

Date: August 16, 2003

Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Sakai	Kabira	Kimura
Birthplace	Kariwa	Okinawa	Tokyo
Residence	unknown	Unknown	unknown
Age (2003)	57	42	30
Gender	male	Male	female
Occupation	actor	Actor	announcer
Role	host	Guest	co-host

Data Set VII: An accidental encounter

Date: July 12, 2003

Place: Hakone, Japan

Name	Hide	Akira	Makiko
Birthplace	Nagoya	Tokyo	Tokyo
Residence	Tokyo	Tokyo	Kawasaki
Age (2003)	32	24	28
Gender	male	male	female
Occupation	company employee	company employee	student/researcher

Data Set VIII: Service encounter at a Japanese karaoke bar

Date: October 28, 2003
Place: Berkeley, USA

Name	Takayuki	Nobuko	Makiko	Waitress
Birthplace	Yokohama	Nagoya	Kawasaki	Nagasaki
Residence	Tokyo	Berkeley	Berkeley	Berkeley
Age (2003)	29	28	29	24
Gender	male	female	female	female
Occupation	postdoc	student	student/ researcher	student
Role	customer	customer	customer	waitress

Data Set IX: Peer-group conversation at a café

Date: August 8, 2003
Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Rika	Yumi
Birthplace	Kawasaki	Miyazaki
Residence	Yokohama	Tokyo
Age (2003)	27	26
Gender	female	female
Occupation	company employee	part-time employee

Data Set X: Phone conversation between Tokyo and Osaka

Date: August 15, 2003
Place: Tokyo, Osaka, Japan

Name	Yasuo	Yoko
Birthplace	Osaka	Saitama
Residence	Osaka	Tokyo
Age (2003)	mid-40s	28
Gender	male	female
Occupation	professor	student

Data Set XI: Peer-group conversation at a café

Date: October 24, 2003

Place: Berkeley, USA

Name	Fumiko	Mika	Sakio
Birthplace	Tokyo	Tokyo	Saitama
Residence	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Los Angeles
Age (2003)	24	29	33
Gender	female	female	male
Occupation	student	student	student

Appendix C

A CONVERSATION AT A KARAOKE BAR

The following tape-recorded conversation took place in a Japanese karaoke bar in Berkeley on October 28, 2003, as I explained in Chapter 6. The participants in this conversation are waitress, Nobuko, Takayuki, and myself.

Date: October 28, 2003
Place: Berkeley, USA

Name	Makiko	Nobuko	Takayuki	Waitress
Birthplace	Kawasaki	Nagoya	Yokohama	Miyazaki
Residence	Berkeley	Berkeley	Chicago	Berkeley
Age	29	28	29	24
Gender	female	female	male	female
Occupation	student/ researcher	student	postdoc	waitress

- 1 Waitress: *irasshaimase* ((leaving the menu on the table))
welcome.POL
'Welcome.'
- 2 Makiko: *a*
oh
'Oh.'
- 3 Waitress: *a dōmo*
oh hi
'Oh, hi.'
- 4 Makiko: *a dōmo*
oh hi
'Oh, hi.'
((everyone sits down.))
- 5 Nobuko: *shiriai?*
acquaintance
'(Do you) know (her)?'

- 6 Takayuki: *shiriai?*
acquaintance
'(Do you) know (her)?'
- 7 Makiko: *un*
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 8 Takayuki: *kore chotto soko oite?* ((giving Nobuko his computer bag))
this little there put
'(Can you) put this there?'
- 9 Nobuko: *okei*
okay
'Okay.'
- 10 Takayuki: *sankyu*
thank you
'Thank you.'
- ((everyone is reading the menu))
- 11 (2.0) *iya hisashiburi dayona*
well long time COP:SFP
'Well, it's been a long time, right?'
- 12 Nobuko: *un atashitachi mo are kara kite nai yone*
yeah 1pl too that from come NEG SFP
'Yeah, we haven't been (here) since then, right?'
- 13 Makiko: ((looking at the menu)) *mō itsumo no tanomu yo*
so usual NOM order SFP
'So (I'll) order the usual stuff.'
- 14 Takayuki: *un*
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 15 Nobuko: *ī yo*
good SFP
'Okay.'
- 16 Takayuki: (0.4) *shikashi kawattenē yona*
but change:NEG SFP
'But (it) has not changed much.'

- 17 Makiko: *e?*
what?
'What?'
- 18 Takayuki: *bākurē*
Berkeley
'Berkeley.'
- 19 Nobuko: *ā nihon no kawari wa hayai kara ne*
oh Japan GEN change TOP quick so SFP
'Oh, (things in) Japan change quickly.'
- 20 Takayuki: *kinō atta mise wa kyō nai kara ne*
yesterday exist.PAST shop TOP today NEG so SFP
'Shops that existed yesterday do not exist today.'
- 21 Nobuko: *nihon tte kusaku nai?*
Japan QT stink NEG
'Japan stinks, no?'
- 22 Takayuki: *sō ka?*
so Q
'(Is it) so?'
- 23 Nobuko: *anō =*
that
'Well.'
- 24 Makiko: *= nihon wa sa haikigasu to tagako ga kusai yone*
Japan TOP SFP gas and cigarette NOM stink SFP
'In Japan, traffic gas and cigarettes smell bad, right?'
- 25 Nobuko: *sō sō*
yeah yeah
'Yeah, yeah.'
- 26 Takayuki: *ā*
oh
'I see.'
- 27 Nobuko: *ano tabako ya da yone*
that cigarette dislike COP SFP
'Those cigarettes are annoying, aren't they?'
- 28 Makiko: *un sugoi ya da*
yeah very dislike COP

‘Yeah. They are very annoying.’

29 Nobuko: *nihon mo tabako motto zēkin kakereba ii n dayo*
Japan too cigarette more tax put.if good NOM SFP
‘In Japan, cigarettes should be more taxed.’

30 Makiko: *ā dondon kakete tte kanji*
oh more and more put QT like
‘(It’s like they should) be more and more taxed.’

31 Takayuki: *amerika sugoi zēkin kaketeru rashī ne*
America very tax put hear SFP
‘(I’ve) heard cigarettes are heavily taxed in the United States.’

32 Makiko: *dakara minna hayaku beieria modotte koyō*
so everyone fast Bay Area back come:
‘So, everyone, let’s come back to Bay Area immediately!’

33 Takayuki: *sore ī ne yappa yaru shika nē yona*
it good SFP after all do the best only NEG SFP
‘That sounds good. Then, (I) just have to do my best, right?’

34 Nobuko: *sō dayo ashita desho?*
yeah COP:SFP tomorrow SFP
‘That’s right. (Is your talk scheduled) tomorrow, right?’

35 Makiko: *ā ganbare*
oh good luck
‘Oh, good luck!’

((The waitress came to our table with water.))

36 Waitress: *ano go-chūmon wa o-kimari desu ka?*
well HONP-order TOP HONP-decide COP:POL Q
‘Have (you) RESP:decide (your) honorable order?’

37 *o-nomimono wa?*
HONP-drink TOP
‘Any HONP:drink?’

38 Makiko: *o-mizu de ī yo*
HONP-water with good SFP
‘Water is fine.’

39 *o-mizu kuda a chōdai*
HONP-water (please) oh give:IMP
‘Pl, oh, give (us) water.’

- 40 *menū wa* (0.4) *mada kangaeteru kara ato de ne*
 menu TOP still think:PROG so later TEMP SFP
 ‘About menu, (0.4) (we’re) still deciding, so, later.’
- 41 Waitress: *a hai*
 well yes
 ‘Well, yes.’
- ((After the waitress left, Nobuko starts talking.))
- 42 Nobuko: (0.5) *sugoi* (0.3) *maki chan*
 incredible Maki DIM
 ‘Incredible, (0.3) Maki.’
- 43 Makiko: *nani ga?*
 what SUB
 ‘What?’
- 44 Nobuko: *chōdai ja nakute kudasai onegai shimasu tte iina yo*
 give:IMP then NEG:ADV please ask do.POLQT say SFP
 ‘Don’t say *cho:dai*. Say *onegai-shimasu*.’
- 45 Makiko: *nande?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 46 Nobuko: *mukō datte shigoto nan da shi*
 there even work NOM COP and
 ‘After all she has to work.’
- 47 Makiko: *un*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 48 Takayuki: *kanojo kōtteta yo kimazui no wa otagaisama jan*
 she frozen.PAST SFPawkward NOM TOP each POL SFP
 ‘She was frozen. It’s awkward for both of you (M & the
 waitress) to meet here.’
- 49 Nobuko: *sō dayo keigo no ronbun kaiteru n desho?*
 so COP:SFP honorifics GENthesis writing NOM SFP
 ‘Indeed, you (M) are writing the dissertation on honorifics,
 right?’
- 50 Makiko: *dakara?*
 so
 ‘So?’

- 51 Takayuki: *dakara desu masu de hanashi mashō*
 so COP:POL POL INSTR speak POL:EXP
 ‘So, speak with *desu* or *masu*!’
- 52 Makiko: *dōshite?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 53 Nobuko: *maki chan honto keigo no hakuron kaite n no?*
 MakiDIM really honorifics NOM doctor writeNOM SFP
 ‘Are you really writing the dissertation on honorifics, Maki?’
- 54 Takayuki: *kangae sugi de wakannaku natteru ne*
 think excess because understand:NEG become:PROG SFP
 ‘(She) thinks about honorifics too much and gets confused.’
- moshiya atarashii nihon no wakamono kotoba kamo*
 perhaps new Japan GEN young language may
 ‘Or this can be a new language among young people in Japan.’
- 55 Nobuko: *sore wa nai desho*
 it TOP NEG COP
 ‘That’s impossible.’
- 56 Makiko: *e demo oshiete yo*
 well but teach SFP
 ‘Well, but tell me.’
- 57 Nobuko: *dakara tadashii keigo no tsukai kata o shiranai*
 so correct honorifics GEN use ways O understand:NEG
 ‘(You) don’t understand the correct ways of using honorifics.’
- 58 Makiko: *nani ga tadashii keigo no tsukai kata?*
 what SUB correct honorifics GEN use ways
 ‘What are the correct ways of using honorifics?’
- 59 Takayuki: *keigo nashide chūmonsuru nante erabutteru kyaku jan*
 honorifics without order do like arrogant customer SFP
 ‘Ordering without honorifics makes you an obnoxious customer.’
- 60 Makiko: *demo atashi okyaku de toshiue de kaomishiri dayo*
 but 1sg customer and older and familiar COP:SFP
 ‘But I’m a customer, a few years older than her, and I know her.’

- 61 Takayuki: *iya mizu chōdai wa nē darō*
no water give:IMP TOP NEG COP:SFP
'But "Give us water" is no good.'
- 62 Makiko: *chotto kichatta kara menyū itsumo no tanonde ii?*
well come:PAST so menu always GEN order okay
'Oh, (the waitress) is coming back. Can I order the usual dishes?'
- 63 Nobuko: *chanto keigo tsukatte atashi tanomu maki chan shinpai*
properly honorifics use 1sg ask Maki-DIM worried
'Use *desu* or *masu*. Well, I'll order, I'm worried about Maki.'
- ((The waitress came back to our table to take orders.))
- 64 Makiko: *a chotto ano ne nasu no miso dengaku*
oh well well SFP eggplant GEN bean paste daubed
'Well, baked eggplants daubed with soy bean sauce,'
- 65 *saba no miso-ni ato wa*
mackerel GEN boiled with soy bean paste rest TOP
'Mackerel with soy bean paste, and ...'
- 66 Nobuko: *tori no kara-age to daikon sarada to*
chicken GEN fried and daikon salad and
'Deep fried chicken, daikon salad, and'
- 67 *okonomiyaki mikkusu no ika to butaniku de*
Japanese pizza mix GEN squid and pork INSTR
'Japanese pizza with squid and pork.'
- 68 Makiko: *ato gohan mo*
and rice too
'And rice, too.'
- 69 *a honjitsu no menū wa nani?*
oh today GEN menu TOP what
'Oh, what is today's menu?'
- 70 Waitress: *asoko ni kaitearu mono ni nari masu kedo*
there LOC write thing become POL but
'Today's menu is what are written there, though.'
- 71 Nobuko: *e jā agedashi dōfu onegai shimasu*
oh then deep fried tofu HONP-ask do:POL
'Oh, then, deep fried tofu, please.'

- 72 Waitress: ((writing the order)) *ijō desu ka?*
 above COP:POL Q
 ‘Is that all?’
- 73 Makiko: *un ijō =*
 yeah above
 ‘Yeah, (that’s) all.’
- 74 Nobuko: = *hai suimasen onegai shimasu*
 yes sorry:POL HONP-ask do:POL
 ‘Yes, sorry, please.’
- ((the waitress was leaving our table))
- 75 *mō maki-chan mittomonai kara yamete, sugoi shitsurē*
 well Maki-DIM shameful so stop very rude
 ‘Well, Maki, (it’s) embarrassing, so stop (it). It’s very rude.’
- 76 Takayuki: *kore jikken? shitsureina koto shitara dou naru ka*
 this experiment rude thing do.PAST.if how become Q
 ‘Is this an experiment? What happens if we are rude?’
- 77 Nobuko: *atashitachi ga mittomonai chanto shaberanaito saiaku*
 1pl SUB embarrassed properly speak.NEG.if terrible
 ‘We feel embarrassed, if you don’t speak properly. Terrible.’
- 78 Takayuki: *itatamarenai tte iwazaru enai ne*
 unbearable QT say must SFP
 ‘(I) must say it’s quite unbearable.’
- 79 Nobuko: *so dayo ayamachatta jan sensei ni hanasumitaku shite*
 so COP:SFPapologize.PASTSFP teacher to speak like do
 ‘Yes, I had to apologize. Talk to her as you talk to professors.’
- 80 Takayuki: *sono hitsuyō mo nai kedo datte sensei wa chigau jan*
 the need too NEG but because teacher TOP different SFP
 ‘That’s unnecessary. Talking to professors is different.’
- 81 Nobuko: *nande gengogakusha ni keigo o oshienakya ikenai wake?*
 why linguist to honorifics O teach.if must reason
 ‘Why do we have to teach the linguist (how to use) honorifics?’
- moshi kore ga futsū no nihonjin dattara minna*
 if this SUB usual GEN Japanese COP.PAST.if everyone
 ‘If we were typical Japanese,’
- damattete atode ano hito saiaku tte iu n dayo*
 silent.and later that person terrible QT say NOM COP.SFP

‘everyone would remain silent and later say that person is terrible.’

atashitachi dakara maki chan ni chūi dekirun dayo
1pl because MakiDIM to warn can NOM COP.SFP
‘Because you are with us, we can warn you.’

- 82 Takayuki: *ore ga omouni orera hamusutaa da ne wazato yatteru*
1sg SUB think 1pl hamster COP SFP deliberately oing
‘I think we are experimental hamsters. She does this on purpose.’

hora waratteru jikkenya wa labode shitete
well laughing experimentalist TOP lab LOC do.ADV
‘Look, she’s is giggling. Experimental physicists do experiments in the laboratory,’

sūpā sutoringuno rironka wa komotte keisan shiteru
super string GEN theorist TOP shut calculate doing
‘Super string theorists calculate in the office,’

oretachi wa mugaina kenkyūsha dakedo
1pl TOP harmless researcher but
‘So we are harmless researchers.’

gengogaku no yatsura wa soto de yabai koto suru
linguistics GEN guys TOP outside LOC bad thing do
‘These humanities guys do dangerous things outside.’

- 83 Makiko: *honto ayashii nihonjin no onna ga*
really suspicious Japanese GEN woman SUB
‘Really, a suspicious Japanese woman is’

vonaraburu popyurēshon o ijimeteru
vulnerable population O bullying
‘bullying the vulnerable population.’

tte hyūman sabujekuto ni uttae raretari shite ne
QT human subject to sue PASS.if do SFP
‘(people at this bar may report this to) the Human Subjects.’

- 84 Takayuki: *hora jibun demo mitometen jan*
wee self even admit SFP
‘See, she (M) admitted.’

- 85 Makiko: *chigau uso uso hontoni kiiten no demo dakara nani?*
different lie lie really asking SFP but so what

‘No, no, no. I’m genuinely wondering. But so what?’

- 86 Takayuki: *dakara tatoeba sensei wa toshiue de sonkei suru*
so example teacher TOP older and respect do
‘So, for example, teachers are older, so we respect them.’

ma ore wa shitenakatta kedo demo erai hito ni
well 1sg TOP do.NEG.PAST but but great person to
‘I didn’t (respect them), but to respectable people,’

keigo o tsukau
honorifics O use
‘(we) use honorifics.’

- 87 Makiko: *un ja koko basue no pabu de wa?*
yeah then here dingy GENpub LOC TOP
‘Uh-huh, then, what about using honorifics at this dingy bar?’

- 88 Nobuko: *shitsurei dakara sou shinaito basue toka itteru shi*
rude so so do.NEG.when dingy sort saying and
‘It’s rude, if you don’t. You (M) are saying “this dingy bar”!’

- 89 Makiko: *nobu chan ga basue no pabutte itta n dayo*
Nobu DIM SUB dingy GENpub QT say.PASTNOM
COP.SFP
‘You are the one who said this is a dingy bar!’

mou sorede?
already then
‘And then?’

- 90 Nobuko: *mukō wa tenin dakara okyaku ni keigo de*
there TOP clerk so customer to honorifics with
‘Waiters must use honorifics to customers,’

a demo nihon no basue no pabu dattara
oh but Japan GEN dingy GENpub COP.PAST.if
‘oh, but if this was a dingy bar in Japan,’

- 91 Makiko: *ā kokudō zoi toka no?*
oh national highway along sort NOM
‘Oh, like a bar along national highway?’

- 92 Nobuko: *sō sō sō sō ā iu toko de wa*
yeah yeah yeah yeah that say placeLOC TOP
‘Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, oh, in a place like that,’

keigo de hanasanai kamo ne
honorifics with speak.NEG perhaps SFP
'waiters might not use honorifics.'

- 93 Takayuki: *sō naru to muzukashii na bunseki* (0.6)
so become when difficult SFP analysis
'Then, it's difficult to analyze.'

demo ma aite ga desu masu de hanashiteru kara
but well interlocutor SUB desu masu in speaking so
'But because the waitress was using *desu* and *masu*.'

kocchi mo sono hou ga kado ga tatanai to
this side too the way SUB corner SUB stand.NEG when
'We should also use *desu* and *masu* to avoid needless offense.'

ā dakedo tsukawanai yatsu zettai iru na
oh but use.NEG guy definitely exist SFP
'Some customers definitely wouldn't use honorifics.'

oyaji toka
middle-aged man sort
'like middle-aged men.'

- 94 Makiko: *nande oyaji wa tsukawanakute yurusareru no?*
why middle-aged man TOP use.NEG.ADV permit.PASS SFP
'Why don't middle-aged men have to use honorifics?'

- 95 Nobuko: *tsukawanakya dame dayo*
use.have to not okay COP.SFP
'They have to use honorifics.'

obasan demo tsukawanai hito iru to omou
middle-aged woman even use.NEG person exist QT think
'Some middle-aged women wouldn't use them, either'

demo yurusarenai
but permit.PASS.NEG
'but it's unacceptable.'

- 96 Makiko: *nande?*
why
'Why?'

- 97 Takayuki: *tte iu ka mawari ga itatamarenai yo*
QT say Q around SUB unbearable SFP

‘In other words, people around would feel uneasy’

henna hito to shiriai da tte koto
strange person with acquaintance COP QT thing
‘to be with a strange friend.’

98 Nobuko: *sō kocchi ga hazukashii mōshiwakenaku naru*
so this side SUB embarrassed sorry become
‘Yes, we feel embarrassed and sorry for waiters.’

99 Makiko: *jā sakki mōshiwakenaku omotta?*
then at that time sorry think.PAST
‘Then, did you (S&T) feel sorry for the waiters here?’

100 Nobuko: *sugoi omotta kara ayamatta n jan*
very think.PAST so apologize.PAST NOM SFP
‘I really felt so, and apologized.’

101 Makiko: *jā ima dō omotteru ka nā?*
then now how thinking Q SFP
‘(I) wonder what the waiters are thinking now.’

102 Takayuki: *mō sugoi henna kyaku ga kita tte*
already very strange customer SUB come.PAST QT
‘A very strange customer has come,’

ima kicchin de hanashiteru yo
now kitchen LOC speaking SFP
‘Now (they are) speaking so in the kitchen.’

103 Makiko: *ā jā omise no hito wa takayuki kun no koto*
oh then shop GEN person TOP Takayuki DIM GEN thing
‘What do the waiters think about you (T), Takayuki?’

dō omotteru?
how thinking

104 Takayuki: *henna hito no tomodachi kanari kiken daro*
strange person GEN friend fairly dangerous COP.SFP
‘A friend of a strange person. It’s fairly risky.’

mazu aite ga iyana omoi o suru shi
first interlocutor SUB bad feeling O do and
‘First, the interlocutor feels bad.’

sore ato uchira janai hito dattara
the and 1pl then.NEG person COP.PAST.if

‘And people who are not like us’

henna hito da tte rakuin o osareru
strange person COP QT label O put.PASS
‘would label you as a strange person.’

105 Makiko: *dōseki shiteru hito wa?*
co-present doing person TOP
‘What about people sitting at the same table?’

106 Nobuko: *saiaku jibun mo warui koto shiteru kibun de*
terrible self also bad thing doing feeling and
‘Terrible, they feel like committing a crime.’

dakara ayamatta n dayo
so apologize.PAST NOM COP.SFP
‘So I apologized.’

107 Makiko: *naruhodō*
I see
‘I see.’

108 Nobuko: *mō itsumo maki chan kireina nihongo hananoni*
already always Maki DIM beautiful Japanese speak.but
‘You always speak properly, so I wonder what’s wrong today.’

kyō wa dō shita no?
today TOP how do.PAST SFP

109 Takayuki: *dakara jikken da ttsū no*
so experiment COP QT.say SFP
‘So this has to be an experiment.’

110 Nobuko: *sō kamo ato de ayamatta hō ga ii yo*
so perhaps later LOC apologize.PASTway SUB good SFP
‘Maybe. You’d better apologize later.’

((The waitress brought dishes to our table.))

111 Waitress: *o-matase shimashita*
HONP-wait:PASS do:POL:PAST
‘(We) have kept (you) wait.’

112 *nasu no dengakuto daikon sarada degozaimasu*
eggplantGEN daubed and daikon salad COP:SUPER.POL
‘These are eggplant daubed with soy paste and daikon salad.’

- 113 Nobuko: *hāi*
yes
'Yes.'
- 114 Waitress: *torizara wa?*
each plate TOP
'(How about) plates?'
- 115 Makiko: *a hai onegai shimasu*
oh yes HONP-ask do:POL
'Yes, please.'
- 116 Waitress: *hai*
yes
'Yes.'
- 117 Makiko: *suimasen*
sorry
'Thank you.'
- ((The waitress left the table.))
- 118 Takayuki: *ō*
wow
'Wow!'
- 119 Nobuko: *subarashii*
wonderful
'Wonderful!'
- 120 Takayuki: *subarashii*
wonderful
'Wonderful!'
- 121 Makiko: *dō datta?*
how COP.PAST
'How was my speech?'
- 122 Takayuki: *yokatta anshin shita*
good.PAST relieved do.PAST
'It was good. I was relieved.'
- 123 Nobuko: *atashi mo*
1sg too
'Me, too.'

Appendix D

A CONVERSATION ABOUT INTERACTION AT A SERVICE ENCOUNTER

The following tape-recorded conversation took place at Yasuo's and Sonoko's house on May 27, 2004. The participants in this conversation are Yasuo, Sonoko, Chiyoko, and myself. They talked about interaction at a service-encounter. Sonoko owns a small boutique and talked about her experience.

Date: May 27, 2004
Place: Tokyo, Japan

Name	Makiko	Yasuo	Sonoko	Chiyoko
Birthplace	Kawasaki	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo
Residence	Kawasaki	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo
Age	30	68	65	67
Gender	female	male	female	female
Status	student/ researcher	retired	shop owner	company employee

- 1 Makiko: *kore doko de nani ga okotteru ka daitai souzou tsuku?*
'(Can you) guess where it is and what is happening here?'
- 2 Yasuo: *resutoran de okyakusan ga chuumon shiteru tokoro*
'A customer is ordering at a restaurant.'
- 3 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 4 Yasuo: *omizu choudai wa kotoba toshite machigatteru ne*
'Saying "omizu choudai ("Give us water")" is wrong, linguistically.'
- 5 Chiyoko: *a sou?*
'Oh, really?'

- 6 Sonoko: *koe futari tomo wakai wayone*
‘Their voices sound young, right?’
- 7 Makiko: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 8 Sonoko: *futaritomo wakai kedo*
‘Both of them sound young, but’
- 9 Chiyoko: *jibun yori mo wakai hito dane kore wa*
‘(This waitress) is younger than (the speaker).’
- 10 Sonoko: *a wakai tenin san ni mukatte okyaku san ga chuumon shiteruno*
‘I see, the customer is ordering to the waitress who’s younger.’
- 11 Makiko: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 12 Yasuo: *sōka*
‘I see.’
- 13 Sonoko: *sonna kanji yone*
‘Sounds like that, right?’
- 14 Makiko: *a sō*
‘Oh, I see.’
- 15 Yasuo: *a sono kado no hanaya san, kōiu kaiwa surune*
‘At the flower shop around the corner, this kind of talk happens.’
- 16 Sonoko: *sou yo*
‘That’s right.’
- 17 Yasuo: *boku ga kono hana chōdai tte iu to*
‘When I say “Choudai (give me) this flower?”’
- 18 *soko no musuko san ga haitte tutsunde kureru n dayone*
‘The son there says “yes” and wraps (it for me).’
- 19 Sonoko: *teinei nanoyo ne*
‘(He’s) polite, isn’t he?’
- 20 Makiko: *a sou*
‘I see.’
- 21 Chiyoko *sō sō un konna mon de injanai?*

‘Yes, yes, I suppose this is okay, right?’

- 22 Makiko: *hai dewa tugi nibanme*
‘Yes, then, next, the second one.’

(listening to the second part of the interaction with the waitress)
- 23 Yasuo: *kore mo nanka nee*
‘This also sounds not really...’
- 24 Chiyoko: *kore wa kono saisho no hito to mō hitori iru n desho?*
‘This conversation has this first person and another person, right?’
- 25 Sonoko: *resutoran ni otomodachi doushi ga ite*
‘The friends are at the restaurant, and’
- 26 *futari de kōgoni chūmon suru no ne*
‘Both of them order the menu in turn, right?’
- 27 Chiyoko: *sō mitai ne*
‘Sounds like that.’
- 28 Yasuo: *saisho no hito yori nibanme no ko no hōga teinei dane*
‘Compared to the first person, the second person is more polite.’
- 29 Chiyoko: *saisho no wa warito karui kanji de nibanme no hou ga teinei =*
‘The first person is light, and the second person is more polite.’
- 30 Sonoko: *= teinei ano nibanme no hito wa kichinto shiteru wane*
‘(She’s) more polite. The second person is more appropriate.’
- 31 Yasuo: *omise no hito ni keii o arawashiteru yo*
‘(She is) showing her respect to the people at the restaurant.’
- 32 Sonoko: *sō ne*
‘That’s right.’
- 33 Yasuo: *saisho no hito wa dame da na korya*
‘The first person is not good.’
- 34 Sonoko: *atashi kono kono kudaketa tte iu no? kō iu no ii to omou wayo*
‘Shall I call this person relaxed? I think this person is good.’

- 35 Yasuo: *dakedo sa=*
'But'
- 36 Sonoko: = *un toka, kono un mo ikanimo saikin no wakai hito rashii*
'(She says) *un* ('yeah'), this *un* sounds like a today's young person.'
- 37 Makiko: *aa*
'Oh.'
- 38 Chiyoko: *ma tashikani waruku wa nai kedo ne*
'Well, certainly, (she) does not sound bad.'
- 39 Yasuo: *kore wa kore de futsuu ni resutoran no kaiwa tte ieru darou ne*
'This itself can be said a normal conversation at a restaurant.'
- 40 Chiyoko: *sō ne ma futsū dane*
'That's right. It's ordinary.'
- 41 Yasuo: *ka mo naku fuka mo naku dayo @@@*
'There is nothing good nor bad.'
- 42 Makiko: *hai*
'Okay.'
- 43 Yasuo: *kono nihonjin wa sugu suimasen te iu n dayone*
'Well, Japanese people always say *suimasen* ('sorry').'
- 44 Makiko: *nani?*
'what?'
- 45 Sonoko: *shocchū yo ne*
'Very often, right?'
- 46 Yasuo: *hora kono hito suimasen te nibanme no hito itteru desho*
'See, this second person says *suimasen*, right?'
- 47 Makiko: *aaaa*
'Oh.'
- 48 Yasuo: *shazai no kimochi janai toki mo=*
'When there is no feeling of apology.'
- 49 Chiyoko: = *suimasen te iu n dayone*
'(we) say *suimasen*, right?'

- 50 Sonoko: *anō ayamaranakya janai noyone*
‘Well, it’s not the feeling of apology.’
- 51 Yasuo: *monogoto ga kou maruku osamaru n dane*
‘Things are settled smoothly.’
- 52 Sonoko: *otagai sono hō ga sono seii ga tsutawaru tte iu no kashira ne*
‘It’s that we can be nice to each other this way.’
- 53 Yasuo: *sore wa tatemaejou tte no wa aru kedo ne*
‘It is only for the matter of formality, though.’
- 54 Chiyoko: *tsui dechau noyone*
‘(We) automatically say so.’
- 55 Yasuo: *nihonjin wa tsutsushimi bukai kokumin nanda yone*
‘Japanese people are discreet.’
- 56 Chiyoko: *sou yo*
‘That’s right.’
- 57 Yasuo: *ma tomokaku ne kore mo ka mo naku fuka mo naku dayo*
‘Well, anyway, there is nothing good nor bad in this conversation.’
- 58 Sonoko: *ano ma chanto shiteru kiga suru wane*
‘Well, (I) think that the conversation sounds okay.’
- 59 Chiyoko: *sō sō*
‘Yes, yes.’
- 60 Yasuo: *ma aete iu nara omise no hito wa otorizara tte iu hou ga ii ne*
‘Well, (I) would say the waitress should say *otorizara* (‘dish’).’
- 61 Chiyoko: *yorī teinei dakedo ne*
‘That is more polite, but’
- 62 Sonoko: *nn kore wa wakai hitotachi dashi*
‘Well, this conversation is among young people and’
- 63 Chiyoko: *sou sou*
‘Yes, yes.’
- 64 Sonoko: *kore de juubun da to omou wayo*
‘(I) think this is enough.’
- 65 Makiko: *ano weitoresu to ichibanme no ko ga shiriai nan dakedo*

‘Well, the waitress and the first person know each other.’

- 66 Yasuo: *sō su to nani ga chigau no?*
‘Then, what is different?’
- 67 Sonoko: *sō suru to kono waitoresu wa yosoyosorhii?*
‘Then, is this waitress unfriendly?’
- 68 Chiyoko: *demo hoka ni okyaku san ga itara ara minna shiriai nano?*
‘But if other customers are there, oh, do they all know each other?’
- 69 Makiko: *uun chigau nibamne no ko to waitresu wa shiriai janai*
‘No, the second person and the waitress do not know each other.’
- 70 Chiyoko: *un omise no hito wa keigo de outai shinakya dame desho?*
‘Yes, the waitress should respond to customers in honorifics.’
- 71 Sonoko: *shinakya dame tte koto mo nai kedo*
‘(It’s) not necessarily a must, though.’
- 72 Chiyoko: *sō shiriai dake ni futsū no kotoba wa tsukaenai desho?*
‘So, (she) can’t just use an ordinary language only to her friend.’
- 73 Yasuo: *iya otonari no osushi yasan wa*
‘No, at the next-door sushi restaurant,’
- 74 Sonoko: *anata no otomochi ni anata to shaberu mitaini hanasanai desho*
‘(The shop owner) doesn’t talk to your friend in the way he does to you.’
- 75 Yasuo: *sō ka ne*
‘Really?’
- 76 Sonoko: *sō yo dakara un te ko wa itsumo doori ni sesshiteru kedo*
‘That’s right, so, the person who says *un* interacts as usual, but’
- 77 *waitoresu no hito wa shigoto toshite sesshiteru tte koto yone*
‘The waitress interacts with the first person as an employee, right?’
- 78 Chiyoko: *soreni hoka ni okyaku san ga iru kara ne*
‘Besides, there are other customers.’
- 79 Yasuo: *sō shinai to ue no mono ni okorareru ka*

‘If (she doesn’t use honorifics), she is scolded by her boss.’

- 80 Sonoko: *sō suru to un janakute hai gurai itta hou ga yokatta kamone*
‘Then, it would have been better if the first person said *hai* (‘yes’) than *un* (‘yeah’).’
- 81 Chiyoko: *un kore dake kiitara shiriai dōshi towa omowanai yone*
‘Yes, when (we) hear this, we never imagine they know each other.’
- 82 Yasuo: *sō nanda yone nihongo de wa sou iu no ga wakaru n dayone*
‘Yes, we can understand such a thing in Japanese.’
- 83 Makiko: *sō iu no?*
‘Such a thing?’
- 84 Yasuo: *tomodachi ka joushi ka tanin no kaiwa demo sugu wakaru ne*
‘(We) easily understand whether (s/he) is a friend or a boss.’
- 85 Makiko: *a un*
‘Oh, yes.’
- 86 Yasuo: *demo kore dato tomodachi doushi to wa omoenai yo*
‘But with this (way of talking), (we) can never tell they are friends.’
- 87 Makiko: *ā*
‘Oh.’
- 88 Sonoko: *kono weitoresu wa futsuu no tokimo kouyatte hanasu toshitara*
‘If this waitress talks to her friend like this in a normal situation,’
- 89 *teinei sugiru wayo otomodachi ni taishite*
‘(she) is too polite to her friend.’
- 90 Chiyoko: *dakara shigoto dakara desho?*
‘So it is because (she’s) working here.’
- 91 Sonoko: *sō*
‘Yes.’
- 92 Chiyoko: *weitoresu ga sō shiteru kara kono ko mo awasetara yokatta ne*
‘As the waitress is (using honorifics), this person should do so.’
- 93 Sonoko: *ano ne uchi no okyaku san ni goteinei na hito ite ne kotoba ga*
‘Well, I have a customer who speaks a very polite language.’

- 94 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 95 Sonoko: *sono kata ga kuru to kocchi mo tsurarete teineini hanasu no*
'When that person comes, I'm influenced and I speak politely.'
- 96 Makiko: *aa*
'Oh.'
- 97 Sonoko: *fushigi yone*
'(It's) mysterious, isn't it?'
- 98 Yasuo: *chōshi ga ii n dayo @@@*
'(You're) easily elated.'
- 99 *chigau hito ga kuru to koro tto taido ga kawaru n dayone*
'When another person comes, (your) attitude changes drastically.'
- 100 Chiyoko: *minna onaji tachiga nanoni ne*
'Everyone has the same status.'
- 101 Yasuo: *sō da yo*
'Indeed.'
- 102 Chiyoko: *minna onaji tachiga nanoni ne*
'Everyone has the same status.'
- 103 Sonoko: *aite ni awaseru tte iu no aru wa ne*
'There is an aspect of attunement to others.'
- 104 *ironna okyaku san ni sessuru toki ni wa aite ni awasenai to*
'When (I) interact with many customers, (I) have to attune to them.'
- 105 Yasuo: *sore wa aru ne*
'That's true.'
- 106 Sonoko: *sō*
'Yes.'
- 107 Yasuo: *dakara kono ko ga weitoresu ni awasete agete mo yokatta ne*
'Then, this person should have attuned to the waitress.'
- 108 Sonoko: *docchi ga docchi ni awaseru ka tte iu koto mo aru kedo*
'There's a question which one attunes to which one.'

- 109 Yasuo: *dakedo otagai ni shiriai doushi demo teinei ni ne?*
'But, (it's necessary) to be polite to those who are familiar, right?'
- 110 *itashiki naka nimo reigi ari tte mukashi kara iu n dayo*
'There's a saying "There's courtesy among the familiars."'
- 111 Sonoko: *dakedo hoka ni itara kigaruni hanashi kakerarenai*
'When other customers are there, (she) can't talk to her friend easily.'
- 112 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 113 Chiyoko: *tokoro dokoro de shiteru kedo keigo de hanaseba yokatta ne*
'As (the second person) does here and there, (she) should have used honorifics.'
- 114 Yasuo: *sōiukoto da ne*
'That's the point.'
- 115 Makiko: *ā*
'Oh.'
- 116 Yasuo: *ijō dayo*
'That's all.'
- 117 Makiko: *hai dōmo gokyōryoku arigatō gozaimashita*
'Yes, thank you very much for your corporation.'

Appendix E

A CONVERSATION ABOUT INTERACTION AT A SERVICE ENCOUNTER

The following tape-recorded conversation took place at Jiro's and Nami's apartment in Yokohama, on May 30, 2004, as I explained in Chapter 6. The participants in this conversation are Eri, Jiro, Haruko, Nami, Toru, Akemi, and myself. They talked about interaction at a service-encounter. Eri is a waitress and Jiro used to be a waiter at college.

Date: May 30, 2004
Place: Yokohama, Japan

Name	Makiko	Eri	Jiro	Haruko	Nami	Toru	Akemi
Birthplace	Kawasaki	Tokyo	Shizuoka	Ibaraki	Sapporo	Nagoya	Kochi
Residence	Kawasaki	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Yokohama	Tokyo	Tokyo
Age (2004)	30	32	37	37	38	35	36
Gender	female	male	male	female	female	male	female
Occupation	student/ researcher	waitress	company employee	part-time employee	secretary	engineer	house- wife

- 1 Makiko: *kore kiite nandemo douzo*
'Listen to this and talk freely about it.'
- 2 Jiro: *kore maki chan desho?*
'This person must be you, Maki!'
- 3 Makiko: *e sō n de?*
'Oh, yes, and then?'
- 4 Akemi: *de tte iware temo*
'(What shall we say), when (we) are told "and then?"?'
- 5 Jiro: *dakara resutoran de maki chan ga tenin to kaiwa shiteru tokoro*
'So, this is when Maki is talking to a waitress at a restaurant.'
- 6 Haruko: *un*
'Yeah.'

- 7 Eri: *nē betsu ni tte kanji da yo*
‘Well, it’s like that nothing is special.’
- 8 Makiko: *okkei ja tsugi no bubun iku yo*
‘Okay, then, let’s listen to the next part.’
- 9 Akemi: *onaji yan mō hitori betsu no kyaku tōjō shita dake*
‘It’s the same. It’s just that another customer appears.’
- 10 Eri: *sou*
‘Right.’
- 11 Haruko: *e okyaku no kotoba ga chigau yo weitaa ni*
‘Well, the customers’ languages to the waiter are different.’
- 12 Toru: *weitā janai onna dayo*
‘That’s not a waiter. (She’s) a woman.’
- 13 Nami: *weitoresu ne*
‘(She’s) a waitress.’
- 14 Haruko: *a weitoresu ka teineigo tsukatteru no to tsukatte nai no*
‘Oh, (she’s) a waitress. The one uses *teinei-go* (‘polite forms’) to the waitress and the other one does not.’
- 15 Eri: *sō iu yatsu iru n dayone sugē mukatsuku*
‘Such a person exists. (That’s) very annoying.’
- 16 Makiko: *tte iu ka kore tomodachi nan dayone*
‘Actually, this is my friend.’
- 17 Eri: *tomodachi ga konna koto kiku?*
‘Do friends ask these things?’
- 18 Nami: *dakara resutoran de hataraiteru tomodachi desho?*
‘So, (she’s) a friend working at the restaurant, right?’
- 19 Makiko: *sō*
‘Yes.’
- 20 Akemi: *a dakara ka*
‘Oh, that’s why.’
- 21 Nami: *sō iu no tte omise no hito to shite wa dō nano?*
‘How does a person at a restaurant think of these conversations?’
- 22 Eri: *tte ū ka sa uchi ironna yūmeijin mo kuru yo*

- ‘Well, many celebrities also come to the restaurant.’
- 23 Akemi: *hee sō nan?*
‘Oh, really?’
- 24 Haruko: *e*
‘Wow.’
- 25 Eri: *sō tatsumi takurō mata in jan te kanji*
‘Yes, it’s like that Takuro Tatsumi was there again.’
- 26 Toru: *e eri chan doko de hataraitte n no?*
‘So, where (are you) working, Eri?’
- 27 Eri: *ano hiruzu no omise*
‘Well, (I’m working at) a restaurant at Roppongi Hills.’
- 28 Toru: *itarian?*
‘(Is it) an Italian (restaurant)?’
- 29 Eri: *ie furenchi*
‘No, (it’s) a French restaurant.’
- 30 Nami: *a o furansu no nan da*
‘Oh, (it’s) an honorable French one.’
- 31 Toru: *kaiten doa no toko jan*
‘(That’s a building) with a rotating entrance door.’
- 32 Eri: *mō tsukatte nai yo*
‘(They) no longer use (it).’
- 33 Makiko: *un yameta hō ga ii yo abunai yo*
‘Yeah, (you) should avoid (using it, as it’s) dangerous.’
- 34 Nami: *abunai abunai*
‘(It’s) dangerous, (it’s) dangerous.’
- 35 Makiko: *are otona demo kowai yone*
‘That’s scary even for an adult.’
- 36 Nami: *kowai kowai motamota shiteru to jibun ga kaiten shichau yo ne*
‘(It’s) scary, scary. When (I’m) slow, I feel like rotating myself.’
- 37 Akemi: *sō @@@*

- ‘(That’s) right.’
- 38 Haruko: *ne eri chan omise ni tomodachi toka kite hoshii?*
‘Well, do you want your friends to visit the restaurant, Eri?’
- 39 Eri: *n demo takai kara ne*
‘Well, but it’s expensive, so,’
- 40 Jiro: *ore sa soko no izakaya de gakusei jidai baito shiteta toki kita yo*
‘When I had a part-time job at a bar, (my friends) visited (me).’
- 41 Nami: *sorya izakaya dattara iku yonē?*
‘Of course, if it’s a bar, (we will) go there, right?’
- 42 Makiko: *un e dō omotta?*
‘Yeah, and how (did you) feel?’
- 43 Jiro: *ma betsu ni tte kawaii ko ga kite kureru to ureshii kedo ne*
‘Nothing special, but when a cute girl friend came, (I) felt happy.’
- 44 Akemi: *iya*
‘No.’
- 45 Toru: *sō sō iu mondai ja nai kara ima*
‘Well, that’s not the point now.’
- 46 Jiro: *sō?*
‘Really?’
- 47 Toru: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 48 Jiro: *ma soredemo sa kocchi wa manyuaru doori dakara na*
‘Well, but I had to behave, according to service manuals.’
- 49 Nami: *sō nano?*
‘Really?’
- 50 Jiro: *a chigau manyaru nakatta n da*
‘Well, (I was) wrong. (We) didn’t have manuals.’
- 51 Haruko: *nani sore*
‘What is that?.’
- 52 Jiro: *sugē chiisē toko datta kara saa*

- ‘Because (it) was a very tiny place.’
- 53 Eri: *uchi aru kedo ma are mo sonna ni anma kankei nai yone*
‘We have the service manuals, but they are not really relevant.’
- 54 Akemi: *nē tomodachi ni yasuku dekiru no?*
‘So, can (you) give a discount to friends?’
- 55 Jiro: *dame dayo sonna no*
‘That’s not acceptable.’
- 56 Haruko: *na n da*
‘How disappointing.’
- 57 Jiro: *sonna mon da yo haru chan*
‘That’s life, Haru.’
- 58 *nē eri chan ano tomodachi toka kuru toki dou omou?*
‘Well, how (do you) feel, when your friends come?’
- 59 Haruko: *nande?*
‘Why?’
- 60 Jiro: *ano ureshii youna hazukashii youna terekusai youna*
‘Well, (it’s) like happy, shy, or embarrassed.’
- 61 Eri: *ā tte iu ka tannin gyōgi ni nacchau*
‘Oh, I would stand on formality.’
- 62 Haruko: *asoko wa naru kamo*
‘It’s possible that you stand on formality there.’
- 63 Makiko: *un tashikani*
‘Yeah, indeed.’
- 64 Akemi: *futari tomo itta no?*
‘Did both of you go there?’
- 65 Haruko: *uuun soto kara mita dake*
‘No, (we) just saw it from outside.’
- 66 Makiko: *sō tada soto kara mita dake*
‘Right, (we) just saw it only from outside.’
- 67 Eri: *dayone*
‘That’s right.’

- 68 Nami: *donna toko?*
'How is the place?'
- 69 Makiko: *nanka kuro de oshare na tokoro*
'Well, it's black and fancy.'
- 70 Nami: *a o furansu ppoi no?*
'Oh, is it very French?'
- 71 Makiko: *sō sō sō sō*
'Right, right, right, right.'
- 72 Eri: *sō ka?*
'Is that so?'
- 73 Jiro: *sonna toko de hataraite n da sugē na*
'(It's) amazing (you are) working in such a place.'
- 74 Akemi: *demo sonna toko dato yokei taniyougi ni nacchawa nai?*
'But in such a place, don't you stand on formality more than usual?'
- 75 Eri: *sō*
'Yeah.'
- 76 Akemi: *kono menbaa de ittemo narisou dayo ne*
'Even if we go there with these people, we would stand on formality.'
- 77 Nami: *sugoku nai? kono menbā de taniyougi ni naru tte nani?*
'Isn't it amazing? I wonder how the place looks like, if we go and still stand on formality.'
- 78 Makiko: *honto dayone*
'That's true.'
- 79 Eri: *konaida mo sa shiriai no ko ga kitekureta n dakedo heijitsu ne*
'The other day, a friend of mine came to the restaurant on a weekday.'
- 80 Akemi: *hē*
'I see.'
- 81 Eri: *ma heijitsu demo ano suiteru tte ittemo sa*
'Well, on a weekday, even if it's less busier,'
- 82 *hoka no okyaku san datte iru wake jan?*

- ‘There are other customers.’
- 83 *sono ko to futsuu ni hanashikondetara hen jan?*
‘It’s strange to talk in a friendly manner only to her.’
- 84 Nami: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 85 Akemi: *a ano hito tachi tomodachi da tte sugu wakacchau yone*
‘People immediately think “Oh, they are friends,” right?’
- 86 Nami: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 87 Eri: *un tte iu ka chotto kimazui tte iu no ka naa*
‘Well, rather, shall I say (it’s) awkward?’
- 88 Makiko: *a sō?*
‘Oh, really?’
- 89 Eri: *tte iu ka terekusai kara yokei tanningyougi ni nacchau yo ne*
‘Well, because it’s embarrassing, we stand on formality more.’
- 90 Haruko: *naruhodo*
‘I see.’
- 91 Eri: *de sa furendorī na outai shitai yappari aite wa okyaku jan*
‘So, I want to be friendly, but after all she is a customer.’
- 92 Nami: *un atashi mo tomodachi ga hataraiteru resutoran ni itta toki*
‘When I went to a restaurant where my friend was working,’
- 93 *sonna kanji datta yo, nanka kaette itte warukatta tte iu ka*
‘It was like that, too. Well, I even felt sorry for visiting her there.’
- 94 Akemi: *sono eri chan no tomodachi hitori de kita no?*
‘Did Eri’s friend come to the restaurant alone?’
- 95 Eri: *iya tsure wa ita kedo ne*
‘No, she was with a company.’
- 96 Jiro: *tsure*
‘Company!’
- 97 Eri: *sō tsure*
‘Yeah, a company.’

- 98 Akemi: *otoko to issho tte ieba ii noni*
‘You can say she was with a guy.’
- 100 Eri: *iya onna datta no dayo sore ga*
‘No, it was a woman.’
- 101 Haruko: *ara*
‘Oh!’
- 102 Jiro: *e onna demo tsure tte iu?*
‘Oh, do you say *tsure* (‘a company’) for a woman?’
- 103 Akemi: *in jan betsuni*
‘It doesn’t matter.’
- 104 Makiko: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 105 Eri: *sō atashi ga hataraiteru kara wazawaza kite kureta noni*
‘Well, because I work there, she visited the restaurant, but.’
- 106 *tsumetai tte wake ja nai n demo chotto itsumo to chigau kara*
‘I wouldn’t say I was cold, but it was different from usual.’
- 107 Nami: *ā*
‘Oh.’
- 108 Jiro: *wakaru sore sō iu taido ni nacchau n da yo na otagai*
‘I understand. Both ended up being formal to each other.’
- 109 Nami: *ato sa atashi ga itta toki sono tomodachi no tokoro ni*
‘And when I visited my friend’s restaurant,’
- 110 *mawari ni hito ga iru tte iu no ga ne futsuu ja naku naru no*
‘Because other customers around, we behave differently from usual.’
- 111 Haruko: *ne maki chan hora mae ni saa eri chan ga hataraiteta kēki ya*
‘Once we visited a cake shop Erika was working, right, Maki?’
- 112 Makiko: *un un*
‘Yeah, yeah.’
- 113 Haruko: *sono toki eri chan chuumon tori ni kite kurete*
‘At that time, Eri came to our tables to take orders, and

- 114 *yappa kou iu toki atashitachi minna keigo tsukau n da tte omotta yo*
 ‘Oh, I was surprised that we were using honorifics.’
- 115 Makiko: *e sō datta kke? oboete nai*
 ‘Oh, was it so? I don’t remember.’
- 116 Akemi: *ara*
 ‘Oh!’
- 117 Haruko: *sō datta jan eri chan ga ijō de yoroshikatta de shō ka tte itte*
 ‘Yeah, it was like that. Eri said *yoroshikatta de shou ka* (“Was that okay?” in polite forms),’
- 118 *sono ato maki chan ijō de yoroshikatta de shou ka tte ieru? tte ittayo*
 ‘After that, Maki asked if we can say *yoroshikatta de shou ka*.’
- 119 Makiko: *e sō datta kke? atashi zenzen oboete nai*
 ‘Oh, was it so? I don’t remember at all.’
- 120 Haruko: *sō da yo atashi tachi keigo de hanashiteta n dayo*
 ‘Yeah, we spoke with honorifics.’
- 121 Makiko: *sugoi ne haru chan oboetete*
 ‘(It’s) amazing that (you) remember that, Haru.’
- 122 Toru: *sore chō tanin gyōgi jan*
 ‘That is very formal, isn’t it?’
- 123 Haruko: *un demo sō datta n dayo son toki*
 ‘Yeah, but (we were) like that then.’
- 124 Nami: *hē demo arieru yone*
 ‘Really? But it’s possible, isn’t it?’
- 125 Akemi: *un uchi mo sa toru kun ga kaisha kara denwa kakete kuru toki*
 ‘Yeah, when Toru calls me from his company,’
- 126 Makiko: *un*
 ‘Yeah.’
- 127 Akemi: *sugoi yosoyososhikute hamada desu hai shitsurei shimasu tte*
 ‘He is very formal, saying “(This is)Mr. Hamada, yes, excuse me,”

- 128 Nami: *wakaru wakaru*
'I know, I know.'
- 129 Akemi: *kocchi mo ie nano ni hai shitsurei shimashita toka icchau shi*
'Even though I'm at home, I also say "Yes, excuse me."'
- 130 Makiko: *ā*
'Oh!'
- 131 Eri: *okashii ne*
'(It's) funny.'
- 132 Nami: *hamada san no hou wa onegaishimasu toka iu n dayo ne*
'Mr. Hamada says something like "please", right?'
- 132 Toru: *sorede ore wa kiru no*
'Then I hang up the phone.'
- 133 Haruko: *sō sō uchi mo sō dayo*
'Yeah, yeah, yeah, we are the same.'
- 134 Jiro: *hora mukashi wa sa keitai nante nakatta kara sa*
'You know, back then, there was no cell phone.'
- 135 Nami: *kaisha no desuku no denwa dato minna kikoeru n dayo ne*
'When (we) use desk phones at work, (we) hear everything.'
- 136 Jiro: *kocchi mo sa ichiou daremo inai toki ni kaketeru n dakedo*
'I tried to call when no one was around, but'

shiranai uchi ni modotte kitete a yabe tte omou n dayone
'Then, co-workers are back, so I feel like oops!'
- 137 Nami: *de kyuu ni jiro kun jaa dōmo toka itte ippoutekini kicchau no*
'Then, Jiro suddenly says "Well, then" and suddenly hangs up.'
- 138 Eri: *sore waraeru ne*
'That's funny.'
- 139 Nami: *kocchi mo tsurareru ka wararu ka*
'(I'm) also influenced or laughing.'
- 140 Jiro: *ima wa ne mō keitai ga aru kara sonna koto mo nai yone*
'Nowadays, we have cell phones, so that doesn't happen, right?'

- 141 Nami: *sō da ne*
'That's right.'
- 142 Eri: *uchi ra hoka no okyaku ga itsumo iru kara sore dekinai yone*
'We always have other customers around, so we can't do that.'
- 143 Nami: *itsumo iru mon ne*
'Customers are always around.'
- 143 Haruko: *kimattern no?*
'(Is that) a rule?'
- 144 Eri: *tte iu ka yappa sabetsu dekinai jan*
'Well, (we) can't discriminate customers'
- 145 Akemi: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 146 Eri: *sōiukoto de kubetsu shicha ikenai jan*
'We shouldn't make a difference there.'
- 147 Akemi: *un ikenai*
'Yeah, you shouldn't.'
- 148 Haruko: *a saabiru gyō da mon ne*
'Yeah, after all it's business.'
- 149 Eri: *un demo sorede kitekureta tomodachi nimo teinei ni nacchau*
'Yeah, but then, (I) become polite to friends who come to visit (me).'

sō nanka ne mou choi umaku dekitara iikedo ne
'Yeah, I wish I could do these things better.'
- 150 Nami: *iyaa sonna mon dayo kitto*
'Perhaps, things are like that.'
- 151 Haruko: *sono hito datte sa eri chan ga go chūmon wa tte itterunoni*
'When Eri says "What would you like?," that friend can't say...'
- 152 Eri: *uchi zenbu maemotte yoyaku de iretoku na dayone*
'At my restaurant, we take orders in advance.'
- 153 Haruko: *a sokka demo ma atasi kore nante ienai jan*
'Oh, I see, but (we) can't say "I want this!," right?.'

- 154 Nami: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 155 Haruko: *sō ieba maki chan ocha choudai toka itte nakatta tēpu de?*
'By the way, Maki, didn't you say "Give me tea!" in the recording?'
- 156 Makiko: *ano mizu ne ocha ja nakute*
'Well, it wasn't tea, it was water.'
- 157 Akemi: *docchi mo docchi desho*
'Doesn't matter what it was.'
- 158 Toru: *tashikani sō dane*
'That's true.'
- 159 Nami: *demo omodachi nan dayone?*
'But the waitress was your friend, right?'
- 160 Makiko: *sō*
'Yeah.'
- 161 Akemi: *iya sō iu mondai ja nai yo*
'No, that is not the question.'
- 162 Eri: *sō dayo sō iu mondai ja nai yo*
'Yeah, that is not the question.'
- 163 Jiro: *a demo ne ore mo kore chōdai toka itteru yo*
'Oh but I also say "Give me this!"'
- 164 Eri: *usotsuke!*
'A liar!'
- 165 Jiro: *honto honto ano yokohama no chūkagai de*
'Really, really, well, in China Town in Yokohama.'
- shūmai no umai toko ga atte sa soko no oba chan ni itsumo*
'There's a shop that sells delicious dumplings. There I always say to the lady,'
- shūmai jukko chōdai ne tte itteru yo ore*
'"Give me ten dumplings!"'
- 166 Toru: *a sore wa tōzen dayo*
'Well, of course.'

- 167 Akemi: *sō iu toko wa sono hō ga ii n dayo*
'In a place like that, (you should speak) that way.'
- 168 Eri: *sō dayone*
'That's true.'
- 169 Akemi: *sore wa oba chan mo shūmai katte kinayo tte iu kara desho*
'That's because the lady also says "Buy these dumplings," right?'
- 170 Jiro: *e akemi san shitteru asoko?*
'Oh, do you know the place, Akemi?'
- 171 Akemi: *shiranai ttsū no*
'I don't know.'
- 172 Makiko: *okashii @@*
'That's funny.'
- 173 Akemi: *shiranai kedo daitai sou jan*
'Even though I don't know the place, it's easy to guess that.'
- 174 Nami: *oba chan ga sō hanashitekuru jiten de jukko tte ieru yone*
'When the lady speaks like that, it means (you) can say "Ten dumplings!"'
- 175 Eri: *sō sōiu koto*
'Yeah, that's right.'
- 176 Toru: *nanka sono hō ga omake shite kure sō dayo ne*
'That way, it sounds like we can get a discount.'
- 177 Akemi: *honto dayone*
'That's true.'
- 178 Jiro: *ma sō iwarereba ne*
'Well, if you insist so, I'd agree.'
- 179 Akemi: *demosa eri chan ni onomimono nani ni itashimasuka tte iwaretara sa*
'But if I am asked by Eri "What would you like to drink?";'
- 180 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 181 Akemi: *ocha choudai janai omizu chōdai tte iwanai yo*

‘I don’t say “Give me tea” or “Give me water.”’

- 182 Haruko: *iwanai tte iu ka ienai*
‘It’s not that I don’t say so, but it’s that I can’t say so.’
- 183 Nami: *ienai*
‘I can’t say so.’
- 184 Jiro: *mā ne*
‘Well, yeah.’
- 185 Nami: *yappa aite no koto mo tachiba mo kangaenaito ne*
‘After all, we have to consider other people’s situation, too.’
- 186 Eri: *sō da ne aite ni umaku awase te ne*
‘Yeah, we should coordinate with others nicely.’
- 187 Toru: *sō de aite ga sugoi to kocchi mo motto teinei ni nattari ne*
‘If the interlocutor is really polite, we also become really polite.’
- 188 Jiro: *ano oba chan wa sonna teinei ja nai naa*
‘That lady in China town is not so polite.’
- 189 Toru: *sono shūmai kiniitta?*
‘Do you really like the dumplings there?’
- 190 Jiro: *bareta?*
‘Can you tell?’
- 191 Akemi: *atarimae jan*
‘Of course!’
- 192 Haruko: *okashii @@*
‘That’s funny.’
- 193 Jiro: *e demo ore mo eri chan ga teinei ni detekitara teinei ni kotaeru na*
‘Oh, but if Eri is polite to me, I would also respond politely.’
- 194 Nami: *desho? sore o itteta n datte ba sakki kara*
‘Yeah, that’s the point we have been talking about that.’
- 195 Eri: *sō dayo*
‘That’s right.’

- 196 Jiro: *sō desho? desho? sō desho? dakara taniyōgi tte itta jan*
‘Isn’t that right, right, right? That’s why (I) said we stand on formality.’
- 197 Akemi: *hayaku itte yo*
‘(You) should have made that point earlier.’
- 198 Jiro: *datte yo shūmai jukko itadake masen ka tte ittara hen jan?*
‘Because it would be weird if I said “Would you mind giving me ten dumplings?”’
- 199 Nami: *sorya sō dayo*
‘Yeah, of course.’
- 200 Akemi: *nanka kaette=*
‘It’s rather like’
- 201 Nami: *= baka ni shiteru mitai dayone*
‘It’s like looking down on her, right?’
- 202 Haruko: *sō sō*
‘Yeah, yeah.’
- 203 Makiko: *ja hamada san ga kaisha kara kyō gohan tabenai yōn tte itte tara?*
‘Then, what if Mr. Hamada used the company’s phone at work and said “Honey, I won’t eat dinner at home”?’
- 204 Akemi: *kubi ga tobu ne @@@*
‘He will be fired.’
- 205 Nami: *sugu tobu ne @@@*
‘Immediately.’
- 206 Jiro: *nē ore tachi tte nani? ochōshi mono?*
‘Then, who are we? Are we easily elated?’
- 207 Nami: *chigau deshō ga*
‘That’s not true.’
- 208 Akemi: *dakara chanto mawari ni ki o tsukatteru n datte ba*
‘So we always consider our surroundings.’
- 209 Jiro: *ki o tsukai sugi nano mo yoku nai kedo ne*
‘Being considerate too much is not good, either.’

- 210 Eri: *iya tsukawanai no wa motto yoku nai desho*
'Being inconsiderate is even worse.'
- 211 Nami: *sonna mon dayo yononaka*
'That's life.'
- 212 Makiko: *uwa*
'Wow.'
- 213 Haruko: *hiyaku shisugi ja nai ka?*
'There is a huge leap in your conclusion.'
- 214 Eri: *wake wakan nai*
'(I) don't understand.'
- 215 Toru: *tsumari minna ogatai o omotte kurashiteru toiuka tsukareteru n*
dayo
'In other words, we all live in consideration and in tiredness.'
- 216 Jiro: *nani sore*
'What is that?'
- 217 Nami: *chotto ne*
'Well.'
- 218 Akemi: *soro soro ī kai maki chan?*
'Is this all okay, Maki?'
- 219 Makiko: *hai hai*
'Yes, yes.'
- 220 Jiro: *ja ma kyō no kotae wa sō iu koto de* ((applauding))
'Then, that's the today's answer.'

Appendix F

AFTER THE ACCIDENTAL ENCOUNTER IN HAKONE

The following tape-recorded conversation took place in Hakone, after the accidental encounter between Hide and Akira in July, 2003, as I explained in Chapter 7. The participants in this conversation are Hide and myself.

Date: July 12, 2003
Place: Hakone, Japan

Name	Makiko	Hide
Birthplace	Kawasaki	Tokyo
Residence	Kawasaki	Tokyo
Age	29	32
Gender	Female	male
Occupation	student/ researcher	company employee

- 28 Hide: *sugē bikkurishita*
'(I'm) very surprised.'
- 29 Makiko: *dare?*
'Who (is he)?'
- 30 Hide: *mukashi amerika ni itatoki isshodatta yatu*
'Someone (I met) in the United States.'
- 31 Makiko: *un sore wa wakatta kedo*
'Yeah, (I) kind of figured that out.'
- 32 Hide: *iya nande aitsu wa keigo o tsukawanai n darō*
'Oh, no, I wonder why that guy doesn't use honorifics.'
- 33 Makiko: *ha?*
'What?'
- 34 Hide: *iyananka chottohara ga tatta yo*
'Well, (I) kind of got angry.'

- 35 Makiko: *nande?*
'Why?'
- 36 Hide: *aitsu sa ore yori zutto wakai n daze*
'He is much younger than I am.'
- 37 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 38 Hide: *isshō kenmei aitsu ni wakaraseyō toshite teineigo tukattanoni*
'In order to let him understand, I tried hard to use polite forms.'
- 39 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 40 Hide: *nanoni nanoni sa aitsu jibun kara tsukaōto shinai n damon*
'But, but, he didn't try to use them by himself.'
- 41 Makiko: *sorede hara tatta?*
'So, (you got) angry?'
- 42 Hide: *tsūka tameguchi wa naidaro tameguchi wa*
'Well, plain forms are no good.'
- 43 Makiko: *fun*
'I see.'
- 44 Hide: *futsū toshishitadattara keigo tsukau yo*
'Usually, if (they're) younger, (they) use honorifics.'
- 45 Makiko: *māne demo gaikoku itteta kara kankaku okashii no kamoyo*
'Well, but (because he) went abroad, (he) has a unique idea.'
- 46 Hide: *iyā dakedo mo ore to onaji jikin nihon ni modotta n janai kana?*
'Well, but (I) guess (he) came back to Japan around the time I came back.'
- 47 Makiko: *fūn jā ano hito ga zenzen keigoo tsukawanakatta kara*
'So, then, because that guy did not use honorifics at all.'
- 48 Hide: *sō mukatsuita to*
'Yes, (I) was annoyed.'
- 49 Makiko: *naruhodo*
'I see.'

- 50 Hide: *de orega tsukaouyou nishimuketeyatta to*
'So, I guided (him) to use (honorifics).'
- 51 Makiko: *a sonna kotoshita no?*
'Oh, did (you) do that?'
- 52 Hide: *so shita n dakedo yappa kizuiteta?*
'(I) did it, but did (you) notice it?'
- 53 Makiko: *a*
'Oh.'
- 54 Hide: *ma dakara orega tsukaeba*
'Well, so, if I use (honorifics),'
- 55 Makiko: *aite motsukautte koto?*
'He will use (them), right?'
- 56 Hide: *so aitsu motsukauka na to omotte*
'Yes, I thought that he would use (them), too.'
- 57 Makiko: *sorette teineigo?*
'You mean polite forms?'
- 58 Hide: *so teineigo so*
'Yeah, polite forms, yeah.'
- 59 Makiko: *naruhodo omoshiroiwa*
'I see, (that's) interesting.'
- 60 Hide: *so*
'Yeah.'
- 61 Makiko: *de dō datta?*
'Then, how was it?'
- 62 Hide: *zenzen dakara zenzen tsukaōto shinaikaramukatsukun date*
'Not at all, so because (he) didn't use (them) at all, (it's) annoying.'
- 63 Makiko: *jā sō ittemita?*
'Then, did (you) say so?'
- 64 Hide: *honnin ni?*
'To him?'
- 65 Makiko: *sō keigo tsukatte yo tte*

‘Yeah, like, “Use honorifics (to me).”’

- 66 Hide: *masaka sonna kotoiuwake naijan*
‘No way, (I) will never say such a thing.’
- 67 Makiko: *nande?*
‘Why?’
- 68 Hide: *sonna kotoittara kanji warujan teiuka satorasenakya sonna*
‘Saying such a thing is not good. Besides,(I) should let him realize.’
- 69 Makiko: *iya itta ho ga tettori bayai yo*
‘Saying so is easier.’
- 70 Hide: *iya sorya chigau yo*
‘No, that’s not true.’
- 71 Makiko: *wakannaiyo sokko naoshite kureta kamoyo*
‘Who knows? (He) might have fixed (his speech) immediately.’
- 72 Hide: *naoshite kureru tsuuka jibunkaratsukaunoga daiji nandakara*
‘It’s not that he should fix it, but it’s important that he recognizes it by himself.’
- 73 *icchattara iminain dayo*
‘If (I) say (so), (it’s) meaningless.’
- 74 Makiko: *un*
‘Yeah.’
- 75 Hide: *so dayo sanzan keigode hanashitemo aitsu wakatte naimon*
‘Indeed. Even though I used honorifics a lot, he didn’t get the point.’
- 76 Makiko: *wakatte naitte dō yū fūni?*
‘What do (you mean) by “(he) didn’t understand it”?’
- 77 Hide: *ma indakedo ne betsuni*
‘Well, it’s alright, though.’
- 78 Makiko: *yokunai yo chanto oshiete yo nani ga damedatta?*
‘(It’s) not alright. Tell me clearly. What was wrong?’
- 79 Hide: *nani ga tte nani tte ittara issunsa a okeijantokaomou kedo*
‘If (I) say what was wrong (with his speech), (I) found (his speech) okay at one moment, but.’

- 80 *mata arette kanji de katasukashikurau kara*
 ‘at the next (moment), (I) found it odd and fooled, (because he stopped using polite forms), that’s why.’
- 81 Makiko: *ka katasukashi*
 ‘Fooled!’
- 82 Hide: *demo mō shabette rannai to omotte jätte kotonishita n dakedo*
 ‘But (I) could not stand talking (to him) anymore and said bye.’
- 83 Makiko: *he okashii*
 ‘Wow, interesting.’
- 84 Hide: *iya okashii yo*
 ‘No, (that’s) interesting.’
- 85 Makiko: *demo sonna ni keigotsukatte moraitakatta?*
 ‘But did (you) really want (him) to use honorifics so badly?’
- 86 Hide: *moritaimoritakunai janakute*
 ‘It’s not whether (I) wanted (him) to use honorifics or not, but’
- 87 *anna wakai yatsuni sa tameguchi kikareru n dayo*
 ‘(I) was talked to in plain forms by such a young guy.’
- 88 Makiko: *māne sorewa chotto tsurai kana*
 ‘Yeah, I guess that’s a bit tough.’
- 89 Hide: *tsurai yo kocchiwa desu masuo tsukawanakute mo ii toshitemo*
 ‘(It’s) tough. Even thought it is okay that I don’t use polite forms,’
- 90 *yatsuwa tsukaubeki desho*
 ‘He must use them.’
- 91 Makiko: *a beki to made iu?*
 ‘Well, (would you) say (it’s) a must?’
- 92 Hide: *sō gyaku ni kocchiga shita dattara ue no hito nitsukaayo keigo*
 ‘Yeah, if I were the younger one, I would use honorifics to elders.’
- 93 Makiko: *sorewa sō da ne*
 ‘That’s true.’

- 94 Hide: *dakara koreijō wa ikkate omotte*
'So (I) thought (I didn't want to talk to him) longer than that.'
- 95 Makiko: *un*
'Yeah.'
- 96 Hide: *maiikedo sa dōse mō nido to awanai shi*
'Well, that's alright. (I) will never see (him) again.'
- 97 Makiko: *māne*
'Yeah.'

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