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Yoshiyuki Asahi, Mayumi Usami,
Fumio Inoue (Eds.)

HANDBOOK OF JAPANESE SOCIOLINGUISTICS

NINJAL
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

HANDBOOKS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

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Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics

Edited by
Masayoshi Shibatani
Taro Kageyama

Volume 8

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ISBN 978-1-5015-0747-2
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-0147-0
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0149-4
ISSN 2199-2851

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021950448

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Cover image: SeanPavonePhoto/iStock/Getty Images Plus
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Preface

The project of compiling a series of comprehensive handbooks covering major fields of Japanese linguistics started in 2011, when Masayoshi Shibatani received a commission to edit such volumes as series editor from De Gruyter Mouton. As the planning progressed, with the volume titles selected and the volume editors assigned, the enormity of the task demanded the addition of a series co-editor. Taro Kageyama, Director-General of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, was invited to join the project as a series co-editor. His participation in the project opened the way to make it a joint venture between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton. We are pleased to present the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (*HJLL*) as the first materialization of the agreement of academic cooperation concluded between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton.

The HJLL Series is composed of twelve volumes, primarily focusing on Japanese but including volumes on the Ryukyuan and Ainu languages, which are also spoken in Japan, as well as some chapters on Japanese Sign Language in the applied linguistics volume.

- *Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*
- *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*
- *Handbook of Japanese Syntax*
- *Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Dialects*
- *Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*
- *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*
- *Handbook of the Ainu Language*

Surpassing all currently available reference works on Japanese in both scope and depth, the *HJLL* series provides a comprehensive survey of nearly the entire field of Japanese linguistics. Each volume includes a balanced selection of articles contributed by established linguists from Japan as well as from outside Japan and is critically edited by volume editors who are leading researchers in their individual fields. Each article reviews milestone achievements in the field, provides an overview of the state of the art, and points to future directions of research. The twelve titles are thus expected individually and collectively to contribute not only to the enhancement of studies on Japanese on the global level but also to the opening up of new perspectives for general linguistic research from both empirical and theoretical standpoints.

The *HJLL* project has been made possible by the active and substantial participation of numerous people including the volume editors and authors of individual

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-202

chapters. We would like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous support, both financial and logistic, given to this project by NINJAL. We are also grateful to John Haig (retired professor of Japanese linguistics, the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa), serving as copy-editor for the series. In the future, more publications are expected to ensue from the NINJAL-Mouton academic cooperation.

Masayoshi Shibatani, Deedee McMurtry Professor of Humanities and Professor of Linguistics, Rice University/Professor Emeritus, Kobe University

Taro Kageyama, Professor Emeritus (former Director-General), National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL)/Professor Emeritus, Kwansei Gakuin University

Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama

Introduction to the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics*

Comprising twelve substantial volumes, the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (HJLL) series provides a comprehensive survey of practically all the major research areas of Japanese linguistics on an unprecedented scale, together with surveys of the endangered languages spoken in Japan, Ryukyuan and Ainu. What follows are introductions to the individual handbooks, to the general conventions adopted in this series, and an overview of the minimum essentials of contemporary Standard Japanese. Fuller descriptions of the languages of Japan, Japanese grammar, and the history of the Japanese language are available in such general references as Martin (1975), Shibatani (1990), and Frellesvig (2010).

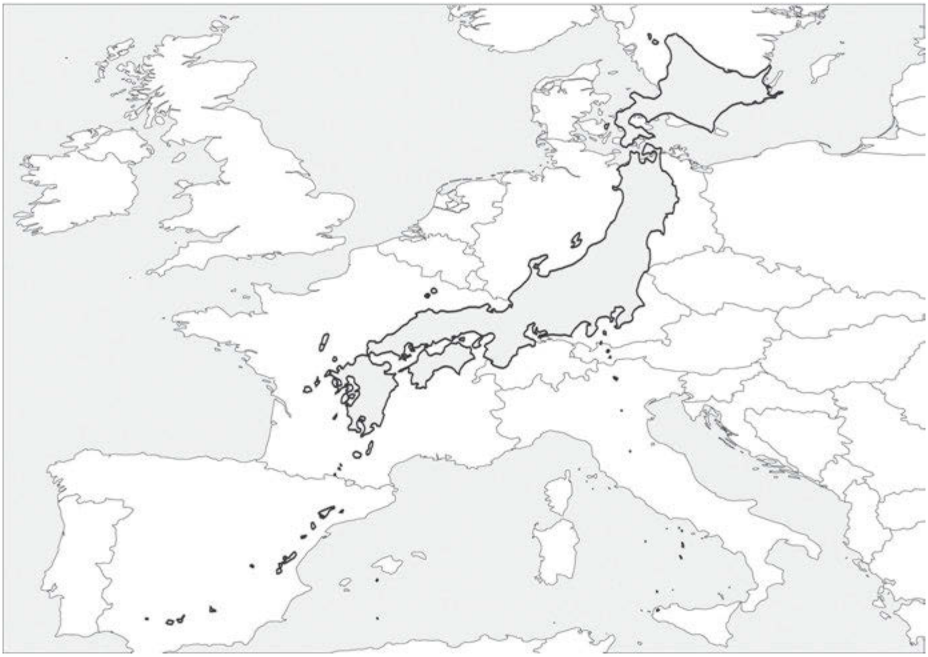
1 Geography, population, and languages of Japan

Japan is situated in the most populous region of the world – Asia, where roughly one half of the world population of seven billion speak a variety of languages, many of which rank in the top tier among languages of the world in terms of number of native speakers. Japanese is spoken by more than 128 million people (as of 2013), who live mostly in Japan but also in Japanese emigrant communities around the world, most notably Hawaii, Brazil, and Peru. In terms of the number of native speakers, Japanese ranks ninth among the world's languages. Due partly to its rich and long literary history, Japanese is one of the most intensely studied languages in the world and has received scrutiny both within the domestic grammatical tradition and in traditions outside Japan such as the Chinese philological tradition, European structural linguistics, and the tradition of generative grammar originating in America. The *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* intend to capture the achievements garnered over the years through analyses of a wide variety of phenomena in a variety of theoretical frameworks.

As seen in Map 1, where Japan is shown graphically superimposed on Continental Europe, the Japanese archipelago has a vast latitudinal extension of approximately 3,000 kilometers ranging from the northernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Stockholm, Sweden, to the southernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Sevilla, Spain.

Contrary to popular assumption, Japanese is not the only language native to Japan. The northernmost and southernmost areas of the Japanese archipelago are inhabited by people whose native languages are arguably distinct from Japanese. The southernmost sea area of Okinawa Prefecture is dotted with numerous small islands where Ryukyuan languages are spoken. Until recent years, Japanese scholars tended

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-203



Map 1: *Japan as overlaid on Europe*.
Source: Shinji Sanada. 2007. *Hōgen wa kimochi o tsutaeru [Dialects convey your heart].* Tokyo: Iwanami. p. 68.

to treat Ryukyuan language groups as dialects of Japanese based on fairly transparent correspondences in sounds and grammatical categories between those language groups and mainland Japanese, although the two are mutually unintelligible. Another reason that Ryukyuan languages have been treated as Japanese dialects is that the Ryukyuan islands and Japan form a single nation. In terms of nationhood, however, Ryukyu was an independent kingdom until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was forcibly annexed to the feudal domain of Satsuma in southern Kyushu.

A more recent trend is to treat Ryukyuan as forming a branch of its own with the status of a sister language to Japanese, following earlier proposals by Chamberlain (1895) and Miller (1971). Many scholars specializing in Ryukyuan today even confer language status to different language groups within Ryukyuan, such as the Amami language, Okinawan language, Miyako language, etc., which are grammatically distinct to the extent of making them mutually unintelligible. The prevailing view now has Japanese and Ryukyuan forming the Japonic family as daughter languages of Proto-Japonic. HJLL follows this recent trend of recognizing Ryukyuan as a sister language to Japanese and devotes one full volume to it. The ***Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*** provides the most up-to-date information pertaining to Ryukyuan language structures and use, and the ways in which these languages relate to Ryukyuan society and history. Like all the other handbooks in the series, each chapter delineates the boundaries and research history of the field it addresses, presents the most important and representative information on the state of research in that field, and spells out future research desiderata. This volume also includes a comprehensive bibliography of Ryukyuan linguistics.

The situation with Ainu, another language indigenous to Japan, is much less clear in terms of its genealogical relationship to Japanese. Various suggestions have been made relating Ainu to Paleo-Asiatic, Ural-Altaic, and Malayo-Polynesian or to such individual languages as Gilyak and Eskimo, besides the obvious candidate of Japanese as a sister language. The general consensus, however, points to the view that Ainu is related to Japanese only indirectly, if at all, via the Altaic family with its Japanese-Korean sub-branch (see Miller 1971; Shibatani 1990: 5–7 for an overview). Because Ainu has had northern Japan as its homeland and because HJLL is also concerned with various aspects of Japanese linguistics scholarship in general, we have decided to include a volume devoted to Ainu in this series. The ***Handbook of the Ainu Language*** outlines the history and current state of the Ainu language, offers a comprehensive survey of Ainu linguistics, describes major Ainu dialects in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and devotes a full section to studies dealing with typological characteristics of the Ainu language such as polysynthesis and incorporation, person marking, plural verb forms, and aspect and evidentials.

2 History

Japan's rich and long literary history dates back to the early seventh century, when the Japanese learned to use Chinese characters in writing Japanese. Because of the availability of abundant philological materials, the history of the Japanese language has been one of the most intensely pursued fields in Japanese linguistics. While several different divisions of Japanese language history have been proposed, Frellesvig (2010) proposes the following four linguistic periods, each embracing the main political epochs in Japanese history.

1.	Old Japanese	700–800	(Nara period, 712–794)
2.	Early Middle Japanese	800–1200	(Heian period, 794–1185)
3.	Late Middle Japanese	1200–1600	(Kamakura period, 1185–1333; Muromachi period, 1333–1573)
4.	Modern Japanese	1600–	(Edo, 1603–1868; Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926; Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–)

This division reflects a major boundary between Pre-modern and Modern Japanese brought about by some radical changes in linguistic structure during the Late Middle

Japanese period. Modern Japanese is often further subdivided into Early Modern (Edo, 1603–1868), Modern (Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926), and Present-day Japanese (Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–).

The ***Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*** will present the latest research on better studied topics, such as segmental phonology, accent, morphology, and certain salient syntactic phenomena such as focus constructions. It will also introduce areas of study that have traditionally been underrepresented, ranging from syntax and Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*) materials to historical pragmatics, and demonstrate how these contribute to a fuller understanding of the overall history of Japanese, as well as outlining larger-scale tendencies and directions of change that have taken place within the language over its attested history. Major issues in the reconstruction of prehistoric Japanese and in the individual historical periods from Old Japanese to Modern Japanese are discussed, including writing and the materials available for historical study, influences of Sino-Japanese on Japanese, the histories of different vocabulary strata, the history of honorifics and polite language, generative diachronic syntax, and the development of case marking.

3 Geographic and social variations

Because of the wide geographical spread of the Japanese archipelago from north to south, characterized by high mountain ranges, deep valleys, and wide rivers as well as numerous islands, Japanese has developed a multitude of dialects, many of which differ from each other in a way more or less like current descendants of the Romance language family. Like historical studies, the research tradition of dialect studies has a unique place in Japanese linguistics and has attracted a large number of students and amateur collectors of dialect forms as well as professional linguists. The ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects*** surveys the historical backdrop to theoretical frameworks of contemporary studies in Japanese geolinguistics and includes analyses of prominent research topics in cross-dialectal perspective, such as accentual systems, honorifics, verbs of giving, and nominalizations. The volume also devotes major attention to sketching the grammars of dialects from the northern island of Hokkaido to the southern island of Kyushu, allowing a panoramic view of differences and similarities among representative dialects throughout Japan.

Besides having a physical setting that has fostered geographic variation, the society of Japan has exhibited differing types of social structure over the years, starting from the time of the nobility and court life of the Old and Early Middle Japanese periods, through the caste structure of the feudalistic Late Middle and Early Modern Japanese periods, to the modern democratic society of the Modern and Present-day Japanese periods. These different social structures have spawned a variety of social dialects, including power- and gender-based varieties of Japanese. The ***Handbook of***

Japanese Sociolinguistics examines a wide array of sociolinguistic topics ranging from the history of Japanese sociolinguistics, including foreign influences and internal innovations, to the central topics of variation due to social stratification, gender differences, and discourse genre. Specific topics include honorifics and women's speech, critical discourse analysis, the pragmatics of political discourse, contact-induced change, emerging new dialects, Japanese language varieties outside Japan, and language policy.

4 Lexicon and phonology

The literary history of Japan began with early contacts with China. Chinese apparently began to enrich the Japanese lexicon even in pre-historic periods, when such deeply assimilated words as *uma* 'horse' and *ume* 'plum' are believed to have entered the language. Starting in the middle of the sixth century, when Buddhism reached Japan, Chinese, at different periods and from different dialect regions, has continuously contributed to Japanese in an immeasurable way affecting all aspects of grammar, but most notably the lexicon and the phonological structure, which have sustained further and continuous influences from European languages from the late Edo period on. Through these foreign contacts, Japanese has developed a complex vocabulary system that is composed of four lexical strata, each with unique lexical, phonological, and grammatical properties: native Japanese, mimetic, Sino-Japanese, and foreign (especially English).

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** presents a comprehensive survey of the Japanese lexicon, word formation processes, and other lexical characteristics seen in the four lexical strata of contemporary Japanese. The agglutinative character of the language, coupled with its intricate system of vocabulary strata, makes it possible for compounding, derivation, conversion, and inflection to be closely intertwined with syntactic structure, giving rise to theoretically intriguing interactions between word formation processes and syntax that are not easily found in inflectional, isolate, or polysynthetic types of languages. Theoretically oriented studies associated with these topics are complemented by ones oriented toward lexical semantics, which also bring to light theoretically challenging issues involving the morphology-syntax interface.

The four lexical strata characterizing the Japanese lexicon are also relevant to Japanese phonology, as each stratum has some characteristic sounds and sound combinations not seen in the other strata. The ***Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*** describes and analyzes the basic phonetic and phonological structures of modern Japanese with a main focus on standard Tokyo Japanese, relegating the topics of dialect phonetics and phonology to the ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects***. It includes several chapters dealing with phonological processes unique to the Sino-

Japanese and foreign strata as well as to the mimetic stratum. Other topics include word tone/accent, mora-timing, sequential voicing (*rendaku*), consonant geminates, vowel devoicing and diphthongs, and the appearance of new consonant phonemes. Also discussed are phonetic and phonological processes within and beyond the word such as rhythm, intonation, and the syntax-phonology interface, as well as issues bearing on other subfields of linguistics such as historical and corpus linguistics and research on the L2 acquisition of Japanese phonology.

5 Syntax and semantics

Chinese loans have also affected Japanese syntax, though it is unclear to what extent they have affected Japanese semantics beyond the level of lexical semantics. In particular, Chinese loans form two distinct lexical categories in Japanese – verbal nouns, forming a subcategory of the noun class, and adjectival nouns (*keiyō dōshi*), which are recognized by some as forming major independent lexical categories along with noun, verb, and adjective classes. The former denote verbal actions and, unlike regular nouns denoting objects and thing-like entities, can function as verbs by combining with the light verb *suru*, which is obviously related to the verb *suru* 'do'. The nominal-verbal Janus character of verbal nouns results in two widely observed syntactic patterns that are virtually synonymous in meaning; e. g., *benkyoo-suru* (studying-DO) 'to study' and *benkyoo o suru* (studying ACC do) 'do studying'. As described in the ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation***, the lexical category of adjectival noun has been a perennial problem in the analysis of Japanese parts of speech. Property-concept words that fall into this class, such as *kirei* 'pretty' and *kenkoo* 'health/healthy', do not inflect by themselves, unlike native Japanese adjectives, and, like nouns, require the inflecting copula *da* to perform the predication function, hence the label of adjectival noun for this class. However, many of these cannot head noun phrases – the hallmark of the nominal class – and some even yield nouns via -*sa* nominalization, which is not possible with regular nouns.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** and the ***Handbook of Japanese Syntax*** make up twin volumes because many chapters in the former deal with syntactic phenomena, as the brief discussion above on the two Sino-Japanese lexical categories clearly indicates. The syntax handbook covers a vast landscape of Japanese syntax from three theoretical perspectives: (1) traditional Japanese grammar, known as *kokugogaku* (lit. national-language study), (2) the functional approach, and (3) the generative grammar framework. Broad issues analyzed include sentence types and their interactions with grammatical verbal categories, grammatical relations (topic, subject, etc.), transitivity, nominalizations, grammaticalization, voice (passives and causatives), word order (subject, scrambling, numeral quantifiers, configurationality), case marking (*ga/no* conversion, morphology and syntax), modification (adjectives, relative clause), and structure and interpretation (modality, negation, prosody, ellipsis). These topics have been pursued vigorously over many years under different theoretical persuasions and have played important roles in the development of general linguistic theory. For example, the long and sustained study of the grammatical relations of subject and topic in Japanese has had a significant impact on the study of grammatical relations in European as well as Austronesian languages. In the study of word order, the analysis of Japanese numeral quantifiers has been used as one of the leading pieces of evidence for the existence of a movement rule in human language. With regard to case marking, the way subjects are case marked in Japanese has played a central role in the study of case marking in the Altaic language family. Recent studies of nominalizations have been central to the analysis of their modification and referential functions in a wide variety of languages from around the globe, with far-reaching implications for past studies of such phenomena as parts of speech, (numeral) classifiers, and relative clauses. And the study of how Japanese prosody plays a crucial role in interpretation has become the basis for some important recent developments in the study of wh-questions.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*** presents a collection of studies on linguistic meaning in Japanese, either as conventionally encoded in linguistic form (the field of semantics) or as generated by the interaction of form with context (the field of pragmatics). The studies are organized around a model that has long currency in traditional Japanese grammar, whereby the linguistic clause consists of a multiply nested structure centered in a propositional core of objective meaning around which forms are deployed that express progressively more subjective meaning as one moves away from the core toward the periphery of the clause. Following this model, the topics treated in this volume range from aspects of meaning associated with the propositional core, including elements of meaning structured in lexical units (lexical semantics), all the way to aspects of meaning that are highly subjective, being most grounded in the context of the speaker. In between these two poles of the semantics-pragmatics continuum are elements of meaning that are defined at the level of propositions as a whole or between different propositions (propositional logic) and forms that situate propositions in time as events and those situating events in various modes of reality including non-actual worlds, e. g., those hoped for (desiderative meaning), denied (negation), hypothesized (conditional meaning), or viewed as ethically or epistemologically possible or necessary (epistemic and deontic modality). Located yet closer to the periphery of the Japanese clause are a rich array of devices for marking propositions according to the degree to which the speaker is committed to their veracity and for marking differing perceptual and cognitive modalities as well as for distinguishing information that is presupposed versus affirmed.

These studies in Japanese syntax and semantics are augmented by cross-linguistic studies that examine various topics in these fields from the perspectives of language universals and the comparative study of Japanese and other languages. The ***Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*** sets as its primary goal uncovering principled similarities and differences between Japanese and other languages around the globe and thereby shedding new light on the universal and language-particular properties of Japanese. Topics ranging from inalienable possession to numeral classifiers, from spatial deixis to motion typology, from nominalization to subordination, and other topics closely related to these are taken up within the framework of typological universals. Additionally, various aspects of Japanese such as resultative-progressive polysemy, entailment of event realization, internal-state predicates, topic constructions, and interrogative pronouns, are compared and contrasted with other specific languages, including Ainu, Koryak, Chinese, Korean, Newar, Thai, Burmese, Tagalog, Kapampangan, Lamaholot, Romanian, French, Spanish, German, English, Swahili, Sidaama, and Mayan languages.

6 Psycholinguistics and applied linguistics

HJLL includes two volumes containing topics related to a wider application of Japanese linguistics and to those endeavors seeking grammar-external evidence for the psycho-neurological reality of the structure and organization of grammar. Incorporating recent research on the study of the cognitive processes and brain mechanisms underlying language use, language acquisition, and language disorders, the ***Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*** presents the current state of scholarly understanding of the mechanisms of language acquisition and language processing. In particular, the volume seeks answers to the question of how Japanese is learned/acquired as a first or second language, and pursues the question of how Japanese sentences are comprehended and produced. The chapters in the acquisition section allow readers to acquaint themselves with issues pertaining to the question of how grammatical features (including pragmatic and discourse features) are acquired and how the language domain of the brain develops, with respect to both language particular and universal features. Specific topics dealt with include Japanese children's perceptual development, the conceptual and grammatical development of nouns, Japanese Specific Language Impairment, narrative development in the L1 cognitive system, and L2 Japanese acquisition and its relation to L1 acquisition. The language processing section focuses on both L1 and L2 Japanese processing, covering topics such as the role of prosodic information in production/comprehension, the processing of complex grammatical structures such as relative clauses, processing issues related to variable word order, and lexical and sentence processing in L2 by speakers of different native languages.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*** complements the Psycholinguistics volume by examining language acquisition from broader sociocultural perspectives, including language as a means of communication and as a social behavioral system, emphasizing pragmatic development as central to both L1 and L2 acquisition and to overall human development. Topics approached from these perspectives include the role of caregiver speech in early language development, literacy acquisition, and the acquisition of writing skills. Closely related to L1 and L2 acquisition and development are studies of bilingualism/multilingualism and the teaching and learning of foreign languages, including Japanese as a second language, where topics are discussed such as cross-lingual transfer from L1 to L2, learning errors, and proficiency assessment of second language acquisition. Chapters dealing with topics more squarely falling in the domain of applied linguistics cover issues in corpus/computational linguistics (including discussions of CHILDES for Japanese and the YK corpus, both widely used in research on Japanese as a second language), clinical linguistics (including discussions of language development in children with hearing impairment and other language disorders, Down syndrome, and autism), and translation and interpretation. Technically speaking, Japanese Sign Language is not a variety of Japanese, but in view of the importance of this language in Japanese society and because of the rapid progress in sign language research in Japan and abroad and for what it has to offer to the general theory of language, chapters dealing with Japanese Sign Language are also included in this volume.

7 Grammatical sketch of standard Japanese

The following pages offer a brief overview of Japanese grammar as an aid to a quick grasp of the structure of Japanese that may prove useful in studying individual, thematically organized handbooks in this series. One of the difficult problems in describing non-European languages using familiar technical terms derived from the European grammatical tradition concerns mismatches between what the glosses may imply and what grammatical categories they are used to denote in the description. We will try to illustrate this problem below by way of a warning not to take all glosses at their face value. But first some remarks are in order about the conventions of transcription of Japanese, glossing of examples, and their translations used in this series.

7.1 Writing, alphabetic transcription, and pronunciation

Customarily, Japanese is written by using a mixture of Chinese characters (for content words), *hiragana* (for function words such as particles, suffixes, and inflectional endings), *katakana* (for foreign loans and mimetics), and sometimes the Roman alphabet. Because Japanese had no indigenous writing system, it developed two phonogram systems for representing the phonological unit of “mora,” namely *hiragana* and *katakana*, by simplifying or abbreviating (parts of) Chinese characters. *Hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries are shown in Table 1, together with the alphabetic transcriptions adopted in the HJLL series.

Table 1: Alphabetic transcriptions adopted in HJLL.

transcription	*a*	*ka*	*sa*	*ta*	*na*	*ha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*wa*	*n*
hiragana	あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	ん
katakana	ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ	ン
transcription	*i*	*ki*	*si*	*ti*	*ni*	*hi*	*mi*	–	*ri*	–	
hiragana	い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み	–	り	–	
katakana	イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ	–	リ	–	
transcription	*u*	*ku*	*su*	*tu*	*nu*	*hu*	*mu*	*yu*	*ru*	–	
hiragana	う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る	–	
katakana	ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	–	
transcription	*e*	*ke*	*se*	*te*	*ne*	*he*	*me*	–	*re*	–	
hiragana	え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め	–	れ	–	
katakana	エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ	–	レ	–	
transcription	*o*	*ko*	*so*	*to*	*no*	*ho*	*mo*	*yo*	*ro*	*o*	
hiragana	お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を	
katakana	オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ	

Because of phonological change, the columns indicated by strikethroughs have no letters in contemporary Japanese, although they were filled in with special letters in classical Japanese. If all the strikethroughs were filled, the chart would contain 50 letters for each *hiragana* and *katakana*, so the syllabary chart is traditionally called *Gojū-on zu* (chart of 50 sounds). To these should be added the letter ん or ン representing a moraic nasal [N], on the rightmost column.

The "50-sound chart," however, does not exhaust the *hiragana* and *katakana* letters actually employed in Japanese, because the basic consonant sounds (*k, s, t, h*) have variants. The sound represented by the letter *h* is historically related to the sound represented by *p*, and these voiceless obstruents (*k, s, t,* and *p*) have their respective voiced counterparts (*g, z, d,* and *b*). Table 2 shows letters for these consonants followed by five vowels.

Table 2: Letters for voiced obstruents and bilabial [p].

transcription	*ga*	*za*	*da*	*ba*	*pa*
hiragana	が	ざ	だ	ば	ぱ
katakana	ガ	ザ	ダ	バ	パ
transcription	*gi*	*zi*	*zi*	*bi*	*pi*
hiragana	ぎ	じ	ぢ	び	ぴ
katakana	ギ	ジ	ヂ	ビ	ピ

Table 2 (continued)

transcription	*gu*	*zu*	*du*	*bu*	*pu*
hiragana	ぐ	ず	づ	ぶ	ぷ
katakana	グ	ズ	ヅ	ブ	プ
transcription	*ge*	*ze*	*de*	*be*	*pe*
hiragana	げ	ぜ	で	べ	ぺ
katakana	ゲ	ゼ	デ	ベ	ペ
transcription	*go*	*zo*	*do*	*bo*	*po*
hiragana	ご	ぞ	ど	ぼ	ぽ
katakana	ゴ	ゾ	ド	ボ	ポ

It is important to note that Tables 1 and 2 show the conventional letters and alphabetical transcription adopted in the text of the HJLL series; they are not intended to represent the actual pronunciations of Japanese vowels and consonants. For example, among the vowels, the sound represented as “u” is pronounced as [ɯ] with unrounded lips. Consonants may change articulation according to the vowels that follow. The following will require particular attention.

There are two Romanization systems widely used in Japan. One, known as the Hepburn system, is more widely used in public places throughout Japan such as train stations, street signs, as well as in some textbooks for learners of Japanese. This system is ostensibly easier for foreigners familiar with the English spelling system. Another, the *Kunreishiki* (the cabinet ordinance system), is phonemic in nature and is used by many professional linguists. The essential differences between the two Romanization systems center on palatalized and affricate consonants, as shown in Table 3 below with some representative syllables for which the two Romanization renditions differ:

Table 3: Two systems of Romanization.

Hiragana	**IPA**	**Hepburn**	**Kunreishiki**
し	[ʃi]	shi	si
しゃ	[ʃa]	sha	sya
しゅ	[ʃɯ]	shu	syu
しょ	[ʃo]	sho	syo
じ and ぢ	[ʤi]	ji	zi
じゃ	[ʤa]	ja	zya
じゅ	[ʤɯ]	ju	zyu
じょ	[ʤo]	jo	zyo
ち	[tʃi]	chi	ti

Table 3 (continued)

ちゃ	[tʃa]	cha	tya
ちゅ	[tʃɯ]	chu	tyu
ちょ	[tʃo]	cho	tyo
つ	[tsɯ]	tsu	tu
づ and ず	[dzɯ]	zu	zu
ふ	[ɸɯ]	fu	hu

Except for the volumes on Ryukyuan, Ainu, and Japanese dialects, whose phonetics differ from Standard Japanese, HJLL adopts the Kunreishiki system for rendering cited Japanese words and sentences but uses the Hepburn system for rendering conventional forms such as proper nouns and technical linguistic terms in the text and in the translations of examples.

Japanese sentences cited in HJLL look as below, where the first line transliterates a Japanese sentence in Kunreishiki Romanization, the second line contains interlinear glosses largely following the Leipzig abbreviation convention, and the third line is a free translation of the example sentence.

(1) *Taroo* *wa* *Ziroo* *to* *Tookyoo* *e* *it-te* *kutusita* *o* *kat-ta.*
Taro TOP Jiro COM Tokyo ALL go-GER sock ACC buy-PST
'Taro went to Tokyo with Jiro and bought socks.'

The orthographic convention for rendering Japanese is to represent a sentence with an uninterrupted sequence of Sino-Japanese characters and *katakana* or *hiragana* syllabaries without a space for word segmentation, as in 太郎は次郎と東京へ行って靴下を買った for (1). In line with the general rules of Romanization adopted in books and articles dealing with Japanese, however, HJLL transliterates example sentences by separating word units by spaces. The example in (1) thus has 10 words. Moreover, as in *it-te* (go-GERUND) and *kat-ta* (buy-PAST) in (1), word-internal morphemes are separated by a hyphen whenever necessary, although this practice is not adopted consistently in all of the HJLL volumes. Special attention should be paid to particles like *wa* (topic), *to* 'with' and *e* 'to, toward', which, in the HJLL representation, are separated from the preceding noun or noun phrase by a space (see 7.3). Remember that case and other kinds of particles, though spaced, form phrasal units with their preceding nouns.

7.2 Word order

As seen in (1), Japanese is a verb-final, dependent-marking agglutinative language. It is basically an SOV language which marks nominal dependent arguments by particles (*wa*, *to*, *e*, and *o* above) and whose predicative component consists of a verbal stem with a variety of suffixes, auxiliary verbs, and semi-independent predicate extenders pertaining to the speech act of predication (see section 7.6). While a verb is rigidly fixed in sentence final position, the order of subject and object arguments may vary depending on pragmatic factors such as emphasis, background information, and cohesion. Thus, sentence (2a) with the unmarked order below, in principle may vary in multiple ways as shown by some possibilities in (2b)-(2d).

(2)	a.	*Taroo*	*ga*	*Hanako*	*ni*	*Ziroo*	*o*	*syookai-si-ta.*
		Taro	NOM	Hanako	DAT	Jiro	ACC	introducing-do-PST

‘Taro introduced Jiro to Hanako.’

b. *Taroo ga* ***Ziroo o*** *Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*
c. ***Hanako ni*** *Taroo ga Ziroo o syookai-si-ta.*
d. ***Ziroo o*** *Taroo ga Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*

Adverbs, likewise, can be rather freely placed, though each type of adverbs has its own basic position.

(3)	a.	***Saiwainimo***	*Hanako*	*ga*	*gohan*	*o*	*tai-te*	*kure-te*	*i-ta.*
		luckily	Hanako	NOM	rice	ACC	cook-GER	GIVE-GER	BE-PST

‘Luckily Hanako had done the favor of cooking the rice (for us).’

b. *Hanako ga* ***saiwainimo*** *gohan o tai-te kure-te i-ta.*
c. *Hanako ga gohan o* ***saiwainimo*** *tai-te kure-te i-ta.*

Notice that while the verbal complex in the sentence above is not as tightly organized as a complex involving suffixes, a sentence adverb cannot be placed within the verbal complex, showing that the sequence of *tai-te kure-te i-ta* forms a tighter constituent which, however, permits insertion of the topic particle *wa* after each of the gerund-forms. (See section 7.4 below on the nature of gerund-forms in Japanese.)

As the normal position of sentence adverbs is sentence initial, manner and resultative adverbs have an iconically-motivated position, namely before and after the object noun phrase, respectively, as below, though again these adverbs may move around with varying degrees of naturalness:

(4)	*Hanako*	*ga*	***isoide***	*gohan*	*o*	*tai-te*	*kure-ta.*
	Hanako	NOM	hurriedly	rice	ACC	cook-GER	GIVE-PST

‘Hanako hurried did the favor of cooking the rice (for us).’

(5)	*Hanako*	*ga*	*gohan*	*o*	***yawarakaku***	*tai-te*	*kure-ta.*
	Hanako	NOM	rice	ACC	softly	cook-GER	GIVE-PST

‘Hanako did the favor of cooking the rice soft (for us).’

The fact that an object noun phrase can be easily separated from the verb, as in (2b.d), and that adverbs can freely intervene between an object and a verb, as in (5), has raised the question whether Japanese has a verb phrase consisting of a verb and an object noun phrase as a tightly integrated constituent parallel to the VP in English (cf. **cook hurriedly the rice* – the asterisk marks ungrammatical forms).

7.3 NP structure

Noun phrases, when they occur as arguments or adjuncts, are marked by case particles or postpositions that are placed after their host nouns. Because case markers can be set off by a pause, a filler, or even longer parenthetic material, it is clear that they are unlike declensional affixes in inflectional languages like German or Russian. Their exact status, however, is controversial; some researchers regard them as clitics and others as (non-independent) words.

Elaboration of Japanese noun phrases is done by prenominal modifiers such as demonstratives, genitive noun phrases, or adjectives, as below, indicating that Japanese is a consistent head-final language at both nominal and clausal levels.

(6) a. *kono* *Taroo* *no* *kaban*
this Taro GEN bag
lit. 'this Taro's bag'
b. *Taroo* *no* *kono* *kaban*
Taro GEN this bag
lit. 'Taro's this bag'

Japanese lacks determiners of the English type that "close off" NP expansion. The literal translations of the Japanese forms above are ungrammatical indicating that English determiners like demonstratives and genitive noun phrases do not allow further expansion of an NP structure. Also seen above is the possibility that prenominal modifiers can be reordered just like dependents at the sentence level. The order of prenominal modifiers, however, is regulated by the iconic principle of placing closer to the head noun those modifiers that have a greater contribution in specifying the nature and type of the referent. Thus, descriptive adjectives tend to be placed closer to a head noun than demonstratives and genitive modifiers of non-descriptive types. Interesting is the pattern of genitive modifiers, some of which are more descriptive and are placed closer to the head noun than others. Genitives of the same semantic type, on the other hand, can be freely reordered. Compare:

(7) a. *Yamada-sensei* *no* *kuroi* *kaban*
Yamada-professor GEN black bag
'Professor Yamada's black bag'

b. **kuroi Yamada-sensei no kaban*
(O.K. with the reading of ‘a bag of Professor Yamada who is black’)

(8) a. *Yamada-sensei no gengogaku no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN linguistics GEN lecture
‘Professor Yamada’s linguistics lecture’
b. **gengogaku no Yamada-sensei no koogi*
(O.K. with the reading of ‘a lecture by Professor Yamada of linguistics’)

(9) a. *Yamada-sensei no kinoo no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN yesterday GEN lecture
lit. ‘Professor Yamada’s yesterday’s lecture’
‘Yesterday’s lecture by Professor Yamada’
b. *Kinoo no Yamada-sensei no koogi*

(10) a. *oomori no sio-azi no raamen*
big.serving GEN salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
lit. ‘big-serving salt-tasting *ramen* noodles’
b. *sio-azi no oomori no raamen*

(11) a. *atui sio-azi no raamen*
hot salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
‘hot salt-tasting *ramen* noodles’
b. *sio-azi no atui ramen*

Numeral classifiers (CLFs) pattern together with descriptive modifiers so that they tend to occur closer to a head noun than a possessive genitive phrase.

(12) a. *Taroo no san-bon no enpitu*
Taro GEN three-CLF GEN pencil
‘Taro’s three pencils’
b. **san-bon no Taroo no enpitu*

Numeral classifiers also head an NP, where they play a referential function and where they can be modified by a genitive phrase or an appositive modifier, as in (13a, b). They may also “float” away from the head noun and become adverbial, as in (13c).

(13) a. *Taroo wa gakusei no* ***san-nin*** *o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student GEN three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
‘Taro saw three of the students by chance.’

b. *Taroo wa gakusei **san-nin** o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
lit. 'Taro saw student-threes by chance.'

c. *Taroo wa gakusei o **san-nin** mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student ACC three-CLF see.by.chance-PST
'Taro saw students, three (of them), by chance.'

As in many other SOV languages, so-called relative clauses are also prenominal and are directly placed before their head nouns without the mediation of "relative pronouns" like English *which* or *who* or "complementizers" like *that*. Predicates in relative clauses are finite, taking a variety of tense and aspect. The subject may be replaced by a genitive modifier. Observe (14a).

(14) a. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] hon o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST book ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the book which Taro bought.'

b. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] no o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST NM ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the one which Taro bought.'

The structure used as a modifier in the relative clause construction can also head a noun phrase, where it has a referential function denoting an entity concept evoked by the structure. In Standard Japanese such a structure is marked by the nominalization particle *no*, as in (14b).

7.4 Subject and topic

Some of the sentences above have noun phrases marked by the nominative case particle *ga* and some by the topic marker *wa* for what appear to correspond to subject noun phrases in the English translations. This possibility of *ga*- and *wa*-marking is seen below.

(15) a. *Yuki ga siro-i.*
snow NOM white-PRS
'The snow is white.'

b. *Yuki wa siro-i.*
snow TOP white-PRS
'Snow is white.'

As the difference in the English translations indicates, these two sentences are different in meaning. Describing the differences between topic and non-topic sentences has been a major challenge for Japanese grammarians and teachers of Japanese alike. The difference in the English translations above, however, is indicative of how these two sentences might differ in meaning. Sentence (15a) describes a state of affairs involving specific snow just witnessed, whereas (15b) is a generic statement about a property of snow unbounded by time. Thus, while (15a) would be uttered only when the witnessed snow is indeed white, (15b) would be construed true even though we know that there are snow piles that are quite dirty.

A similar difference is seen in verbal sentences as well.

(16) a. *Tori ga tob-u.*
bird NOM fly-NONPST
'A bird is flying/is about to fly.'
b. *Tori wa tob-u.*
bird TOP fly-NONPST
'Birds fly.'

Non-topic sentences like (15a) and (16a) are often uttered with an exclamation accompanying a sudden discovery of a state of affairs unfolding right in front of one's eyes. The nonpast tense forms (*-i* for adjectives and *-(r)u* for verbs) here anchor the time of this discovery to the speech time. The nonpast tense forms in (15a) and (16b), on the other hand, mark a generic tense associated with a universal statement.

These explanations can perhaps be extended to time-bound topic sentences seen in (17b) below.

(17) a. *Taroo ga hasit-ta.*
Taro NOM run-PST
'Taro NOM ran.'
b. *Taroo wa hasit-ta.*
Taro TOP run-PST
'Taro ran.'

That is, while (17a) describes an occurrence of a particular event at a time prior to the speech time, (17b) describes the nature of the topic referent – that Taro was engaged in the running activity – as a universal truth of the referent, but universal only with respect to a specifically bound time marked by the past tense suffix.

Topics need not be subjects, and indeed any major sentence constituent, including adverbs, may be marked as topic in Japanese, as shown below.

(18) a. *Sono hon wa Taroo ga yon-de i-ru.*
that book TOP Taro NOM read-GER be-NONPST
'As for that book, Taro is reading (it).'

b. *Kyoo wa tenki ga yo-i.*
today TOP weather NOM be. good-NONPST
'As for today, the weather is good.'

c. *Sonnani wa hayaku wa hasir-e na-i.*
that.way TOP quickly TOP run-POTEN NEG-NONPST
'That quickly, (I) cannot run.'

7.5 Complex sentences

Like other Altaic languages, compound sentences in Japanese do not involve a coordinate conjunction like English *and*. Instead, clauses are connected by the use of inflected verb forms, as in (19a) below, where the *-i* ending is glossed in the HJLL series as either INF (infinitive) or ADVL (adverbal) following the Japanese term *ren'yō-kei* for the form. While the *-i* ending in the formation of compound sentences is still used today, especially in writing, the more commonly used contemporary form involves a conjunctive particle *-te* following the *-i* infinitive form, as in (19b) below. In HJLL, this combination is glossed as GER (gerund), though the relevant Japanese forms do not have the major nominal use of English gerund-forms.

(19) a. *Hana wa sak-i, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-INF bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'

b. *Hana wa sa-i.te, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-GER bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'

Both the *-i* and *-ite* forms play important roles in Japanese grammar. They are also used in clause-chaining constructions for serial events (20a), and in complex sentences (20b)-(20d), as well as in numerous compound verbs (and also in many compound nouns) such as *sak-i hokoru* (bloom-INF boast) 'be in full bloom', *sak-i tuzukeru* (bloom-INF continue) 'continue blooming', *sa.i-te iru* (bloom-GER be) 'is blooming', and *sa.i-te kureru* (bloom-GER GIVE) 'do the favor of blooming (for me/us)'.

(20) a. *Taroo wa [ok-i/ok.i-te], [kao o ara-i/arat-te],*
Taro TOP rise-INF/rise-GER face ACC wash-INF/wash-GER
[gohan o tabe-ta].
meal ACC eat.PST
'Taro got up, washed his face, and ate a meal.'

b. *Taroo wa [sakana o tur-i] ni it-ta.*
Taro TOP fish ACC catch-INF DAT go-PST
'Taro went to catch fish.'

c.

Taroo	*wa*	*[aruk-i*	*nagara]*	*hon*	*o*	*yon-da.*
Taro	TOP	walk-INF	SIMUL	book	ACC	read-PST

'Taro read a book while walking.'

d.

Taroo	*wa*	*[Hanako*	*ga*	*ki-ta*	*no]*	*ni*	*awa-na-katta.*
Taro	TOP	Hanako	NOM	come-PST	NM	DAT	see-NEG-PST.

'Taro did not see (her), even though Hanako came.'

(20d) has the nominalized clause marked by the particle *no* followed by the dative *ni*, also seen in (20b) marking the purposive form. In modern Japanese the *no-ni* sequence has been reanalyzed as a concessive conjunction.

7.6 Context dependency

The context dependency of sentence structure in Japanese is much more clearly pronounced than in languages like English. Indeed, it is rare that Japanese sentences express all the arguments of a verb such as a subject (or topic) and an object noun phrase included in the sentences used above for illustrative purposes. A typical dialog would take the following form, where what is inferable from the speech context is not expressed.

(21) a. Speaker A:

Tokorode,	*Murakami*	*Haruki*	*no*	*saisin-saku*
by.the.way	Murakami	Haruki	GEN	newest-work
yon-da	*ka.*			
read-PST	Q			

'By the way, have (you) read Haruki Murakami's latest work?'

b. Speaker B:

Un,	*moo*	*yon-da.*
uh-hu	already	read-PST

'Uh-hu, (I) have already read (it)'.

In (21a) A's utterance is missing a subject noun phrase referring to the addressee, and B's response in (21b) is missing both subject and object noun phrases. In some frameworks, sentences like these are analyzed as containing zero pronouns or as involving a process of "pro drop," which deletes assumed underlying pronouns. This kind of analysis, however, ignores the role of speech context completely and incorporates information contextually available into sentence structure. In an analysis that takes seriously the dialogic relationship between speech context and sentence structure, the expressions in (21) would be considered full sentences as they are.

7.7 Predicative verbal complexes and extenders

Coding or repeating contextually determinable verb phrases, as in (21b), is less offensive than expressing contextually inferable noun phrases, presumably because verb phrases have the predication function of assertion, and because they also code a wide range of other types of speech acts and of contextual information pertaining to the predication act. Declarative sentences with plain verbal endings like the one in (21b) are usable as "neutral" expressions in newspaper articles and literary works, where no specific reader is intended. In daily discourse, the plain verbal forms "explicitly" code the speaker's attitude toward the hearer; namely, that the speaker is treating the hearer as his equal or inferior in social standing, determined primarily by age, power, and familiarity. If the addressee were socially superior or if the occasion demanded formality, a polite, addressee honorific form with the suffix *-masu* would be used, as below.

(22)	*Hai,*	*moo*	*yom-i-masi-ta.*
	yes	already	read-INF-POL-PST

'Yes, (I have) already read (it).'

Referent honorific forms are used when the speaker wishes to show deference toward the referent of arguments – subject honorific and object honorific (or humbling) forms, depending on the type of argument targeted. If (21b) were to be uttered in reference to a social superior, the following would be more appropriate:

(23)	*Un,*	*(Yamada-sensei*	*wa)*	*moo*	*yom-are-ta.*
	uh-hu	(Yamada-professor	TOP)	already	read-SUB.HON-PST

'Uh-hu, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

This can be combined with the polite ending *-masu*, as below, where the speaker's deference is shown to both the referent of the subject noun phrase and the addressee:

(24)	*Hai,*	*(Yamada-sensei*	*wa)*	*moo*	*yom-are-masi-ta.*
	Yes	(Yamada-professor	TOP)	already	read-HON-POL-PST

'Yes, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

As these examples show, Japanese typically employs agglutinative suffixes in the elaboration of verbal meanings associated with a predication act. The equivalents of English auxiliary verbs are either suffixes or formatives connected to verb stems and suffixed forms in varying degrees of tightness. These are hierarchically structured in a manner that expresses progressively more subjective and interpersonal meaning as one moves away from the verb-stem core toward the periphery. For example, in the following sentence a hyphen marks suffixal elements tightly bonded to the preceding form, an equal sign marks a more loosely connected formative, which permits insertion of certain elements such as the topic particle *wa*, and a space sets off those elements that are independent words following a finite predicate form, which may terminate the utterance.

(25)	*(Taroo wa)*	*ik-ase-rare-taku=na-katta*	*rasi-i*	*mitai*
	(Taro TOP)	go-CAUS-PASS-DESI=NEG-PST	CONJEC-NONPST	UNCERT
	des-u	*wa.*		
	COP.POL-NONPST	SFP		

‘(Taro) appears to seem to not want to have been forced to go, I tell you.’

The final particle *wa* above encodes the information that the speaker is female. A male speaker would use *yo* or *da yo*, the latter a combination of the plain copula and *yo*, instead of *desu wa* above, or combinations such as *da ze* and *da zo* in rough speech.

Non-declarative Japanese sentences, on the other hand, frequently suppress auxiliary verbs, the copula, and the question particle, especially in casual speech, where intonation and tone of voice provide clues in guessing the intended speech act. Casual interrogatives take the form of (26a) with a nominalization marker bearing a rising intonation, marked by the question mark in the transcription, whereas fuller versions have the interrogative particle *ka* or a combination of the polite copula and *ka*, as in (26b).

(26)	a.	*Moo*	*kaer-u*	*no?*		
		already	return-NONPST	NM		
		‘Going home already?’				
	b.	*Moo*	*kaer-u*	*no*	*(des.u)*	*ka.*
		already	return-NONPST	NM	(COP.POL-NONPST)	Q
		‘Going home already?’				

Requests are made with the aid of an auxiliary-like “supporting” verb *kureru* ‘GIVE (ME THE FAVOR OF . . .)’, its polite form *kudasai*, or its intimate version *tyoodai*, as seen in (27a). Again, these forms are often suppressed in a highly intimate conversation and may result in a form like (27b).

(27)	a.	*Hayaku*	*kaet-te*	*kure/kudasai/tyoodai.*
		soon	return-GER	GIVE.IMP/GIVE.POL-IMP/GIVE.INTI
		‘(Please) come home soon (for me/us).’		
	b.	*Hayaku*	*kaet-te*	*ne.*
		soon	return-GER	SFP
		‘(Please) come home soon, won’t you?’		

The use of dependent forms (e. g., the gerund *-te* form above) as independent sentences is similar to that of subjunctive forms in European languages as independent sentences, as illustrated by the English sentence below.

(28) *If you would give me five thirty-cent stamps.*

Conditionals are used as independent suggestion sentences in Japanese as well. For example, (29a) has a fuller version like (29b) with the copula as a main-clause verb, which can also be suppressed, giving rise to the truncated form (29c).

(29) a. *Hayaku kaet-tara?*
quickly return-COND
lit. 'If return quickly.' 'Why don't you go home quickly?'
b. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga des-u ka.*
quickly return-COND how COP.POL-NONPST Q
lit. 'How would it be it if (you) went home quickly?'
c. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga?*
quickly return-COND how
'Why don't (you) go home quickly?'

Understanding Japanese utterances requires full recourse to the elements of speech context, such as the nature of the speaker and the hearer and the social relationship between them, the information "in the air" that is readily accessible to the interlocutors, and the formality of the occasion. Indeed, the difficult part of the art of speaking Japanese is knowing how much to leave out from the utterance and how to infer what is left unsaid.

8 Conclusion

Many of the interesting topics in Japanese grammar introduced above are discussed in great detail in the Lexicon-Word Formation volume, the Syntax volume, and the present Semantics and Pragmatics volume of the HJLL series. The Historical Linguistics volume also traces developments of some of the forms and constructions introduced above. The Sociolinguistics volume gives fuller accounts of sentence variations motivated by context and discourse genre.

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Appendix: List of abbreviations for HJLL

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOP	adjectival copula
ADJ	adjective
AND	adnominal
ADV	adverb(ial(izer))
ADVL	adverbial
ADVPART	adverbial particle
AGR	agreement
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
AN	adjectival noun
ANTIP	antipassive
AP	adverbial particle, adjective phrase
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
AUXV	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COHORT	cohortative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
CONCL	conclusive
COND	conditional
CONJEC	conjectural

CONJCT	conjunctive
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
D	demonstrative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DESI	desiderative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DO	direct object
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ETOP	emphatic topic
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamatory, exclusive
EXPL	expletive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund(ive)
H	high (tone or pitch)
HON	honorific
HUM	humble
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INT	intentional
INTERJEC	interjection
INTI	intimate
INTR	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
ITERA	iterative
k-irr	k-irregular (*ka-hen*)
L	low (tone or pitch)
LB	lower bigrade (*shimo nidan*)
LM	lower monograde (*shimo ichidan*)
LOC	locative
MPST	modal past
MVR	mid vowel raising

N	noun
n-irr	n-irregular(*na-hen*)
NCONJ	negative conjectual
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
NM	nominalization marker
NMLZ	nominalization/nominalizer
NMNL	nominal
NOM	nominative
NONPST	nonpast
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, preposition, postposition
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PST	past
PCONJ	present conjectural
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
POLCOP	polite copula
POSS	possessive
POTEN	potential
PP	prepositional/postpositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PRES	presumptive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROV	provisional
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PSTCONJ	past conjectural
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
Q	question/question particle/question marker
QD	quadrigrade (*yodan*)
QUOT	quotative
r – irr	r – irregular (*ra-hen*)
REAL	realis
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
RESP	respect
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb, sentence
SBJ	subject

SBJV	subjunctive
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous
s - irr	s-irregular (*sa-hen*)
SPON	spontaneous
SPST	simple past
STAT	stative
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UB	upper bigrade (*kami-nidan*
UNCERT	uncertain
UM	upper monograde (*kami-ichidan*)
V	verb, vowel
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VOL	volitional
VP	verb phrase

Languages

ConJ	contemporary Japanese
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
J-Ch	Japano-Chinese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
JPN	Japanese
MC	Middle Chinese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MK	Middle Korean
ModJ	Modern Japanese
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
pJ	proto-Japanese
pK	proto-Korean
SJ	Sino-Japanese
Skt	Sanskrit

Contents

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-205

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Yoshiyuki Asahi, Mayumi Usami, and Fumio Inoue

Introduction

1 Challenging the studies on "Language in Society": Goals of the volume

The term "Japanese Sociolinguistics" that appears in the title of this volume is intentionally ambiguous. In one interpretation, it refers neutrally to sociolinguistic studies of the Japanese language in the same way as the term "Japanese syntax" in the *Handbook of Japanese Syntax* volume, for example, refers to studies on the syntax of Japanese. In the other interpretation, which we advocate in this volume, it refers to a particular tradition of sociolinguistic studies in Japan that officially started in 1948 with the establishment of Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute) in Tokyo (see also Shibamoto 1987). To distinguish the two interpretations, we will use capitalized "Sociolinguistics" to highlight the second interpretation.

Japanese Sociolinguistics is a sociolinguistic enterprise that observes and analyzes linguistic phenomena, particularly in Japanese, to highlight intriguing relationships between language and society. The modern field of Japanese Sociolinguistics is the amalgamation of a long Japanese tradition of "Language in Society Studies" beginning in the 1920s and the influence of Western sociolinguistics from the 1960s. In Japan, "Language Life Studies", *Gengo Seikatsu Kenkyū* in Japanese, roughly equivalent to sociolinguistics in the West, has maintained a robust tradition since the 1940s. Western sociolinguistics was introduced in the 1960s, and *shakai gengogaku*, a Japanese translation of "sociolinguistics", was labeled in the 1970s based on the interaction between Japanese Language Life Studies and Western sociolinguistics. The interaction continues up to today, further evolving and broadening the field of Japanese Sociolinguistics. Japanese Sociolinguists have made their contributions to international sociolinguistics by providing their research output to strengthen, upgrade, and shed new light on sociolinguistic theories.

The present volume brings together leading studies in Japanese Sociolinguistics to highlight methodological advances and their theoretical importance in sociolinguistics and situates Japanese Sociolinguistics within the historical and theoretical context of sociolinguistics worldwide.

Acknowledgements: The editors would like to express our gratitude to the contributors and the peer and external reviewers of each chapter. Each chapter was reviewed by two peer-reviewers to enhance its quality and readability. Our special thanks go to Dr. John Haig for his careful proofreading and several chapters' translation. Without his cooperation, this volume would not have been completed with this level of quality. We would also like to thank Mr. Ikuo Sakamoto, Mr. Keita Saito, and Mr. Kimihiko Kimura for their editorial assistance. Finally, we would like to mention that this volume was financially supported by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-001

The goals of this volume are twofold. The first goal is to focus on the significant contributions of Japanese Sociolinguistics to general studies on sociolinguistics in the world. The second is to introduce specific studies to examine in what way they contribute to international sociolinguistics. To this end, we group together the major issues of Japanese Sociolinguistics into seven parts, with selected topics to be covered in each part, for a total of 21 chapters.
Part I: History
Part II: Sociolinguistic patterns
Part III: Language and gender
Part IV: Honorifics and politeness
Part V: Culture and discourse phenomena
Part VI: Language contact
Part VII: Language policy

In what follows, Sections 2 and 3 will first contrast Western sociolinguistics and Japanese Sociolinguistics to highlight the basic differences between them. Section 4 will then give a summary of individual chapters, focusing on the principal contributions made by each chapter with the editors' comments from the perspective of Japanese Sociolinguistics.

2 Western sociolinguistics

Western sociolinguistics was born in the 1960s as an antithesis to the Chomskyan view of the autonomy of language, which had been the mainstream of the field of linguistics until then. William Labov, Joshua Fishman, John Gumperz, and Dell Hymes, who had been active in fields such as sociology and anthropology, took the lead to propose a new field, "sociolinguistics", advocating the importance of considering "social factors" in linguistics. They view language to be adequately understood only within social contexts such as the speaker's age, sex, social class, and interpersonal interactions instead of Chomsky's approach, which studied "competence" by testing hypothetical sentences as they may be used or judged by "idealized" speakers and labeled "language in use" as "performance", regarding it as irrelevant for scientific research.

As opposed to the Chomskyan view, Dell Hymes proposed "communicative competence" as a critical alternative to the approach of transformational grammarians. They held that conversation and interaction should be studied to explore the inherent rules of language, shaped by social factors on all linguistic levels (from phonetics/phonology to discourse and pragmatics). Sociolinguistics is rooted in social sciences and empirical studies, and sociolinguists apply their qualitative and quantitative methods and ethnography to analyze different data resources. These dialectics play a crucial role in sociolinguistics (Wodak, Johnstone, and Kerswill (eds.) 2011: 2).

Western sociolinguistics has experienced multifaceted development from the beginning: the variationist approach (Labov 1966, 1972), language code (Bernstein 1971), the sociology of language approach (Fishman 1971), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz and Hymes (eds.) 1972), the anthropological approach (Hymes 1974), and gender studies (Lakoff 1975). Each has its own goal and research methodology. This diversity is key in sociolinguistics. Western sociolinguists have developed a variety of research methods to investigate the wide-ranging sociolinguistic issues which exist across languages and communities.

Since the 1970s, Western sociolinguists have collaborated with scholars in the related fields of pragmatics, social psychology, cognitive sciences, education, medicine, and computer sciences. In the 21st century, new subfields of Western sociolinguistics such as cognitive sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguistics, and computational sociolinguistics have emerged from these interactions. In this way, Western sociolinguistics has evolved and expanded its scope to become a full-fledged subfield of linguistics as well as an interdisciplinary enterprise.

3 Japanese Sociolinguistics

Japanese Sociolinguistics has constituted one of the major subfields of Japanese linguistics. As stated at the beginning, it was in the 1920s when "Language in Society Studies" started. It was nearly 40 years before the emergence of sociolinguistics in the West. The first study in Language in Society Studies was Kōichi Hoshina's study on language policy (Hoshina 1921, 1933). In the early 1930s, Sueo Kikuzawa proposed a notion of *kokugo isō-ron* 'national language phaselogy' (Kikuzawa 1933). Kikuzawa presented a sociolinguistic pattern of Japanese language variation in a systematic way, which shared common aspects with variationist sociolinguistics in the 1960s. As Dell Hymes holds that the term "sociolinguistics" was first used in the journal Man in India in 1939 in Thomas Hodson's article on Sociolinguistics (Hodson 1939; Hymes 1979), Japanese Sociolinguistics has one of the longest histories in the world.

In the 1940s, *Gengo Seikatsu Kenkyū*, 'Language Life Studies', was proposed. Many Language Life Studies were conducted across Japan to examine such topics in language life as standardization, honorifics, writing system, language behavior, language at school and in company settings. The National Language Research Institute (NLRI, later NINJAL) initiated and carried out these projects. Language Life Studies developed into an established discipline in Japan before Western sociolinguistics emerged in the 1960s.

When Western sociolinguistics literature reached Japan in the late 1960s or the early 1970s, the interaction between Japan and the West started. Japanese linguists received new influence from Western sociolinguistic literature. Peter Trudgill's sociolinguistic textbook (Trudgill 1974) was translated into Japanese in 1975. In their books and articles, some started to use a Japanese translation of sociolinguistics, i.e. *shakai gengogaku*. Takesi Sibata, a Japanese sociolinguist, served as one of the editorial board members of the international sociolinguistics journal Language in Society from the time of its launch in 1972.

Since the 1980s, those who finished their doctoral programs in sociolinguistics at American or European universities employed their theoretical framework to analyze language variation and change, discourse, and language and gender in Japanese, making a substantial impact on Japanese Language Life Studies. The number of sociolinguistic studies increased to outnumber the Japanese Language Life Studies. In this way, Japanese Sociolinguistics was established as a result of the amalgamation of Japanese Language in Society studies, Language Life Studies, and Western sociolinguistics.

4 Contributions of the current volume

This section introduces each chapter included in the seven parts, focusing on the principal contributions.

Part I: History

Part I consists of three chapters that trace the historical development of Japanese Sociolinguistics and interactions between Japanese Sociolinguistics and Western sociolinguistics. Chapters 1 to 3 examine the academic significance of the research methodologies proposed and developed in Japanese Sociolinguistics, metatheoretical comparison between Japanese and Western sociolinguistics, and *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, 'Language Life Studies'.

Chapter 1 "Research methodology" by Florian Coulmas presents an overview of Japanese Sociolinguistics regarding research methodology. Coulmas discusses how sociolinguistics in Western sociolinguistics appeared based on urban studies in sociology. He claims that Western sociolinguistics is more problem-shooting than Japanese Sociolinguistics: its motivation lies in obtaining solutions to language and cultural barriers. On the contrary, Japanese Sociolinguistics has been characterized by its descriptive approaches based on large-scale surveys. Its mission does not necessarily include any approaches to finding solutions to language problems. When Japanese Sociolinguistics was established, Japanese had a greater degree of regional variation than social class variation, which motivated Japanese linguists to employ linguistic geographical analyses to describe the diachronic change as well as linguistic diffusion. Coulmas explains the use of "glottograms" in Japanese dialectology to capture linguistic diffusion and critically assesses this approach. He also refers to language policy and language planning and points out that Japanese Sociolinguistic studies have dealt with language problems such as the writing system and the standardization of Japanese, but not language contact or other such topics.

Chapter 2 "Japan and the international sociolinguistic community" by Yoshiyuki Asahi and J.K. Chambers examines differences between Japanese Sociolinguistics and Western sociolinguistics. As pointed out by Nobayashi (1984) and others, Japanese Sociolinguistics has been too inductive and descriptive to consider any theoretical contribution. This chapter discusses how the term "sociolinguistics" was accepted in two academic journals (One is *Kokugogaku*, a journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan and the other is *Kaigai Gengogaku Jōhō* 'Overseas Linguistics Report') to examine how the English term "sociolinguistics" has been translated in the journals. Based on this, Asahi and Chambers explain how Japanese Sociolinguistics has been influenced by such linguistic literature as Trager (1949) and Neustupný (1978). Also, they compare sociolinguistic domains in Japan and in the West to examine which topics in sociolinguistics of Japan and the West are examined in research between the 1960s and 1980s. They then investigate some sociophonetic studies under a variationist sociolinguistic paradigm to demonstrate how Japanese language engendered variation is explained.

In Chapter 3 "Language life", Takehiro Shioda provides an overview of sociolinguistics studies undertaken in the name of *gengo seikatsu* 'language life' studies from the pre-war era to present-day Japan. This chapter starts with the origin of sociolinguistic studies, introducing academic literature on Japanese Sociolinguistics in macro-sociolinguistics since the 1930s. This chapter then introduces Language Life Studies at the National Language Research Institute (NLRI, later NINJAL) showcasing research findings in such areas as language behavior, standardization, honorifics, Chinese characters, and so forth. The research methodology, including the 24-hour survey method, is explained as well. This chapter then looks into the relationship between language policy and language life. Shioda discusses the implication of Language Life Studies in terms of language policy, through raising consciousness of Chinese characters in Japanese through the research outcomes of surveys by the National Language Research Institute.

Part II: Sociolinguistic patterns

Part II consists of three chapters. Chapters 4 to 6 are concerned with language variation and change. Each chapter works with language variation to reveal sociolinguistic patterns in Japanese. Japanese Sociolinguistic studies have rendered many detailed descriptions of linguistic variation and change, which have consequently contributed to elucidate sociolinguistic patterns in the Japanese language. The sociolinguistic pattern is one of the primary notions in variationist sociolinguistics since the 1960s when variationist sociolinguistics was initiated by Labov (1966), Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968), and Trudgill (1972). It plays an essential role in capturing how language variation is influenced in a given speech community and how it exhibits the mechanism of language change in progress. It had a tremendous impact on Japanese Sociolinguistics since the early 1970s when the notion of the sociolinguistic pattern was introduced. Even if it has not been widely used or cited in the Japanese Sociolinguistic literature, Japanese Sociolinguists have rendered their descriptions of the sociolinguistic pattern of Japanese in various contexts.

Chapter 4 “Style, prestige, and salience in language change in progress” by Fumio Inoue gives an overview of the studies in on-going language change in Japanese. This chapter starts with an evaluation of Japanese Sociolinguistics, pointing out that Japanese Sociolinguistic studies adopt quantitative approaches to investigate language change and standardization at various survey sites. Inoue focuses on a NINJAL’s Tsuruoka survey to explain the standardization process. Based on the findings of the phonological items, he demonstrated a S-shaped curve to explain phonological change as a linguistic diffusion model. With a discussion of dialect images and dialect souvenirs in terms of “salience” (Trudgill 1972), he investigates NINJAL’s real-time study on Japanese honorifics in Okazaki. He then discusses “late adoption” of honorific features in re-examining the validity of critical period hypothesis. This chapter also investigates social group differences in Japanese such as occupation to analyze how they are reflected in sociolinguistic patterns with reference to the highly respectful “*de gozaimasu* style”. Lastly, this chapter examines another real-time study on terms for ‘father’ in “memory time”.

Chapter 5 “Group language (*Shūdango*)”, Taro Nakanishi focuses on words and expressions in language observed in social groups such as students, housewives, workplaces, and so forth. This chapter first gives a historical overview of group language studies, first by Takesi Sibata in the 1950s and later by Tomosuke Watanabe and Akihiko Yonekawa. Nakanishi demonstrates how the definition has been expanded and refined and discusses the contributions of group language studies to sociolinguistics, such as theories of origin, attributes, semantic categories, word formation. This chapter examines the features of the youth language by showing such functions as amusement function, conversation-promoting function, and many others. Lastly, Nakanishi analyzes greeting expressions as group language and points out that non-traditional use of a greeting expression such as *ohayoo* ‘good morning’ signals varying degrees of psychological distance and social relationship.

In Chapter 6 “Male-female differences in Japanese”, Yoshimitsu Ozaki examines male-female patterns in the usage of linguistic forms and in the speakers’ consciousness. With a brief literature review of male-female differences in Japanese, this chapter examines the differences observed in contemporary Japanese (e.g. self-reference words, sentence-final expressions *wa* and *kasira*, deletion of the copula *da*, elision of the question marker *-ka*, and others), using NINJAL’s nationwide quantitative survey data. Whereas other approaches to language and gender adopt qualitative approaches, Ozaki emphasizes the advantages of quantitative studies. Collecting responses from more than 1,000 respondents, Ozaki conducted a number of linguistic analyses to empirically investigate male-female differences.

This chapter was included in Part II and not in Part III, which discusses "language and gender" despite dealing with "male-female differences in Japanese". The reason why is that this chapter neutrally describes the male-female differences in the usage of "linguistic forms" reported to be one of the unique characteristics in Japanese. The papers in Part III, on the other hand, discuss "Japanese language and gender" more, focusing on the modern "gender" viewpoint.

Part III: Language and gender

Gender is another important topic in Japanese sociolinguistics. While Japanese variationist sociolinguists investigated male-female differences as sex differences, many female Japanese scholars and social activists initiated their pioneering studies on language and gender, which took place almost at the same time the language and gender studies in an international context represented by Lakoff (1975). After Lakoff uncovered problems in language and gender in English and proposed to foster language and gender studies, female Japanese scholars and social activists took the initiative in suggesting ways to correct the gender differences in Japanese language and its use with influence from schools of American and European sociolinguistics. This handbook introduces both approaches.

Chapter 7 "Historical overview of Japanese language and gender studies: From past to future", Orie Endo and Keiko Abe provide an overview of language and gender in each of the following four stages: (1) language and sex (from the 1920s to the 1960s), (2) language and gender (the 1970s to present), (3) language and sexuality (the 1990s to present), and (4) language and trans (the 1990s to present). They claim that it was in 1990 when researchers came to fully understand sex (as biology) and gender (as a social construct), and this is when new approaches were suggested: that is, studies on sexuality and trans tackle both with an essentialist and poststructuralist view of gender. This chapter then overviews language and gender studies from the following three aspects: (1) the linguistic areas of sex differences (how women and men say things); and (2) the cultural and linguistic evaluation of *nyōbō-kotoba* (speech of court ladies in the Muromachi period); and (3) the linguistic portrayal of women (and men) in media and dictionaries (how women and men are represented in written documents). Finally, the chapter discusses how the field of language and trans has developed and argues for the need to re-examine widely accepted terms such as woman and/or man.

In Chapter 8 "Genderization in Japanese: A typological view", Katsue Akiba Reynolds surveys language and gender studies to demonstrate that gender differentiation in language is universal. Following Robin Lakoff's (1975) dimensions of linguistic genderization, i.e. "self-genderization" and "other-genderization", this chapter starts with a close look at how the self-gendering semantic is manifested in pronoun use in Japanese. This chapter discusses how self-gendering expressions function in first-, second-, and third-person pronouns. She also analyzes the self-gendering semantic in the use of interactional particles such as *ne*, *sa*, *yo*, *na* in men's and women's speech. Other-genderization is examined through raising examples of the feminine and male characterizations in job-categories nouns such as *onna-shachō* 'a woman company president' and *otoko-shachō* 'a man company president'. Akiba Reynolds makes her comparison between Japanese and English in terms of degree of the self-gender differentiation language and discusses how socio-historical backgrounds in the social system as the feudal system, modernization, and second feminism shape the genderization in Japanese.

Chapter 9 "Feminist approaches to Japanese language, gender, and sexuality" by Momoko Nakamura surveys feminist approaches in Japanese sociolinguistics with special reference to linguistic sexism, gendered styles, and representation of sexuality. This chapter starts with a discussion of theoretical debates on the relationship between sexist language and sexism in society, such as terms for wives and husbands, occupations, and use of maiden names after marriage. This chapter then overviews theoretical developments of gendered styles from gender differences to emerging identities since the 1970s, raising such notions as ideology, indexicality, and enregisterment. Based on the overview, this chapter focuses on the two aspects: constructing gendered styles and changing representations of gender in the media, such as films, TV dramas, comics, animation, and novels. The chapter also examines the labels for sexuality such as homosexuality and heterosexuality, the linguistic code of heterosexuality and heteronormativity, and style of speech associated with particular sexual identities such as *onee kotoba*, a feminine speech style associated with gay men.

Part IV: Honorifics and politeness

Part IV is composed of three chapters. Chapters 10 to 12 review studies on honorifics, theories of honorifics, and politeness theories at both the sentence- and discourse-levels in Japanese. Chapter 10 introduces traditional approaches to Japanese honorifics, Chapter 11 examines theories of honorifics focusing on crucial scholars' views of Japanese honorifics and discusses how these approaches intersect with Western politeness theory, especially, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987). Chapter 12 introduces discourse politeness theory, which has been developed as a discourse-level politeness theory to solve the problems of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and leads politeness theory to the intersection of discourse politeness theory and interpersonal communication theory.

Chapter 10 "Japanese honorifics", Takashi Nagata surveys Japanese honorific studies from various perspectives. The chapter starts with a brief sketch of Japanese honorific expressions comprising five categories: *teinei-go* 'polite form', *sonkei-go* 'respectful form,' and *kenjō-go* 'humble form', together with *bika-go* 'beautifying form' and *teichō-go* 'courteous form'. The chapter raises some sociolinguistic approaches to Japanese honorific expression and examines whether or not social factors, i.e. interpersonal relationship and situation determine honorific use. The author focuses on the interpersonal relationship, dividing it into four subcategories, verticality, benefaction, power, solidarity, etc. This chapter then surveys traditional Japanese linguistic or *kokugogaku* approaches to honorifics with reference mainly to NINJAL's large-scale sociolinguistic surveys on honorifics, looking at various research topics such as cities, schools, enterprises, dialect, social structure, language policy, and history. With a brief reference to politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and discourse politeness theory (Usami 2002), the chapter also introduces *hairyo-hyōgen* 'consideration expression' studies, the new approach influenced by Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, and further refers to issues regarding honorifics in Japanese as a foreign language, as well as to contrastive linguistic approaches to honorifics.

In Chapter 11 "Intersection of traditional Japanese honorific theories and Western politeness theories", Masato Takiura offers a close look at the Japanese honorification in Japanese linguistic literature. This chapter first traces back in the history of Japanese linguistics and demonstrates how honorification was treated by such scholars as Daizaburo Matsushita and Yoshio Yamada. Yamada's analysis, labelled the "person view of honorification", gained a wide acceptance by the Japanese linguists until the early 2000s. Takiura, based on his critical analyses of its validity, raises Nobushige Hozumi's "distance view of address" analysis of honorification. The chapter also discusses the discursive nature of honorifics as a mitigator in speech and as a "polite deixis" with pragmatic indices.

In Chapter 12 "The intersection of Discourse Politeness Theory and interpersonal communication", Mayumi Usami approaches politeness behaviors in communication from another perspective. While she appreciates the basic tenets of Brown and Levinson's theory, she insists that the following three points must be solved: (1) Politeness at the sentence level is constrained by the grammatical and pragmatic principles of individual languages and cannot be compared across languages. (2) Politeness needs to be viewed not only from the perspective of the speaker's strategies but also from the perspective of the hearer's expectations about the speaker's strategies, introducing the concept of "politeness effect". (3) It is necessary to deal with the type of politeness perceived as impolite only when some elements are missing, that is, unmarked politeness. This chapter then presents a "discourse politeness theory" (Usami 2001, 2006) which solves these problems by dealing with discourse-level politeness. This chapter also discusses this theory's applicability to such relevant disciplines as cross-cultural pragmatics, second language acquisition, interpersonal communication, and dialog system studies in artificial intelligence.

Part V: Culture and discourse phenomena

Part V raises primary approaches to Japanese discourse (Chapters 13 to 15). It goes without saying that discourse studies in Japanese have been conducted up to today. The current volume highlights epistemic and cognitive approaches to language in subjective expressions and their role in discourse (Chapter 13), discourse of Japanese popular culture (e.g. conversational written style, manipulation of characters and characteristics, creative use of language) in light novels and *keitai* novels (Chapter 14), and historical development of political discourse in dividing types of public speech (Chapter 15).

In Chapter 13 "Subjective expression and its roles in Japanese discourse: Its development in Japanese and impact on general linguistics", Yoko Ujiie focuses on basic functions of human language to investigate the internal processes involved in Japanese subjective expressions in discourses. Citing *gengo katei setsu* 'language act theory' by Motoki Tokieda, Ujiie discusses words and phrases that have a structure enfolding a speaker's mental processes, i.e. "SEMP". She first examines how Japanese expressions have emerged through a diachronic study before discussing how epistemic and cognitive states are expressed in a different language. She then takes up specific examples such as *no-da/desu* and *yahari/yappari* to demonstrate how each has emerged and developed diachronically. She holds that no detailed studies on mental processes of a speaker have been conducted, and they would make tremendous contribution to a better understanding of subjective expressions in discourse.

In Chapter 14 "Style, character, and creativity in the discourse of Japanese popular culture: Focusing on light novels and *keitai* novels", Senko K. Maynard explores the discourse of light novels and *keitai* novels by incorporating multiple frameworks and tools such as conversation analysis, variation studies, a multimodal approach, humor studies, and rhetoric. Maynard takes a close look at three prominent features, i.e. conversational written style, manipulation of characters and characteristics, and creative use of language. As a baseline, she defines key notions, i.e. character, characteristic, and character-speak. Then she discusses the role of features in conversational written style, such as conversational features and modification, in manipulating characters and characteristics such as dramatic persons' characters and narrator's characteristics. Lastly, she takes up the creative use of language with a close look at script and *tsukkomi* in light novels. Based on *boke* and *tsukkomi* in *manzai*, 'stand-up comedy', *tsukkomi* in light novels is used by narrators to signal internal response to the situation and to the narrator himself or herself.

Chapter 15 "Sociopragmatics of political discourse" by Shoji Azuma is an attempt to bridge sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics to study political discourse. While sociolinguistics is widely accepted and well-known as one of the primary disciplines in linguistics, "sociopragmatics" aims to explain how an individual speaker uses linguistic resources in social practice to produce and interpret meaning and affect and change in human relationships. Azuma studies political discourse, and his keen interest lies in finding a way to explain how politicians employ their strategies to gain approval and support from the people. Azuma investigated how public speaking developed by focusing on a former Japanese prime minister, especially on the use of storytelling and constructed dialogue in speeches. This chapter also analyzes other public speeches, such as those by a popular movie actor, to make comparisons with politicians. Azuma stresses that eloquence and persuasion through the art of rhetoric and linguistic skill are least appreciated. Instead, interactive speech is more relevant in the Japanese culture.

Part VI: Language contact

Part VI focuses on language and dialect contact involving Japanese. Urbanization, industrialization, and migration policy have impacted Japanese society in various aspects. These give rise to demographic movements both at domestic and global levels. This provided a variety of contact situations. In the process, Japanese language encountered a variety of contact situations with other languages, dialects, and writings. It in fact underwent a new type of change (i.e. contact-induced change), which was not observed in internal change.

Chapter 16 "Contact dialects of Japanese" by Yoshiyuki Asahi overviews studies on the contact dialects of Japanese that illustrate the unique and intriguing nature of contact-induced changes. Based on literature reviews on contact dialects studies from the perspectives of sociolinguistics, dialectology, contact linguistics, sociology of language, and linguistic typology, the chapter proposes an integrated framework to deal with contact dialects. The framework consists of four factors: speakers, movement, the media, and policy, each of which is defined and explained with the relevant studies in contact dialect studies. The chapter then presents further categories of movement such as non-movement, and short-term and long-term movements, each of which has specific factors: trade, tourism, and construction sites for short-term movement and migration, plantation, and evacuation for long-term movement. Each factor is examined to see to what extent contact dialect studies have been carried out. Lastly, the chapter stresses the importance of this approach by raising three points to describe the dialect contact phenomena to better understand the *status quo* of the Japanese language and also the future direction of the language change in Japanese.

In Chapter 17 "Japanese loanwords and lendwords", Frank E. Daulton focuses on linguistic borrowing in Japanese. In the same way as English, Japanese has received a large number of vocabulary items from other languages in the form of borrowing throughout its history. Daulton takes a close look at the loanwords from English in Japanese, and at the same time, also takes up so-called "lendwords". Lendwords refer to vocabulary which are "exported" from the source language and nativized into the recipient language. The chapter analyzes the lendwords in English from Japanese, based on quantitative surveys. He discusses factors that have promoted borrowing, including "total availability", universal English education, malleability, redundancy, turnover, and word transformations. Daulton examines lendwords in English from Japanese, focusing on lendword transformations and frequency, working from English sources such as Webster's, Cambridge, and Oxford dictionaries.

While Chapter 17 raises language contact issues between Japanese and English, targeting specific words and their relevant areas such as language teaching, Chapters 18 and 19 address issues in contact phenomena involving Japanese. They deal with long-term language contact and with new language varieties emerging as a result of contact both outside and inside of Japan. As mentioned earlier, increases in demographic movements from and to Japan have led to the establishment of language contact and/or dialect contact situations in different parts of the world.

Specifically in Chapter 18 "Japanese language varieties outside Japan", Mie Hiramoto overviews Japanese language varieties outside Japan. There, dialect contact as well as language contact plays an important role in the community. This chapter begins with explaining motivations for migration from a historical point of view. The chapter then provides linguistic analyses of the Japanese spoken in such Japanese-diasporic communities or *nikkei* communities as Hawai'i, Canada, and Brazil, and in post-colonial varieties such as those found in Sakhalin, Taiwan, and Micronesia (Palau). Based on the dialectal background of the immigrants in the Japanese-speaking communities, the chapter discusses the relationship between Japanese features observed in their Japanese and their home dialects; western Japanese dialects predominate in Hawai'i and Taiwan, on the one hand, and northern Japanese dialects in Sakhalin. The chapter also introduces a Japanese-lexifier creole language, called Yilan creole in Taiwan, with a brief description of the sociolinguistic history as well as a linguistic description of the creole.

In Chapter 19 "Language contact and contact languages in Japan", on the other hand, Daniel Long discusses issues in language contact inside Japan. The chapter starts with an overview of the language contact history in Japan and demonstrates what kind of role language contact played in the pre-history of Japanese. After a description of language contact in the *Jōmon-Yayoi* periods of Japan, Long presents a diachronic change in Japanese loanwords from the Nara period down to today, with a look at source languages such as Sanskrit, Portuguese, Dutch, English, German, and so forth. What should be noted here is that this analysis does not include Chinese. As the analysis indicates, most loanwords studies in Japanese do not target Chinese as it is in a sense obvious that Japanese has borrowed an extensive vocabulary from Chinese in its history. Based on this, Long analyzes language contact and contact language in Japan, raising examples of Ainu in the 17th century, Yokohama pidgin Japanese, Chinese in Yokohama, Korean, Bamboo English, Ogasawara mixed language, Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi and the Taiwanese of Ishigaki, and South Americans in Japan.

Part VII: Language policy

Part VII raises issues in language policy in Japan. Language policy studies are found not only in linguistics, but also in sociology, history, and politics. Japanese language policy has been enforced to tackle status planning and corpus planning in the writing system including Chinese characters and in communication such as honorifics and Standard Japanese. In this sense, it is necessary to overview Japanese language policy studies to comprehend the history of Japanese language planning as well as current language problems.

Chapter 20 "Chinese characters: Variation, policy, and landscape" by Hiroyuki Sasahara overviews the writing system of Japanese with special reference to Chinese characters. The writing system has been well-studied and introductory sociolinguistic books on the writing system have been published, including Coulmas (2012). Sasahara begins with a brief description of the writing system in Japanese, including the variety of elements in the writing system and the sociolinguistic factors influencing their use. He then demonstrates character variation in relation to situation (such as formality, recipient, circumstances). Discussion of the language landscape is made to explain features in written language. Social groups and their relation to Japanese characters is also discussed with reference to group writing. Sasahara also refers to language policy on the use of Chinese characters by the Ministry of Education.

Chapter 21 "Language, economy, and nation" by Katsumi Shibuya surveys studies of language planning and management of Japanese in Japan. The chapter targets status planning in language policy. Shibuya starts with a brief explanation of the language planning process: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. Based on this, he describes how a national language was formulated in the Meiji era. He then examines the current status of Japanese in relation to other languages in the world such as global, international languages such as English, French, German, and others. Also, he discusses the situation of Japanese spoken in Asia and the Pacific as historical remnants, raising examples of linguistic borrowing and creole status in Taiwan. The chapter also provides discussions on the issue of native languages in Japan, raising issues of Japanese dialects, Ryukyuan, Ainu, and other endangered languages designated by UNESCO and on language planning by municipal governments in Tokyo and Yamagata. Lastly, Shibuya analyzes the use of Japanese in domestic domains as well as in daily encounters between native and non-native speakers of Japanese.

5 Concluding remarks

This introductory chapter provides a brief introduction to the background of Western sociolinguistics and Japanese Sociolinguistics to present Japanese Sociolinguistic contributions to international sociolinguistics. It looks into the seven parts of the volume (i.e., history, social patterns, language and gender, honorifics and politeness, culture and discourse phenomena, language contact, and language policy) and briefly comments on their academic contributions.

As discussed in the twenty-one chapters in the volume, Japanese sociolinguistics has revealed various aspects of sociolinguistic issues in Japanese, such as gender, politeness, loanwords, dialect change, Chinese characters, and many others. New research methodologies in Japanese Sociolinguistics (e.g. real-time surveys on standardization, 24-hour surveys, use of glottograms, analysis of recorded natural interaction, and so forth) were introduced. While their approaches were inductive and exploratory, which contrasts with Western sociolinguistics, which rigorously tests the hypotheses by controlling conditions of the data collection, they made their contributions, presenting their research outcomes, such as NINJAL's standardization studies in Tsuruoka, in the international sociolinguistic textbook (Chambers 2003).

The studies of "Japanese language and gender" started almost simultaneously as Lakoff posted the problems. Japanese female scholars had an advantage in developing an awareness of the problem because Japanese is a language in which gender differences are embedded even in linguistic forms. In the interaction between Western and Japanese language and gender studies, the gender issues in Japanese gained a nationwide awareness, stimulating studies on language and gender/sexuality to stress gender hegemony in Japanese society. The traditional normative and descriptive approaches to Japanese honorifics, which accumulated tremendous and precious findings, were stimulated by Western scholarship, especially Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, and gained new perspectives. As a result, new approaches opened a gate to examine Japanese honorifics and politeness at the discourse and interpersonal level in addition to the sentence-level and produced a Japanese-originated universal discourse-level politeness theory. The studies on politeness and gender are among the most productive themes that Japanese Sociolinguistics can contribute to international sociolinguistics. Furthermore, discourse studies widen their scope and perspectives to describe the structure and the characteristics of discourse in Japanese.

International sociolinguistics cultivated new research opportunities in Japanese-related language contact inside and outside of Japan. Language contact has been extensively studied outside Japan and overlooked in Japanese Sociolinguistics. Theoretical foundations in Western sociolinguistics enabled Japanese sociolinguists to examine their validity by providing Japanese data either to report a new contact language (i.e. Japanese based creoles, koinés, and pidgins) or to support their theoretical framework. The volume also introduced the sociolinguistics of the Japanese writing system and language policy, presenting their robust achievements to international sociolinguistics.

Japanese Sociolinguistics will keep evolving and expanding. Japanese sociolinguists should engage with the Japanese language in all social contexts and confront new challenges such as new social media, AI or deep learning, online communications, multi-ethnicity in metropolitan cities, and now pandemic influence on our society and media of communication and so forth. Japanese Sociolinguistics is strongly expected to play a pivotal role in initiating research projects to tackle with these sociolinguistic issues through further interaction with the international sociolinguistic network.

We believe that readers would capture what Japanese Sociolinguistics has contributed to international sociolinguistics. We further hope that the present volume will serve as an invaluable reference for researchers interested in Japanese Sociolinguistics and as a starting point for young researchers and graduate students to take up the challenges of Japanese Sociolinguistics.

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Part I: **History**

Florian Coulmas

1 Research methodology

1 Introduction

The methods used to investigate language and explicate patterns of structure and usage are sometimes conceptualized as neutral tools anyone can handle to study any language. This is not so. As a matter of fact, and not surprisingly, research methodologies are as historically contingent as are theories, reflecting in one way or another the traditions, theories, and sociocultural settings that gave rise to their gestation. Although causal relationships between social circumstances and theory formation are not always direct or obvious, it cannot be denied that in sociolinguistics as in all social sciences, theories and methods are subject to influences of the societies in and for which they were developed. Since Sociolinguistics as it is understood by mainstream handbooks, journals and textbooks emerged as a new field of scholarship in and for the investigation of language in Western industrial societies, it is characterized by intense Western dominance (cf. Smakman and Heinrich (eds.) 2015). This means that most sociolinguists are Western-educated, that European languages have been more often subject to sociolinguistic investigations than non-Western languages, and that Western scholars are overrepresented on the editorial boards of journals in the field of Sociolinguistics.

In the 1960s, when the work of Basil Bernstein, in Britain, and William Labov, in the United States, provided a major impulse to studying language in industrial society in a new way that differed markedly from both the description of language as a generalized atemporal structure in the Saussurean sense of synchrony and the description of regional distinctions in the vein of dialectology, it was common to make a distinction between sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics. The former dealt with industrialized societies of the West, the latter with post-colonial societies where scholars and missionaries had been or were active. By and large this division of labor corresponded to that between sociology and ethnography or cultural anthropology. Sociology was self-centered and based in Western societies, while ethnography studied from a Western point of view how "premodern" societies, alternatively called "primitive", "oral", "autochthonous", or "indigenous groups", differed from the West (Said 1978).

A principal point of difference between traditional ways of studying language and the new paradigm of sociolinguistics had to do with social change. Industrialization induced population movements and concentration. Urbanization created major differences between city versus country life that undermined the notion of relative linguistic homogeneity in small spatial extension. Sociolinguistics emerged as the "linguistics of the city". Since the industrial revolution, urbanization progressed most forcefully

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-002

and rapidly in Western countries. The study of language in an urban setting therefore first developed in the West and thus quite naturally initially became a Western science (Coulmas 2013: 21). Research about the nexus of language and society that developed in other parts of the world without much participation by Western scientists was largely ignored.

The fact that this was also so in regards to research about the Japanese language in its social setting can be attributed to:
(1) the general theoretical Eurocentrism prevalent in the social sciences,
(2) the language barrier, and
(3) the scarcity of publications about Japanese outside Japanese philology and in languages other than Japanese.

Reflecting actual power relations and Western dominance, the language barrier was one-way. The reception of Western scholarship in Japan and Western academics lecturing in their own language or in English in Japan (and anywhere else outside the Western world) were taken for granted, while active command of Japanese outside Japan was confined to a small circle of specialists.

In the case of Japan, the history of sociolinguistics thus described, however briefly and simplistically, is remarkable for two reasons.

Firstly, even though Japan was a latecomer to industrialization, urbanization had begun to transform life in Japan earlier than in most countries and by the end of the nineteenth century had reached a level commensurate with European countries. Already in the eighteenth century, Tokyo was one of the biggest cities of the world.

Secondly, when in the 1960s scientists in advanced Western countries began to explore correlations between social and linguistic characteristics, this way of thinking about language was not new in Japan. As early as in the 1930s, sociologist Juri Tanabe had coined the term *gengo shakaigaku* ‘sociology of language’ for a new field of scholarship (Tanabe 1936), while during the same period anthropological linguist Kyōsuke Kindaichi established “Language Life” (*gengo seikatsu*) as an empirical research paradigm that guided Japanese social linguistics for decades (see Chapter 4 (Inoue, this volume)). However, the first wave of sociolinguistic research in the English-speaking world focused on how class distinctions found expression in different codes, social class being a concept that was predicated on city life in Western industrial societies and, therefore, could not be assumed to be readily applicable to Japanese society. Although Karl Marx’s and Max Weber’s conceptions of social class were known and debated in Japan, social class analysis did not inform language life research.

2 Empirical research about language life

The language life paradigm exemplifies the point made above about the historical contingency of research methodologies.[1] After being initially theory-driven based on Motoki Tokieda's utterance process model, language life research turned empirical after World War II. *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo* (National Language Research Institute, NLRI hereafter)[2] founded in 1948 became the hub of socially relevant linguistic research. As the name indicates, this is a national institute charged with particular tasks deemed relevant for functions of the state, notably education. In conjunction with the many social changes of the post-war period, four issues became topical: literacy assessment, language standardization, honorific speech, and a general survey of regional forms of Japanese.

3 Literacy

The first representative literacy survey in Japan ever was carried out in 1948 under the direction of Kikuo Nomoto who would later become director of NLRI. It was a massive empirical inquiry collecting and processing data by some 17,000 informants in 270 locations (Yomikaki Nōryoku Chōsa Iinkai (ed.) 1951). The primary intent of the survey was to establish literacy levels in order to enable informed decisions about adjusting language planning and educational policies. Japan's modernization was accompanied by deliberate attempts to reduce the reliance on Chinese characters and narrow the gap between spoken and written language (*genbun itchi*). The defeat in the Second World War revitalized the writing reform discussion, and to this end, data about proficiency in reading and writing were needed.

In addition to literacy levels, the survey collected social and demographic data, such as gender, age, education, and occupation of the respondents. The results of the survey suggested a higher overall literacy level than had been expected. According to the findings, only 1.7 per cent of the respondents were illiterate. The statistical analyses of the data furthermore revealed increasing literacy levels with declining age: The younger the informants the higher the proficiency. This led to the conclusion that literacy was not a pressing problem. These findings effectively terminated the writing reform debate. In particular, Romanization, the strategy favored by the US occupation, was no longer seriously considered. In the absence of any reliability tests, the findings of the survey were taken at face value and gave rise to the cherished belief

1 In this section I follow, by and large, Heinrich's (2001: 171–75) account of the development of language life research.

2 Renamed National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) 2009.

that illiteracy did not exist in Japan. Consequently, no further literacy assessment studies were undertaken for the next half century.

The participants' literacy skills were tested by means of a huge instrument consisting of 90 questions, but the statistical techniques for processing the data were rather crude. Methodologically the survey was straightforward, making use of questions in the manner of fill-in school exams. These questions fell into eight categories, as follows:

(1) writing kana,
(2) writing numerals,
(3) reading kana,
(4) reading Chinese characters,
(5) writing Chinese characters,
(6) context-specific comprehension of Chinese character words,
(7) comprehension of synonyms,
(8) sentence comprehension.

The completed questionnaires were graded like school exams. Since only respondents who failed on every category were counted as illiterate, the survey was later criticized for obscuring rather than elucidating the true situation of literacy in Japan (Sumi 2005).

4 Speech community and the diffusion of the standard language

One of the researchers involved in the fieldwork for the literacy survey was Takesi Sibata. He transferred research methods he had acquired in that context to another large survey conducted in 1950 about speech communities, *gengo chiiki shakai*. The Japanese term literally translates as "local speech communities", indicating what the survey was about: the local variation of linguistic behavior that distinguishes one community from another.

Japanese dialects had been studied at least since the 1920s when Kunio Yanagita, pioneer of Japanese folklore studies, developed his theory of concentric circles (*hōgen shūken-ron*) which posited Kyoto as the origin from which linguistic innovations spread to other parts of the country (Yanagita 1963). Yanagita was an empiricist at heart. He relentlessly roamed the country from north to south collecting linguistic data and observing folk events and practices in remote places. His concentric model of language diffusion did not eventually stand the test of verification (Inoue 2011), but it inspired empirical research about dialects. In post-war Japan, this kind of research flourished.

At the time, Sibata was the leading researcher about geographic language variation. However, his many studies were not just about the geographic distribution of varieties but tackled theoretical and methodological issues that arose in conjunction with demographic changes, such as the diminishing population density in rural areas, on one hand, and increasing urban sprawl, on the other. Increasing life expectancy and intensifying social mobility further changed the social fabric of Japan. One of the overarching questions the NLRI addressed in a succession of surveys concerned the diffusion of the standard language[3] (*hyōjungo*) defined as the educated dialect of Tokyo. For the purposes of a uniform system of education throughout the country and since widespread exposure to mass media began to have an effect on language behavior throughout Japan, early surveys concentrated on peripheral rather than metropolitan regions, such as the island of Hachijōjima, Shirakawa City in Fukushima Prefecture, and Tsuruoka City in Yamagata Prefecture. The questions of how fast and to what extent the standard variety of Japanese would penetrate regions outside the capital raised methodological issues as it involved language change rather than just a static description of the distribution of regional dialects. Of particular importance was the question of how linguistic data were to be correlated with the age of the respondents.

The question Sibata and other researchers at NLRI debated was whether and how the age structure of linguistic communities and aggregate findings about the ability to use the standard language and actual usage could be taken as a measure of the degree of language standardization. They therefore designed instruments for assessing proficiency in the standard language both in speech and with respect to reading and writing. Findings of the surveys in Shirakawa City and Tsuruoka City revealed a consistent tendency of declining proficiency values with increasing age, which Sibata interpreted as indicating progressing standardization (Sibata 1999 [1952]). In the event, the observed differences were understood not as age cohort-specific speech behavior but as language change over time, anticipating as it were the apparent time concept that was later developed in mainstream variationist sociolinguistics (Bailey 2002).

The apparent time method, which assumes that linguistic differences that vary in a regular way with age differences in a sample population was a makeshift solution to a fundamental methodological problem: How to study language change if actual observation is confined to the moment? Incremental language change is continuous and so slow that it defies direct observation. Prima facie language change can moreover mean two different things,

(1) that individual speakers change their habits (of pronunciation, word choice, or phrasing) and
(2) that the aggregate variety that defines a community changes.

3 The terms *kokugo* 'national language', *kyōtsūgo* 'common language', and *hyōjungo* 'standard language' are sometimes used interchangeably. However, there is also a theoretical discussion about how they differ in meaning. While a standard depends on explicit definition by an agency authorized to set rules, "common language" just refers to a variety that does not exhibit any regional accent. Cf. Tokugawa (1988).

How (1) and (2) interact, how sociodemographic characteristics of individual speakers and socially defined subgroups impact the process of change are genuinely sociolinguistic questions. The Shirakawa and Tsuruoka surveys addressed questions like these. However, that age differences in regards to a given linguistic feature observed in data recorded at the same time can be justifiably interpreted as representing language change over time is a hypothesis that can be verified or falsified only in retrospect, after a sufficiently long period has elapsed. The practical problems that stand in the way of longitudinal studies spanning several decades are such that studies of this sort are exceedingly rare.

It is here that the NLRI surveys made significant contributions to sociolinguistic scholarship. The point of departure was to conceptualize language change as frequency of occurrence in a given population, rather than the presence or absence of certain features. Using this concept in order to measure stability and change, researchers at NLRI replicated the original 1950 Tsuruoka study after two decades and then again in 1991 and 2011 (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2007; Tōkei Sūri Kenkyūjo and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2014). In the second and even in the third wave of the survey it was possible to re-interview many of the original respondents making it possible to measure aggregate and individual change. There were 497 respondents in the first wave, 107 of which could be contacted and re-interviewed in the second wave. In addition to these 107, new respondents were added in order to have a comparable sample of 401, as indicated in Table 1.1. The same procedure was followed in waves three and four. Each wave included a sizeable number of the previous wave's respondents. Four respondents of the original random sample survived in the fourth wave of 2011.

Table 1.1: The sample of interviewees of the Tsuruoka language survey, as it changed over time. (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2013: 3).

	1950	1971	1991	2011
Original random sample	496	107	53	4
Total sample	496	401	405	466

The wealth of data collected in the four waves of the survey makes the Tsuruoka study unique. Its main features can be summarized as follows. It treats language as a statistical vector rather than essentializing it. Combining insight into individual and aggregate change, it contributes to our understanding of what a speech community is and how it moves through time. And by totaling rates of change of individual features it provides a measure of progressing language standardization.

Methodologically the Tsuruoka study built on the literacy survey, but it was much more sophisticated and became more so from wave to wave, not least thanks to the cooperation with the Institute of Statistical Mathematics.[4] The first wave used a random sample of subjects chosen from the city registry. They were interviewed by the researchers one by one on the basis of a questionnaire that solicited information about gender, age, domicile, and education. Focusing on the pronunciation of segmental sounds as the most reliable indicator of language standardization, the 1950 questionnaire included 31 words the respondents were asked to pronounce. No attempts were made to solicit unmonitored speech, the assumption being that it is difficult to change one's pronunciation at will. Responses were judged by the investigators as to whether or not they conformed to the standard. For instance, if the word *eki* 'station' was pronounced with initial [e], the standard pronunciation, it was rated one, and if the onset sound was [i] or [ɨ], zero. A respondent's total score on all items was the measure of that speaker's degree of standardization, and in this way the added scores of age cohorts and other subgroups as well as of the whole sample gauged the degree of standardization.

This method combined keen observation and the selection of phonetic features that were indicative of regional speech and likely to give way to the pressure of standardization with statistical techniques to measure the prevalence of these features in a sample. Since the data allow for the analysis of language change of both individual speakers and of a speech community, they have been processed and made available to the scientific community in highly elaborate form (Abe 2010) and used for many secondary studies about cohort-specific language behavior, ageing and language change, and language standardization as a process over time, among others (Yokoyama 2011). Thanks to the four respondents who took part in all four waves of the survey, the data also stimulated research into individual linguistic life courses (cf., e.g. Yokoyama and Sanada 2010).

From the point of view of research methodology, the sixty years of the Tsuruoka survey must be recounted as a story of steadily progressing sophistication from the beginnings of rather simple, hands-on data collection that relied on the investigators' judgement to the construction of highly elaborate statistical models of individual and collective language change.

5 Honorific speech

Another issue that figured prominently in early Japanese sociolinguistics was politeness or "honorific speech". There were three reasons for this: One, the elaborate system of linguistic means the Japanese language affords for expressing respect, deference, social distance, and formality; two, the assumption that politeness expressions somehow reflect social relations; and three, the desire to monitor the effects on actual usage of the 1952 recommendations issued by the National Language Council on honorific language. These recommendations were intended to support the democratiza-

4 http://www.ism.ac.jp/index_e.html (accessed 13 December 2021).

tion of Japan, stating in article 2: “In the past, honorific language was mainly based on superior inferior-relationships. From now on, it shall be based on mutual respect for each individual’s personality” (Bunkachō 1952). If previous usage was indexical of a strongly hierarchical society, changes in honorific usage might reveal insights about social change. What is more, they might shed some light into the complex interaction between social change and language change more generally. Sibata (1999 [1973]: 159) explicitly stated that the sociolinguistic investigation of honorific language is a suitable tool for grasping the social structure.

In passing, it may be noted that research about honorific language in Japan resulted in a huge literature that preceded the “politeness turn” and the investigation of gendered speech in Western sociolinguistics by several decades.

Linguistic politeness research has to begin by identifying the object of inquiry. In the early 1950s, when systematic surveys were first conducted, they focused on terms of address and self-reference, as use of these expressions is most obviously conditioned on social relationships and speaker status. Many studies of this period are part of the wider agenda of studying language standardization and were accordingly carried out in remote places where speech patterns could be expected to be at variance with standard usage.

For example, a 1952 inquiry described the use of kinship terms in a small village in Machino Town, Ishikawa Prefecture (Sibata 1999 [1973]). In the event, rather than recording unsolicited conversations through participant observation, interviews were the preferred method of collecting data. Although Sibata discusses the methodological differences between structural and social linguistics, pointing out that there is a danger that “interrogation” for a formal description “skews the data” (Sibata 1999 [1973]: 159), he justified such an approach on the grounds that members of small rural communities know about each other’s habits. Moreover, usage of kinship terms was dependent on a household’s position in the community and was the same for members of the household and other members of the community. Thus, if the members of a given household would call the head of the household *danna-sama*, other members of the community would also call him that, thereby recognizing that individual’s and his household’s ranking in the community. In order to examine the address kinship terms used in the community and the social relations underlying them, so the argument went, it was sufficient to question an informant or a small number of informants. The informants’ responses were taken at face value. No checks or reliability tests were included in the research design.

In the event, the study of the Kami-Tokikuni community interviewed 70 people who had 4830 (= 70 × (70 − 1) + ×)) potential addressees. They were asked how they addressed each member of the community all of whom were identified by their first name. 130 different terms of address were found, and after first and second person pronouns were discounted, 110 terms remained. The complex system of terms of address that resulted was descriptively interesting, but how to interpret these findings in regards to social structure remained unclear. As in the case of the Tsuruoka study, the Kami-Tokikuni survey was repeated after almost two decades, in 1970, revealing a number of changes in honorific usage. However, the conclusions that could be drawn from the data collected by interviewing informants with standardized questionnaires were limited. After the Second World War a land reform was carried out, which in effect eliminated the old system of community ranking. The reform was a rare case of social engineering, and it was a matter of considerable interest whether it caused the observed changes in address behavior. Yet the survey did not yield any hard evidence to this effect, because it was not designed to do so. Tellingly, Sibata considers the possibility that the honorific system in the 1952 survey "might have been based on a preconception. Informants and investigators might have forced [the] *structuralization*" (Sibata 1999 [1973]: 162), seeing more structure than there was.

In the present context, the Kami-Tokikuni survey can be cited as an example of a highly interesting research project about honorific language carried out with too little attention being paid to its methodological design. The unwelcome outcome of this disregard is that the value of the collected data is compromised. It is a descriptive case study that does not allow for generalizations.

Other studies of honorific language made use of more elaborate methods of collecting data that are amenable to statistical analysis. A 1954 survey of the occurrence of the honorific prefix *o-* in Tokyo speech illustrates. The objective of the survey was to establish usage patterns of honorific speech among the residents of Tokyo. To this end, a representative sample of 617 informants was formed by systematic random sampling from official resident registers. Demographic factors such as age, education, occupation, and characteristics of the area (residential, industrial, and agricultural) were taken into consideration. Eventually 476 respondents were interviewed, all female, for practical and theoretical reasons. At the time, women tended to be homemakers and were thus easier to interview than men were. They were moreover thought to be more reliable judges of honorific speech.

Ten investigators interviewed the 476 informants, presenting them with 49 words of which they were asked to say whether they used them with the prefix *o-*. If an informant judged all 49 words positive with regard to attaching the prefix, she would obtain 49 points, and if she used none with the prefix, she would obtain 0 points. In this way, it was possible to discover any sociodemographic influence on the use of *o-*. Social conditions governing the use of *o-* were found. Age differences were negligible, while education had an effect, higher levels of education being positively correlated with higher frequency of use. Social class was also said to be a significant factor: "the use of *o-* increased with higher social standing" (Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999: 116). However, no robust conclusions about class-specific use of *o-* can be drawn from this survey, because the informants' social class "was judged subjectively by the interviewers [on the basis of] the structure of the house, condition of the interior, informant's clothing" (Kunihiro, Inoue, and Long (eds.) 1999: 116). The absence of a well-defined model of social class in this survey is typical of sociolinguistic research in Japan in the 1950s. This is more of a theoretical than a methodological deficit, demonstrating once again the close interaction between theory and methodology.

A quarter century later, the same deficit still makes it impossible to interpret survey results about honorific language use in terms of social class. Sibata (1977: 113) voiced the opinion that "in modern Japan . . . differences in social classes seem to have already disappeared". His understanding of social class was closely connected with feudal society, and he thought that remnants thereof remained only in Okinawa. There he investigated linguistic differences between "gentry" (*shizoku*) and "commoners" (*shima no hito*, 'island people'). That was the extent of social stratification he considered relevant as a predictor of differences in language use.

During the same period, Ogino developed methods for the quantification of politeness in a number of publications (e.g. 1980). While previous studies of politeness were mostly limited to describing the structural means used for the expression of respect, deference, etc. without revealing any information about actual behavior, Ogino proposed a method "to study objectively, from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics, how the honorific varieties appear in large quantities of actual, self-reported data" (Ogino 1986: 38). For this purpose, he applied mathematical quantification techniques making use of cross-tabulations.

The data Ogino (1986) used were self-reported statements of honorific usage rather than actually observed usage. 488 people of a random sample were asked how they would affirmatively answer the question, "Do you know so-and-so's telephone number?" The respondents were asked to imagine eight different addressees as follows: (1) a close friend of about the same age, (2) a close acquaintance a little older, (3) a close acquaintance a little younger, (4) a not-too-close acquaintance of about the same age, (5) a not-too-close acquaintance a little older, (6) a not-too-close acquaintance a little younger, (7) the family member to whom the respondent talks most casually, (8) the person to whom the respondent talks most politely. 115 different ways of saying "yes, I know" (the telephone number) were obtained from face-to-face interviews. The relative politeness of each expression was calculated on the basis of the frequencies with which it was used toward each type of addressee. Ogino then correlated the sociodemographic data of the respondents with expressions variously rated as more or less polite and thus arrived at a quantitatively founded representation of politeness speech by Tokyo residents.

Two problems with this method stick out: the use of self-reported data and the paucity of the social categories used for describing the social structure. Subjects were assumed to be fully conscious of, and to reliably report on their own speech behavior. Social distinctions between them were limited to sex, age, familiarity, and inside vs. outside the family. In light of the combination of these two limitations, Ogino's method for the quantification of politeness is an interesting mathematical exercise, which, however, produces little insight about how politeness behavior is socially indicative in Japan.

Numerous surveys about how the standard language spread from Tokyo to the provinces were carried out in many parts of the country, but conceptually these were surveys about the (linguistic) unification of the country rather than differentiation. Dialect differences were well known and taken for granted; however, that in the process of language standardization new linguistic distinctions could potentially emerge that were indicative of social stratification was rarely taken into consideration.[5] Instead of looking at social hierarchy as a predictor of language variation, more sociolinguistic research was done about other distinctions, notably gender and group language, such as, argot, occupational language, housewife language, student slang, etc.

It should be pointed out that this lack of interest in class structure is not limited to sociolinguistics. In Japan, social class has long been associated with the old order of feudal estates the Japanese nation state since the Meiji Restauration worked hard to overcome. The age of reconstruction after the defeat in World War II then gave rise to a self-image of Japan as a universal middle class society, which took root even among many sociologists. Only few of them have consistently and systematically studied social class and social mobility, like for instance Hiroshi Ishida, and even he uses a wider concept of social class which transcends the traditional concept that is limited to economic aspects (e.g. Ishida and Slater (eds.) 2010). That no methods for correlating language and social class have been developed in Japan thus reflects the fact that for a long time social class was not very salient in Japanese society and Japanese sociology.

About other social factors such as education, gender, and the urban-rural division Japanese sociolinguists have produced a rich and varied literature. Its most characteristic feature is strong emphasis on empirical research, often involving large-scale costly surveys that only institutions employing permanent staff, such as NLRI/NINJAL can carry out. Methodology has always played an important role in preparing surveys and other research projects. The summary Table 1.2 Tokugawa composed still provides a useful overview.

6 Dialect geography

The diffusion of the standard language in Japan was a socio-political project closely related to the above-mentioned abolition of the feudal order; the relative immobility of the peasant population of the old feudal domains (*han*) was thought to contribute to the habituation of local dialects. Unifying the country linguistically was seen as essential for its modernization, and the dispersion of the standard language as an indicator of overcoming inequality. Such was the primary motivation for another huge project undertaken by NLRI, directed for nine years by Takesi Sibata, the National Linguistic Atlas project (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1955–1975). Data were collected by means of a questionnaire comprising 230 items.

5 As late as 1975, Honna disputed the applicability of social stratification models to Japan, arguing that "it seems almost a taboo nowadays to discuss social stratification or social class, even worse to mention its scale" (Honna 1975: 194).

Table 1.2: Research methods used in linguistic research projects (adapted from Tokugawa (1988: 1003)).

Subfields of dialect research / Methods of approaching object of research			Records and descriptions								Theory of dialect division	Geolinguistics	Comparative dialectology	Social dialectology
			Descriptions					Translations, recordings						
			General overview	Lexicon, dialect groups	Grammar	Phonology	Word usage	Translations	Recordings of natural conversations	Impromptu skits				
Introspection			○	○	○	○	○	○	×	Δ	×	×	Δ	Δ
Natural observation	natural conversation		◊	◊	◊	◊	◊	×	○	×	×	×	×	◊
	documents	recorded data	Δ	◊	Δ	Δ	◊	×	×	×	Δ	×	×	◊
		research literature	×	Δ	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	Δ	Δ	×
Stimulus observation (survey)	surreptious investigation		×	×	×	×	◊	×	Δ	◊	×	◊	×	Δ
	interview	individual	○	○	○	○	○	Δ	○	○	Δ	○	○	○
		group	×	×	×	×	◊	×	×	×	◊	○	×	Δ
	questionnaire	postal	×	◊	◊	×	◊	◊	×	×	◊	○	×	◊
		telephone	×	◊	◊	◊	◊	×	◊	◊	×	Δ	×	◊

○ normally used; Δ sometimes used; ◊ occasional ancillary; × almost never used.

As these figures indicate, the hallmark of this project and Japanese dialect studies in general is the collection of data from a large number of informants. Tahara (1991) reviewed the advantages and disadvantages of various fieldwork methods. As he points out, while the semi-structured face-to-face interview is preferable for the purpose of soliciting natural, unselfconscious speech, this method is very time consuming, since the interviewee may not produce the desired lexical item or pronunciation for a long time. In order to collect a sufficiently large corpus for the data to be statistically processable, fill-in questionnaires are often preferred, especially for dialect maps, which inevitably require a large number of informants. The Linguistic Atlas of Japan, for instance, used 2400 localities for data collection. Depending on the nature of the investigation, the pros and cons of direct and indirect methods of gathering information about the state of the language must be weighed carefully. From the very beginning of dialect studies until the present, questions of methodology were an important part of the development of the discipline. Matters such as questionnaire design, informant selection, interview techniques, data recording and management, and the identification of pertinent research objects – lexical items, accent patterns, honorific morphology, syntactic structures, etc. – received a great deal of attention (Tokugawa 1988: 1003).

Linguistic geography had been pioneered in the late 1920 by folklorist Kunio Yanagita's study of how snails are called throughout the country (Figure 1.1) which kindled an interest in the multiformity of dialects (Yanagita 1930, Sato 1979: 14). The distribution patterns he discovered made him speculate that radiating from the center to the periphery, the oldest forms were to be found in outlying regions. With this idea of concentric spreading Yanagita raised for the first time the intricate question of how space and time interact in determining the distribution of linguistic features. It was around this question that Japanese dialectology developed, quite independently from similar research in the West. Writing in the mid-nineteen sixties, Grootaers observed:

> Very few important works in this field are written in English, the dialectal studies in both Britain and the United States being definitely not ahead of Japanese dialectology. The languages necessary for dialectologists are German, French, Italian, and Dutch in that order. Few scholars of the "national linguistics" field now alive can consult works in these languages with any proficiency. (Grootaers 1967: 589)

Willem A. Grootaers played an active role in the development of Japanese dialectology, which was from its inception part of the language life approach and as such motivated by practical rather than theoretical concerns. After a decade of linguistic fieldwork in China, Grootaers arrived in Japan in 1950 and from then on collaborated in projects, including the Linguistic Atlas of Japan, as well as in the development of geolinguistic research tools. Linguistic maps depict the spatial distribution of linguistic forms. At the time it was standard practice to focus on elderly men leading a land-bound life as informants because their speech was considered least affected by outside influence and in this sense most authentic.

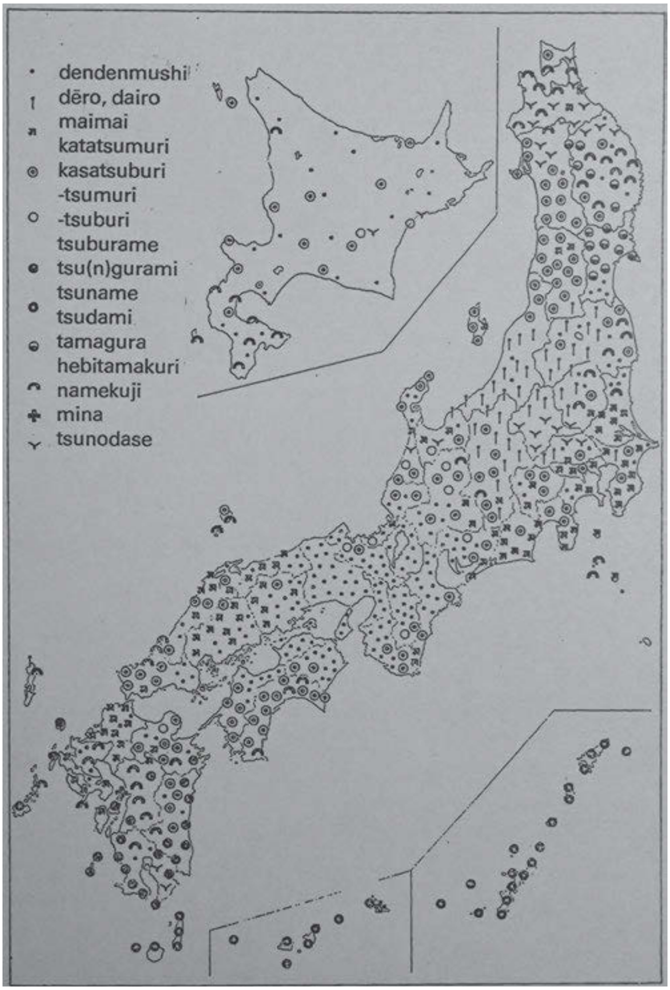

Figure 1.1: Kunio Yanagita's words for 'snail' (Sato 1979: 15).

This selective way of data collection is a prime example of the theoretical importance of methodology, illustrating as it does how the research instrument creates the object of inquiry. As an aggregate phenomenon in constant flux and subject to the influence of geographic, social and economic forces, language is not an object waiting to be dissected that reveals different aspects of its immutable existence just depending on the strength of the microscope lens through which we look at it. Rather, by cataloguing utterances or judgements about utterances by some speakers instead of others, we create the object we purportedly depict. Accordingly, most linguistic maps produced in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century represent a rather limited view on small fragments of the actual linguistic situation (Tokugawa (ed.) 1979). While this does not invalidate these maps and is inevitable for every description of social phenomena, the question was eventually raised how representative elderly men were, and how the rest of the speech community should be represented on linguistic atlases. It gave rise to a methodological discussion about visual representations of language that can combine the special and temporal dimensions of its existence.

The principal result of these deliberations that took place within the big NLRI geolinguistic survey mentioned above was the "glottogram" as described by Sanada (2002), a mathematical method of correlating survey locality and informant age (Figure 1.2).

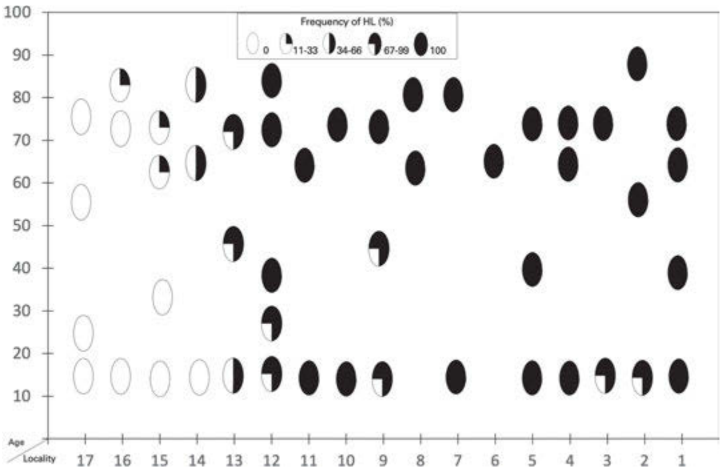

Figure 1.2: Glottogram, from "old" accent (HL) to "new" accent (LH). (Sanada 1971).

By crossing localities with speakers' ages, the glottogram catches the dynamics of language change. The survey from which the glottogram in Figure 1.2 is derived was conducted in 17 locations (x-axis) among speakers of five age groups (y-axis). The investigated item is the occurrence of a rising pitch accent in certain words that was found spreading geographically. In the event, there is a clear division between the extreme points on the location axis, all of the informants in location 1 using the HL accent, while in location 17 all informants use the LH accent. In the middle ground of the graph at locations 12 through 16 age differences in the use of either accent appear which are interpreted as representing ongoing language change. The apparent time method mentioned above also uses speakers' ages of data collected at one point in time as evidence of ongoing language change, but it ignores variable frequencies of use in space. The glottogram has its own limitations, as it can only depict the linear diffusion of linguistic change, rather than its spreading on a plane. However, by correlating variation across age groups and localities glottograms show that there is a better way of depicting language change than comparing linguistic maps based on data solicited from the old generation at successive points in time, but also that language change does not proceed simultaneously throughout a language area.

As of the 1980s, Fumio Inoue made extensive use of the glottogram method. After a half century of studying dialects and language change, he published a book with the stunning title, Japanese moves at one kilometer per year (Inoue 2003). In it he takes stock of the research about language standardization based on lexical items of the Linguistic Atlas of Japan and other surveys. In his words: “As [this research method] simultaneously depicts regional and age differences, the process of language change is made beautifully visible” (Inoue 2003: 34, 36). Inoue does not ignore the above-mentioned limitation of the glottogram to linear diffusion of linguistic innovation. Yet, for him this method is part of a set of instruments that can elucidate the complex process of language change.

For one thing, Inoue argues that by taking the age of informants into account, comparisons of the available data from the Linguistic Atlas of Japan, whose oldest informants were born around 1895, with more recent data of informants born around 1985, make it possible to devise a linear model of the process of language standardization spanning more than 200 years (Inoue et al. 2009). Extrapolating from the actually existing data, he predicts that speakers born around 2035 will bring the diffusion of the common language to completion. Evidently, this is a hypothetical conjecture beyond verification or falsification at present. However, rather than the veracity of the prediction, the important point is that quantitative methods of linguistic analysis have been elaborated to the extent that testable predictions can be formulated. Glottochronology, a procedure entirely reliant on written documents of the past, has thus been supplemented by a method that is much closer to the spoken language (although it still depends on transcription) and extends to the future. This method has helped to bring the aggregation of individual acts that result in the social phenomenon recognized as language change closer to objective investigation. This process is further stimulated by more research based on spontaneous rather than elicited speech, as for instance, Asahi’s study of new speech forms in a Kobe suburb (Asahi 2008).

Harking back to the beginnings of systematic research of dialectal variety in Japan, Inoue is able to demonstrate based on quantitative data that Kunio Yanagita’s model of concentric diffusion of linguistic features falls short of explaining the multifaceted interaction of change that has driven language adaptations of various sorts in modern Japan. “Modern” must be emphasized in this context, because language standardization was an important part of Japan’s modernization efforts that interfered with unintended, quasi-natural language change. Education, deliberate dialect eradication campaigns, increased mobility, and expanded exposure to the mass media have rendered the concentric diffusion model obsolete. For in the course of investigating the advance of common language in peripheral regions it became clear that not only was the flow of linguistic features from the center, Tokyo, to other parts of the country uneven, there was also a counter current of new features flowing towards Tokyo from where they then spread throughout the country.

This exchange between center and periphery gave rise to what has been called "new dialects" (*shin-hōgen*) and with them an entirely new subfield of social dialectology (Tokugawa and Sanada (eds.) 1991). The forms first identified as exemplifying this new phenomenon, such as *–ra* omission (*-ra-nuki kotoba*) (Inoue 1998: 2–15) among many others, provoked much public criticism and were branded as language confusion (*kotoba no midare*). They were produced predominantly by young speakers who used non-standard forms in informal domains. Careful examination of the evidence reveals that the "confusion" is part of the process of change, which the glottogram method allows to depict as incremental increase of frequency of occurrence progressing through several stages from misuse through uncertainty and common use to accepted correct use. Glottograms can moreover reveal the direction of innovations that move to and from Tokyo. Inoue has tried to visualize the mutual influence of regional dialects and common language in a model he calls the "umbrella model of language change" (Figure 1.3).

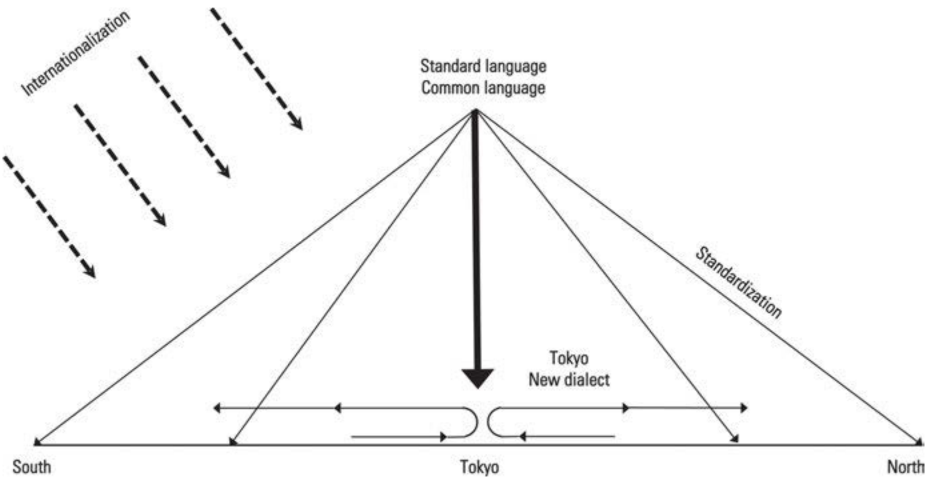

Figure 1.3: Inoue's Umbrella Model of language change (Inoue 1998: 202).

The picture is complicated by the mutual influence of spontaneous and planned language change that has characterized the dynamics of Japanese throughout the twentieth century. The process of standardization promoted by the Ministry of Education and other agencies – change from above – continues and is at the same time counter caricatured by the emergence of new dialects "in the street" – change from below. A third force that makes itself felt Inoue calls "internationalization", that is, increasing exposure to language contact, translation and the absorption of loan words. The language continues to change, and uncovering the factors of change and weighing their relative impact poses many challenges. Clearly, since Kunio Yanagita's field notes about snails, the research tools have been sharpened and the rigor of empirical investigation greatly increased, steadily expanding the realm of that which can be subjected to systematic study.

Combining large data sets that have considerable time depth with linguistic maps and glottograms, Inoue (2003) attempts to make the interaction of spatial and temporal language variation calculable. His bold claim cited above: Linguistic innovations in twentieth and twenty-first century Japan progress at the speed of about one kilometer per year. Once again, the exactitude of this assertion is of minor interest only. The true significance of his claim lies in the implicit, more general claim that the speed of language change can be measured and that, accordingly, based on the available empirical evidence, falsifiable hypotheses can be formulated.

Since the linguistic innovations summarily labelled "new dialects" travel from the periphery to the center and interact with forms that progress in the opposite direction, the very notion of dialect is to be reconceptualized. Just like glaciers that may appear stationary, but in fact always flow, dialects do not freeze. Computer-assisted multivariate analysis of the frequencies of occurrence of multiple items in multiple locations across several age groups of speakers makes dialects appear as moving entities, rather than geographically fixed remnants of antiquated speech forms (Inoue 2003: 212). Thanks to new research tools it has become possible to investigate these multidimensional entities as constitutive elements of the continuous process of language change. In this sense, progress in research methodology has changed the logic of scientific discovery.

7 Conclusions

To a greater extent than the natural sciences, the social sciences create the object of their investigation. The development of the methods employed in sociolinguistic scholarship described in this chapter confirms this general insight. How the object of investigation is conceptualized and delimited depends on the available research instruments; and more than that. While an analytic research tool is designed for studying certain phenomena in accordance with certain theoretical provisions, it is not necessarily limited to a subservient role, but may work back to the theory that informs it.

The methods developed for investigating the progress of language standardization since the first linguistic atlas of Japan in the early 1900's and gradually elaborated in the course of the twentieth century have not just strengthened the empirical foundations of linguistics but improved our understanding of language as a social entity that exists in space and time. As the study of language variation progressed from interviewing old men living in the place where they were born to probing the conditions under which linguistic innovations traverse "dialect boundaries" formerly seen as stable, our notions of how dialects relate to each other and to the supra-regional common language have been transformed. This interplay of theory and method is further modulated by ideological changes. The traditional methods of dialectology that produced linguistic maps portray language as an idealized stable entity, a notion that was in accord with the promotion of the national language early in the last century. By contrast, research tools such as the glottogram that at once capture the spatial and temporal dynamics of language evolution are more attuned to the relaxing of standards and language contact induced hybridization characteristic of the present time.

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Yoshiyuki Asahi and J.K. Chambers

2 Japan and the international sociolinguistic community

1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics became an international scientific and academic enterprise in the second half of the twentieth century. It dated back to the early 1930s when Bloomfield made his discussions on speech community (Bloomfield 1933). In the same decade, sociolinguistics was launched in some countries such as Japan and India (Kikusawa 1933; Tanabe 1936; Hodson 1939). Sociolinguistics had its effective beginnings in the 1960s when structuralist linguistics undertook further development on the social uses of linguistic structures. Sociolinguists such as William Labov, Dell Hymes, Robin Lakoff, Joshua Fishman, and many others, published their pioneering sociolinguistic works (Labov 1966, 1972; Fishman 1972; Lakoff 1973; Hymes 1974). Sociolinguistics blossomed in the aftermath of their studies. Linguists, graduate students, and undergraduate students around the world were inspired by their work and eager to pursue their own sociolinguistic interests.

Sociolinguistics had different goals from its beginning: some studies analyzed linguistic variables to examine which internal or external factor(s) weighed more than others so as to explain the linguistic changes in progress and also the changes engendered by language contact, while others examined the social significance underlying linguistic variation, viz. language choice in reference to gender, social inequality, multilingualism, and language death. As a result of various research outcomes in sociolinguistics, scholars across continents voiced their concerns, leading to a more comprehensive definition of sociolinguistics.

Modern linguistics represented by Ferdinand de Saussure had a global influence and it reached before Japanese linguistics community. Soon after his concepts were introduced in the 1920s, linguists in Japan endeavored to conduct linguistic studies of the Japanese language as well as other languages around the world. While linguists in Japan were highly aware of the linguistic developments in the international linguistic community, Japanese linguists pursued their academic interests, and proposed their linguistic concepts to describe Japanese. These “particular linguistic” approaches were influential in Japanese linguistics, which differentiated “paradigmatic linguistics” (Neustupný 1978) or from general linguistics in the international linguistic community.

Acknowledgements: We would like thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this chapter, and de Gruyter Mouton and CSLI for permission to reproduce altered version of their figures. We would also like to thank John Haig for his comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-003

Sociolinguistics in Japan had a number of "particular linguistic" aspects in its history. In particular, we witness a number of achievements in Japanese sociolinguistics: *Kokugo isō-ron*, 'Japanese phaselogy' from the 1930s as well as *Gengo-seikatsu* 'Language Life' from the 1940s. (These notions are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 (Inoue, this volume) The history of Japanese sociolinguistics has been well-documented in Japanese sociolinguistic literature such as Minami (1973), Neustupný (1978), Sanada and Sibata (1982), Sanada (1986, 1988), Sanada et al. (1992), Tokugawa (1995), Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) (1999), and Gottlieb (2010). Since the 1970s, sociolinguistic books in the United States and Europe have been available in Japan. Japanese scholars started to learn from and interact with the international sociolinguistic community.

The purpose of this chapter lies in the illustration of how Japanese sociolinguistics has been affected by the international sociolinguistic community. Japanese sociolinguists have shared a number of research areas with international scholars. Japanese sociolinguistics has made contributions in such areas as gender, honorifics, and real-time studies to sociolinguistics in general, as all the chapters of this volume demonstrate with their comprehensive coverage of topics in Japanese sociolinguistics.

This chapter targets Japanese sociolinguistics from the 1950s to the 2000s when a number of Japanese graduate students obtained their PhDs in sociolinguistics from American or European universities and began their academic careers at Japanese universities. We will first render an assessment of two "review publications", i.e. two volumes that periodically publish overviews of notable books and articles produced in a one- or two-year period.

Kokugogaku (Studies in the Japanese language) and *Kaigai gengogaku jōhō* (Current trends in overseas linguistics) will be examined in Section 2 to show how sociolinguistics was dealt with in domestic and international publications. Section 3 will provide a sketch of major figures in Japanese sociolinguistics, explaining their methodologies and their influence on the international sociolinguistic community. Section 4 considers the rise of gender and politeness studies, with a sketch of its research overview and some examples. Section 5 will evaluate Japanese sociolinguistics in comparison with the international sociolinguistic community. Section 6 will make concluding remarks.

2 Sociolinguistics in research overviews

In order to show when and how Japanese sociolinguists were influenced by American and European sociolinguistics, let us first look into the two review publications: *Kokugogaku* (later *Nihongo no Kenkyū*) and *Kaigai gengogaku jōhō*. The former is the official journal of *Kokugo Gakkai*, 'The Society of Japanese Language' (later *Nihongo Gakkai*, 'The Society for Japanese Linguistics'). In these volumes, Japanese linguists write reviews of designated research areas. These volumes are the Japanese equivalent of the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*. In the course of the seventy-year history of the Society, it is intriguing to examine when the topic of sociolinguistics was first raised in this journal. Also interesting is to see how the Japanese term, *shakai gengogaku*, a literal translation of sociolinguistics, alternates with another term, *gengo-seikatsu*, and how the terms have changed in these review volumes over the years until today. Our interest is to examine how Japanese sociolinguistics came to be established as one of the disciplines of Japanese linguistics in the most influential journal in the country.

The yearly review volume, *Kaigai gengogaku jōhō* had its first publication in 1978, and it comprised 10 volumes until 2000. A group of linguists at Sophia University together with another group of linguists at International Christian University in Tokyo, introduced current trends in overseas linguistics to Japanese readers. Authors were either faculty members of these universities, graduate students, or alumni who had been abroad to obtain their PhDs in linguistics. These volumes highlighted areas and topics in linguistics. With the same purpose, we look at the domestic Japanese linguistics journal *Kokugogaku* (later *Nihongo no Kenkyū*), to examine how sociolinguistics was introduced in the yearly review volume *Kaigai gengogaku jōhō* for comparison.

2.1 Journal "Kokugogaku"

Kokugogaku started in 1948, and the first review volume was issued in 1952. Table 2.1 summarizes the research areas in review volumes from 1951 to 2014. In Figure 2.1, *general topics* includes phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, written characters and research materials, and *abroad* refers to publications regarding Japanese linguistics but produced outside of Japan.

The first volume included four areas: general issues, dialectology, language problems, and language education. "General issues" and the history of Japanese which first appeared in the second volume have been major areas of Japanese linguistics. Interestingly, early volumes had sections on language problems and language education. At that time, language issues such as writing systems and Chinese characters were controversial. If one considers these areas to be sociolinguistics in a broad sense, this would be the first appearance of sociolinguistic topics in the journal although it was not full-blown at that time. Unfortunately, these areas were not included in volumes after 1968. Language theory instead became a prominent topic in the review volumes in order to update research progress in theoretical linguistics, although this topic only lasted in the review for 14 years. Dialectology had a lot to do with the foundation of Japanese sociolinguistics, especially that of variationist sociolinguistics. However, descriptive linguistic approaches predominated in Japanese linguistics at that time. Furthermore, most dialectological studies were not considered sociolinguistics at the time though some of them overlapped with sociolinguistic matters.

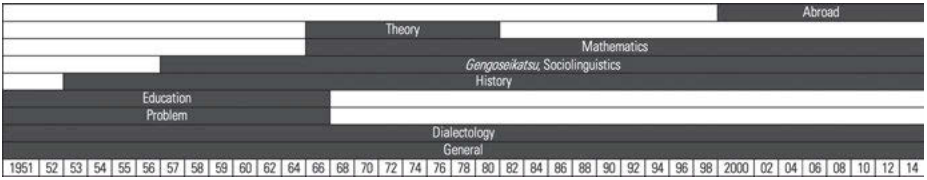

Figure 2.1: Research areas in *Kokugogaku* (*Nihongo no Kenkyu*) review volumes.

"Sociolinguistics" as a designated field of study first appeared in the review volume in 1957, and it has been one of the major topics in the review volumes ever since. "Mathematical linguistics" is closely related to quantitative sociolinguistics, although most papers in "mathematical linguistics" are more related to synchronic descriptions of Japanese.

Table 2.1 shows a list of terms in the review volumes. Since Japanese terms have been translated into English here, it is instructive to compare the translations. The term *gengo-seikatsu* was first used in this review volume in 1957, and it has been used continuously until the latest volume. English translations differ from one another. 'Language in life' was the first English translation. A number of other translations have appeared over the years as well: 'Every-day life and language', 'language life', 'language behavior', and 'communication'. It is not easy to best translate *gengo-seikatsu* into English, but the most literal translation would be 'language life'. The field of *gengo-seikatsu* included a number of research possibilities in the 1940s, and the term appears in the foundation statement of Kokurtisu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute, hereafter NLRI). Table 2.1 includes authors' names for each review. Those shaded were NLRI researchers, who conducted sociolinguistic surveys there.

The English term "sociolinguistics" was first introduced in the 1974 volume as a translation of *gengo-seikatsu*. Its literal translation *shakai gengogaku* has been used in the Japanese linguistic community for many years. It was in the 2004 volume when the term, *shakai gengo* without *gaku* meaning '-logy', appeared alongside *gengo-seikatsu*.

According to Sanada (1986), the Japanese term *shakai gengogaku* first appeared in an academic journal in 1973 (Nomoto and Egawa 1973). In the next year, Fujio Minami, author of the 1974 review article, adopted "sociolinguistics" as the English term, but maintained the established *gengo-seikatsu* as the Japanese term. For a venerable journal like *Kokugogaku*, it must have seemed premature to replace *gengo-seikatsu* with *shakai gengogaku*. At this time, Minami was a NLRI researcher, and Kikuo Nomoto and Kiyoshi Egawa were his colleagues there. Minami had, in fact, already adopted the term *shakai gengogaku* in his 1973 paper in another journal (Minami 1973). Minami's review in 1974 was indeed based on what would be considered a sociolinguistics perspective, as he claimed that many of the topics dealt with in U.S. sociolinguistics, i.e. social stratification of language, bilingualism, code-switching, formality, dialect change, and language policy were already being studied in Japan. In

Table 2.1: Japanese and English term and author in sociolinguistics section.

Year	Sociolinguistics		Author	Year	Sociolinguistics		Author
	Japanese	English			Japanese	English	
1957	*Gengo-seikatsu*	Language in life	H. Kindaichi	1984	*Gengo-seikatsu*	Sociolinguistics	M. Nobayashi
1957			Y. Haga	1986			F. Inoue
1958			Y. Haga	1988			S. Sugito
1959		Every-day life and language	Y. Uno	1990			K. Shibuya
1960			M. Nagano	1992			Y. Yoshioka
1962	*Imi, Gengo-kodo, Gengo-seikatsu*	Meaning, verbal behavior and language in life	S. Mizutani	1994			A. Yonekawa
1964			M Nagano	1996			M. Jinnouchi
1966	*Gengo-seikatsu*	Language life	H. Oishi	1998			T. Koyano
1968			F. Fujiwara	2000			H. Oki
1970	*Buntai, Bunsho, Gengo-seikatsu*	Stylistics and studies on verbal and its materials	T. Kabashima	2002			K. Shinozaki
1972	*Gengo-seikatsu*	Language behavior	Y. Uno	2004	*Shakai-gengo Gengo-seikatsu*		Y. Yoshioka
1974		Sociolinguistics	F. Minami	2006			Y. Tanaka
1976			K. Egawa	2008			M. Usami
1978		Communication	T. Watanabe	2010			Y. Ozaki
1980		Sociolinguistics	T. Iwabuchi	2012			T. Kumagai
1982			K. Nomoto	2014			Y. Asahi

1974, the Society for Japanese linguistics organized a symposium on "Contemporary Japanese: From a sociolinguistic perspective" (Inoue 1974). The symposium aimed to render a perspective of conducting sociolinguistic studies in Japanese in response to recent sociolinguistic publications such as Fishman (1968, 1972) and Labov (1966).

The impact of international sociolinguistics on Japanese sociolinguistics was raised in other reviews especially in the 1980s. Nobayashi (1984) stated that a sociolinguistic wave reached Japan from the international linguistic community. In the early 1980s, a number of the Japanese sociolinguists considered as belonging to the "Western school" wrote papers adopting "Western" sociolinguistic methodology. These scholars claimed that their approach was the only one that should be identified in the "sociolinguistic" framework. Indeed, they launched criticisms toward scholars they considered the "domestic school", i.e. *gengo-seikatsu* scholars, who they maintained did not attempt any theorization or generalization of the linguistic phenomena they studied.

The second half of the 1980s was another epoch in the sense that Japanese sociolinguistics saw even further development. Inoue (1988) and Shibuya (1990) pointed out that significant sociolinguistics textbooks were translated into Japanese during this period including Weinrich, Labov and Herzog (1968), Trudgill (1972), Hudson (1980), and Stubbs (1983). In the same period, international journals had special issues related to Japanese sociolinguistics: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* on Japanese sociolinguistics in 1985, and *Multilingua* vol 7 1–2 (1988), and vol 2–3 (1989) on politeness. Shibuya (1990) also introduced the work of some "Western school" sociolinguists such as Hibiya (1988) and Matsuda (1988). This was a breakthrough for Labovian sociolinguistics and their works attracted a large amount of attention. Sociolinguistic reviews after 1990 no longer emphasized any differences between "domestic" and "Western" sociolinguistics.

2.2 Series Kaigai gengogaku jōhō

Kaigai gengogaku jōhō or 'Current trends in overseas linguistics' is a series of books that aimed to report the research outcomes in major areas of linguistic studies in the US, Canada, UK, and Europe from the end of 1970s. The first volume was published in 1980. The table of contents indicates the most prominent branches of linguistics in each volume. It is intriguing to see when and how sociolinguistics was included. Figure 2.2 is a summary of the various subfields of sociolinguistics included in each volume.

Figure 2.2 shows that the first inclusion of sociolinguistic topics was made in volume 3 (1985). Contributors to the volume were Aoi Tsuda, Takashi Nagata, Atsuko Nagao, and Junko Hibiya, and their expertise ranged from ethnography of communication, variation theory, language attitudes to language maintenance and shift, and language policy. All authors had studied sociolinguistics abroad. Tsuda and Hibiya obtained their PhDs in the US graduate schools at Georgetown (1984) and Pennsylvania (1988) respectively. In this publication, they wrote a brief history of how variationist sociolinguistics had been established citing works by Weinrich, Labov and Herzog (1968) and Labov (1966, 1972) and research methodologies such as Variable Rule Program and multivariate analysis (Sankoff and Labov 1979).

It was variation theory, language attitudes, and the ethnography of communication that appeared before language and gender, discourse analysis, and language policy. The timing of the appearance of each topic had a lot to do with the authorship. It was Junko Hibiya and Kenjiro Matsuda who wrote the variation theory section. Chiyoko Matsubara wrote the language and gender and the discourse analysis sections. As the scope of sociolinguistics expanded further, it was not easy for editors to decide what to include in the volume.

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show that it was in the 1980s that Japanese and international sociolinguistics initiated their interactions. This was the beginning of the criticism toward Japanese sociolinguistics by the “Western school” sociolinguists of Japan.

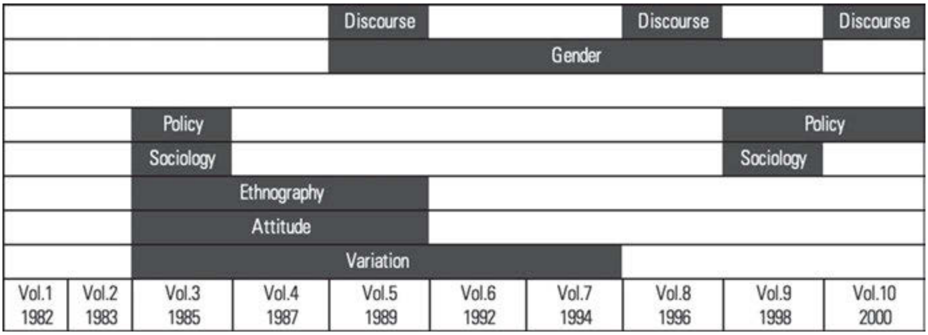

Figure 2.2: Topics in sociolinguistics raised in *Kaigai gengogaku jōhō*.

However, questions still remain; it is not clear to what extent “Western school” sociolinguists in Japan knew the domestic literature well enough to understand Japanese sociolinguistics. Japanese sociolinguists were more aware of the first-wave of sociolinguistic studies than they are given credit for. They were productive in reporting their findings and sharing their sociolinguistic philosophy with the international sociolinguistic community. The next section provides a sketch of some Japanese “domestic school” sociolinguists to understand the extent to which they were influenced by the international sociolinguistics community, and the extent to which they worked out their research questions on their own.

3 Japanese sociolinguists: Their background, methodologies, and contributions

This section looks into some figures of Japanese sociolinguists who contributed to establish mainstream Japanese sociolinguistics. Their contributions became the basis of the “domestic school” of sociolinguistics. This section aims to demonstrate that their foundation of sociolinguistics should be re-evaluated especially by those who had training in the “Western” tradition and by those who jumped to hasty conclusions because they had not read their publications. The remainder of this section deals with three scholars: Takesi Sibata, Shinji Sanada, and Fumio Inoue.

3.1 Their theoretical background: Bloomfield and Trager

Before examining each Japanese sociolinguist's contribution, let us first focus on their theoretical background that affected their research framework. Takesi Sibata (1918–2007) was one of the founders of Japanese sociolinguistics, and his disciples Fumio Inoue and Shinji Sanada were heavily influenced by him.

Reading through the Japanese sociolinguistics literature of the early 1950s, we find citations of some influential literature such as Saussure (1916) and Bloomfield (1933). Both appear in Japanese linguistics papers, especially Saussure's notion of langue and parole, and Bloomfield's notion of speech community. Apart from them, L.G. Trager's work on "Field of linguistics" in 1949 attracted their attention as his notion of "metalinguistics" appeared in *Kokugogaku*.

Trager (1949) referred to the field of language as *macrolinguistics*, and he gave three sub-divisions: prelinguistics, microlinguistics, and metalinguistics, as shown in Table 2.2 (Trager 1949: 2). In order to conduct linguistic studies, Trager believed those who plan to be linguists need to go through prelinguistics to do microlinguistics.

Most Japanese linguists believed at that time that their mission as linguists was to conduct microlinguistics: phonology, morphology, or syntax, and they put matters to do with metalinguistics aside. Descriptivism and exclusivism were powerful amongst Japanese linguists, and their preoccupation with them made them hesitant to conduct metalinguistic work. As a result, the primary target of their analyses centered on phonology, morphology, and syntax, and they did not pay attention to the social uses of language, which has more to do with sociolinguistics.

Table 2.2: Trager's classification of macrolinguistics.

1	Prelinguistics	Study of physical and biological events from the point of view of the organization of the statements about them into systems of data useful to the linguist.
2	Microlinguistics	So-called linguistics, dealing with the analysis of language systems. descriptive linguistics, contrastive linguistics, dialect geography, historical linguistics, children's language.
3	Metalinguistics	"Applied microlinguistics." Language, social organization, religion, technology law as cultural constructs. Full statement of the point-by-point and pattern-by-pattern relations between the language and any of the other cultural systems.

Kindaichi (1957) stressed the importance of conducting the metalinguistic studies in order to grow beyond traditional Japanese linguistics whose primary target was the study of *langue*, and which avoided studying *langage* because this was regarded as 'metalinguistics'. They opposed the broadening of their research area to include social or socio-cultural aspects of language. Kindaichi, however, stressed the importance of conducting metalinguistics, and Takesi Sibata adopted metalinguistics into his sociolinguistic framework, a significant choice that led to the development of Japanese sociolinguistics.

3.2 Takesi Sibata and Sibata's sociolinguistics

Takesi Sibata was a dialectologist and sociolinguist of Japanese and Turkish. He worked at NLRI, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, the University of Tokyo, and Saitama University. His life-story established him as a unique scholar. Sibata majored in linguistics at the University of Tokyo where he had his training from Shinpei Ogura, Kyosuke Kindaichi, and Shiro Hattori, and he finished his undergraduate degree thesis on Turkish in 1942. During World War II, he joined in the General Staff Office of the Japanese army where he was engaged with cryptanalyses of Turkish scripts (Sibata 1978: 530).

After the war, he was recruited to serve on a nationwide literacy test by the Civil Information and Educational Section of the GHQ (General Headquarters) of the US military government. Here he met Chikio Hayashi, who became the director-general of the Institute for Statistical Mathematics (*Tōkei Sūri Kenkyūjo*). Being the first large-scale social survey in Japan, it examined the degree of literacy of Japanese people at that time. The survey included questions regarding the degree of understanding of Chinese characters. Sibata learned tools such as random sampling, and the role of statistics in large-scale quantitative surveys. After he joined NLRI in 1948, he conducted a series of sociolinguistic surveys on language standardization in Hachijo island and Tsuruoka, on honorifics in Okazaki, as well as the nationwide Linguistic Atlas of Japan (LAJ) dialect survey, all of which were epoch-making in Japanese sociolinguistics and dialectology. He studied a number of topics in Japanese and published several books and appeared on TV shows. He also presented his papers at international conferences and symposiums.

In addition, he brought his expertise to the study of language problems in Japan. *Takesi Sibata: Sociolinguistics in Japanese Contexts*, by Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) (1999) is basically an English translation of Takesi Sibata's 1978 book, *Shakai gengogaku no kadai*, "Issues in sociolinguistics". (The English translation omitted his chapters on Turkish sociolinguistics, on which he was passionate to discuss language reform in Turkish. He was also enthusiastic about Japanese language reform, especially the use of the Latin alphabet as an alternative Japanese orthography.)

With a close look at literature such as MacIver (1920) and Bloomfield (1933), Sibata discussed the idea of *chiiki gengo shakai*, "a speech community" (Sibata 1978: 18). Citing Bloomfield's definition, he argued that the differences between the speech community and *gengo-seikatsu* was that a speech community is a community viewed from the standpoint of speech while *gengo-seikatsu* is life viewed from the standpoint of language (Sibata 1951). Influenced by L.G. Trager's 1949 article on "The field of linguistics" (Sibata 1951), Takesi Sibata stressed that sociolinguistics should belong to metalinguistics.

Sibata (1978) is a collection of his sociolinguistics articles, which crystalize his view of sociolinguistics. Table 2.3 is a list of topics raised in his book. Table 2.3 allows us to grasp Sibata's domains of sociolinguistics. His primary research areas are six topics: research methodology, honorifics, language change, group language, language norms, and language reform, and these have subsequently been the primary topics in Japanese sociolinguistics. In the first chapter, Sibata raised issues which Japanese sociolinguistics should engage with: honorifics, writing systems, the increase of loanwords, and the standardization of Japanese dialects. These topics had a lot to do with social circumstances of that time. One of the criticisms of the Japanese "domestic school" sociolinguistics had been its lack of social awareness as opposed to US sociolinguistics which evolved in response to social problems relating to immigrants, feminism and civil rights (Nobayashi 1984). But with Sibata we find such criticism unwarranted. On the contrary, he always showed a strong orientation to language problems and posited sociolinguistics as a discipline to seek their solutions.

Inoue and Long (1999) made their evaluation of Sibata's sociolinguistics into five aspects: inductive methodology, use of scientific methods, exhaustiveness, secular linguistics, and originality. We have pointed out that Sibata's sociolinguistics shares its methodology with secular linguistics. His originality can be found in a number of research topics. His interest in Turkey had determined his academic orientation in a unique way. His experience in the nationwide literacy survey, working with a statistician at CIE, shaped his ideas for quantitative sociolinguistics surveys.

Exhaustiveness symbolizes Sibata's sociolinguistics (Inoue and Long 1999). He suggested the following four research methodologies: (1) 24-hour surveys of linguistics activity, where recordings were made of an individual for a whole day, (2) the all-locality survey, with at least one respondent from every hamlet listed on the official map interviewed, (3) the all-inhabitant survey, where every inhabitant in a hamlet was interviewed, and (4) the complete description of a respondent's lexicon. These clearly exemplify the empirical research methodologies of his sociolinguistics, which coincides with the variationist sociolinguistics framework.

Table 2.3: Table of Contents in Sibata (1978).

Part I	**The language life and its research**
1	Japanese sociolinguistics: its aim and issues
2	The survey of speech community and its methodology
3	A 24-hour survey of the language life of the Japanese
4	The language life of the Japanese
5	The language life of the Turkish

Table 2.3 (continued)

Part II	**Honorifics**
6	The honorific prefix "o-:" its use and non-use in contemporary Japanese
7	The honorific prefix "-o-:" those who use and do not use in contemporary Japanese
8	Learning to say "haha"
9	Proper usage of honorifics to customers
10	The language life of Machino: the social psychology of honorifics
11	Honorifics in a community
Part III	**Language change**
12	The age structure of the speech community
13	20 years of the Itoigawa dialect
14	Dialect formation in a settlement
15	The evolution of common language in Hokkaido
Part IV	**Group language**
16	What is group language?
17	Group language and its emergence
18	Fad words and language bosses
19	Urbanization and language differences in social classes
20	Discriminatory words and linguistic taboos
Part V	**Norms of language**
21	Consciousness of language forms
22	Standards of pronunciation
23	Conditions for language reform
24	The rise and fall of dialects
Part VI	**Language reform**
25	Controversy over the language reform
26	Reformists and conservatives in language reform
27	Adjustment and readjustment of Chinese character restriction
28	Language reform in Turkey
29	Linguists and language problems

3.3 Sanada's and Inoue's sociolinguistics

Sibata's sociolinguistics impacted the younger generation. Sibata met his Japanese linguistics colleagues at NLRI. What is more, he had a number of students at the University of Tokyo and Saitama University who had their academic training with him, many of whom became linguists of different areas, including sociolinguistics.

Among those who were active in their sociolinguistic studies, let us examine two sociolinguists: Shinji Sanada (born 1946) and Fumio Inoue (born 1942). Sanada met and worked with Sibata when he joined NLRI, and Inoue is one of Sibata's first students. They formulated their history of Japanese sociolinguistics, and they proposed their domains of sociolinguistics in the 1980s. The rest of this section shall look into how each made his proposals and examine the degree of influence by Sibata as well as any other sociolinguists inside and/or outside of Japan.

Sanada's sociolinguistics

Shinji Sanada has been one of the leading Japanese sociolinguists since the 1970s. Soon after he finished his academic training at Tohoku University, he joined NLRI where he was in charge of a number of projects in sociolinguistics and linguistic geography, and he worked with Takesi Sibata. At Osaka University, where he spent most of his career (1982–2009), he conducted a series of sociolinguistic field studies across Japan and outside the country.

His early study on honorifics at his hometown, Gokayama in Toyama, (Sanada 1973, 1982), Sanada adopted the "all-inhabitant survey" method, which was later called the "league match survey". Moreover, he adopted a panel study method to account for real-time change in honorifics with periodic returns to the hamlet between 1971 and 1982.

Figure 2.3 shows the two survey results regarding the use of polite forms of the verb, *iku* 'to go' (Sanada 1973, 1982). Sanada found a correlation between the choice of certain variants and the families in the hamlet, indicating social stratification of this speech community through the use of four variants; *ikassaru*, *ikyaru*, *ikareru*, and *iku*. Use of the politest form, *ikassaru* (shown as "•") was favored when speakers asked anyone from the highest status family (shown as "n" and "a") in the community in his 1971 survey. His second real-time study in 1982 showed the decrease in the choices of the variants: it was *ikareru* (shown as "<") and *iku* (shown as "*") that were used by younger generation speakers (30 years of age and below). In ten years, leveling in honorifics had taken place in Gokayama, and this leveling resulted in the loss of the social stratification in the community.

It seems that Sanada's methodology is similar to Sibata's study on honorifics (Sibata 1999 [1952]). These studies took place at the beginning of the 1970s when NLRI started its real-time studies in Tsuruoka and Okazaki and the period when Sibata was conducting his real-time study in Noto, Ishikawa Prefecture (Sibata 1973). Today

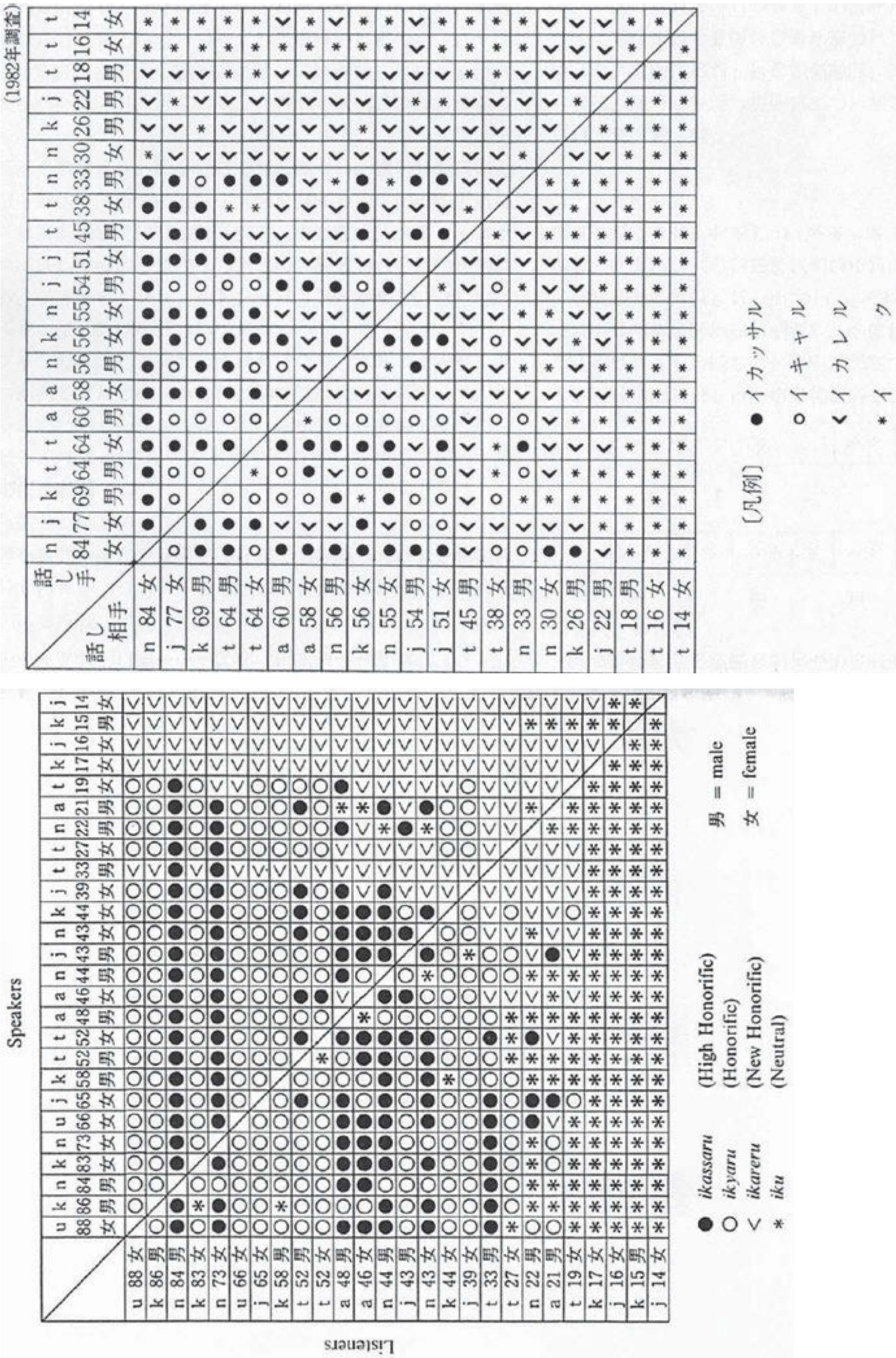

Figure 2.3: Honorifics in a small hamlet of the mountainous village (Sanada 1982, 1993).

real-time studies are a popular sociolinguistic research method in the international sociolinguistic community (Chambers 2009; Wagner and Buchstaller (eds.) 2018), but real-time studies started much earlier in Japan, and their research methodology sets an empirical standard at least as rigorous as any in the international sociolinguistic community.

Sanada established his sociolinguistics in later years through his fieldwork. What characterizes him most is that he was highly aware of the domain of sociolinguistics and its historical developments so as to showcase the unique nature of Japanese sociolinguistics.

The collaborative article, Sanada and Sibata (1982), was a landmark of Sanada sociolinguistics. Adopting Sibata's inductive methods (as shown in Table 2.3 above), Sanada and Sibata made their categorization of the research topics. Sanada continued his revisions in Sanada (1988, 2006), Sanada et al. (1992). Table 2.4 is a summary of these domains of sociolinguistics.

Table 2.4: Sociolinguistic research topics areas.

Sanada and Sibata (1982)			**Sanada (1988,2006)**	**Muysken(1985)**	
1	Research review of sociolinguistics and *gengoseikatsu*	Research history	Reseaarch history	Surveys	1
				Methodology	2
2	Research methodology of sociolinguistics and *gengoseikatsu*			Theory	3
3	*Gengoseikatsu*: overview	Language life	Language life	Ethnography of speech	4
				Language and the media	5
4	Communication at home			Taxonomies and terminology	6
5	Baby-talk	Group language	Language acquisition	Socialization	7
				Migrants' second-language acquisition	8
				Language and education	9
6	Occupation and language		Language varieties	Language and sex	10
7	Workplace and language				
8	Jargon, argot, and taboo				
9	Technical terminology				
10	Group language				
11	Language and soial class			Social dialectology	11

Table 2.4 (continued)

Sanada and Sibata (1982)			Sanada (1988,2006)	Muysken(1985)	
12	Individual difference	Language differences			
13	Generational and age difference				
14	Sex difference				
15	Situational and word switch		Language behavior	Semiotics	12
16	Language behavior			Conversation and interaction	13
17	Dialect contact	Language contact	Language contact	Bilingualism and language contact	14
18	Standardization				
19	Language and migration				
20	Bilingualism			Pidgin and creole languages	15
21	Language life of Japanese overseas				
22	Loanwords				
23	Language change		Language change	Variation and change	16
24	New words, buzzwords				
25	Derogatory, discriminative	Language taboo			
26	Attitude, evaluation, image		Language consciouness	Attitudes and social psychology	17
27	Literacy	Language policy	Language planning	Language planning	18
28	Japanese writing system			Language ideology and language politics	19
29	Orthography			Minority language and language death	20

For comparison, we include Muysken (1985) in the table. He investigated sociolinguistic publications and classified them into sociolinguistic topics. Sanada et al. (2010) compared sociolinguistic works in Japan, US-Europe, and Korea. The graphs in Figure 2.4 show the relationship of sociolinguistics work in these three regions through re-categorizing Muysken's classification.

These pie-charts show a convenient comparison of sociolinguistics in three regions: Japanese sociolinguistics favored language varieties as well as language change, Korean sociolinguistics emphasized language planning, and US-European sociolinguistics had a judicious balance.

Comparison also shows that Muysken (1985) and Sanada and Sibata (1982) included some similar research topics although some differences were observed as well. For instance, In Table 2.4, pidgin and creole, conversation analysis, ethnography of communication, ideology, language and politics, mass media and language were not found in Sanada and Sibata (1982). On the other hand, occupation and language, group language, standardization, loanwords were not found in Muysken (1985). These differences occurred as Japanese linguists were not aware of long-term language contact such as Ainu and Ryukyuan, and few attempt to describe Japanese-related pidgins and creoles in this era. Conversely, Japanese sociolinguistics dealt with language varieties, and loanwords more than US-European sociolinguistics.

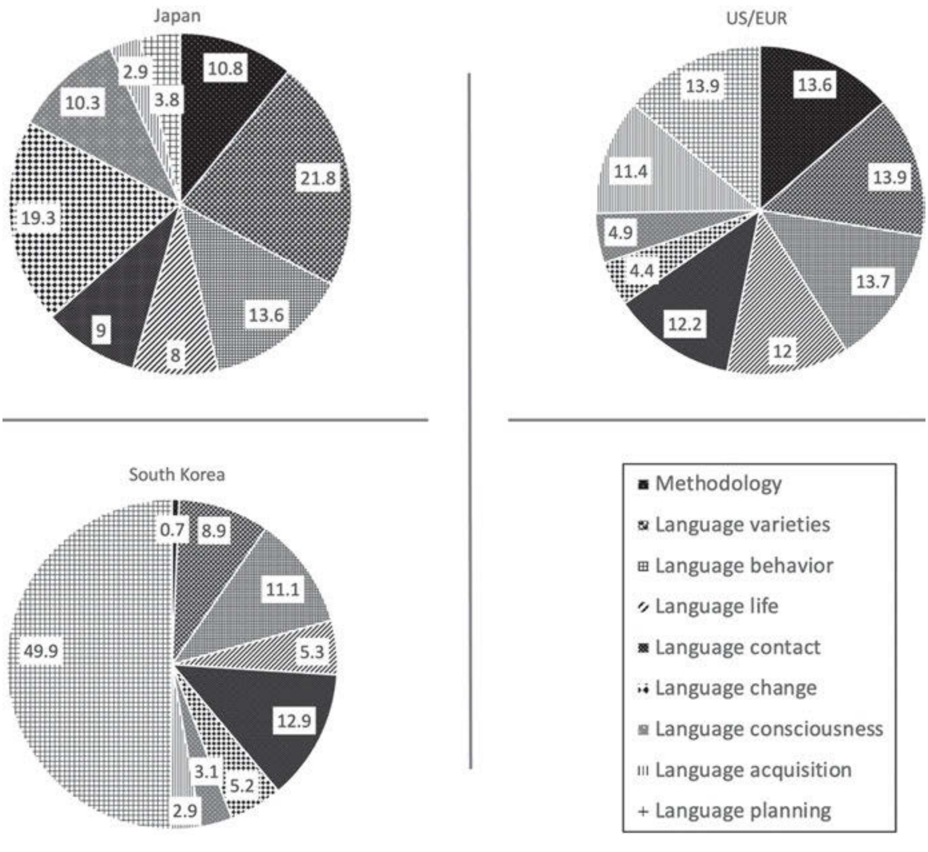

Figure 2.4: Sociolinguistics in Japan, Korea and US-Europe.

The terms in Table 2.4 show the categories of Sanada sociolinguistics. Sanada's influence continues through his publishing sociolinguistic textbooks (Sanada 2006 (ed.); Sanada et al. (eds.) 2010) where he utilizes these same domains of sociolinguistics. Sanada sociolinguistics stemmed out of Sibata sociolinguistics, and it fostered further development through his extensive sociolinguistic studies on various sociolinguistic topics. His sociolinguistics was subsequently exported to East Asia, and Sanada et al.

(1992) has been translated into Korean and Chinese. His domains were taken over by younger generation such as Nakai (2006) and Takada, Shibuya and Iyeiri (2015).

Inoue's sociolinguistics

Fumio Inoue had his academic training with Sibata at the University of Tokyo. He has been active for a half century in Japan. His research has earned a worldwide reputation among sociolinguists.

His career started with an article of Tohoku dialect phonology (Inoue 1968, 2000), and his interest expanded into various topics: dialect geography, honorifics, dialect image, language attitudes, language change, new dialect, glottogram, urban dialectology, and many others. Regarding the details of his academic works, readers are referred to Chapter 4 (Inoue, this volume). In the terms we have discussed in Trager's classification, Inoue started his career in microlinguistics, and he moved to metalinguistics, that is, sociolinguistics, where he has been active ever since.

Inoue's academic interests centered on language change. He was one of the speakers at the first symposium on sociolinguistics at the Society for Japanese Linguistics in 1974 (Inoue 1974), and he dealt with linguistic diffusion across social class and styles. He has stressed the link between linguistic geography and sociolinguistics (Inoue 1982, 1985). His quantitative methodologies have been applied in his projects on language diffusion, new dialect, and honorifics. His empirical studies using different statistical analyses represented a breakthrough in Japanese sociolinguistics.

In the same way as Sanada proposed his view of sociolinguistics, Inoue proposed his domains of sociolinguistics in Table 2.5. To the best of our knowledge, it is Inoue (1986) who first proposed these domains of sociolinguistics. He has not made any major changes in his domains (Inoue 1988, 2008) although he has made some minor changes.

Inoue sociolinguistics designates its domains based on the two axes: simplex/complex and competence/performance. Their combination creates four fields of sociolinguistics. In contrast with Sibata and Sanada's inductive sociolinguistics; he attempted to make a comprehensive coverage of the topics in sociolinguistics from the deductive perspective.

Table 2.5: Inoue's domains of sociolinguistics.

	Simplex (structure oriented)	**Complex (variation oriented)**
Competence (langue)	(1) Society and language Description of linguistic structure Language and culture	(2) Linguistic variation Description of language variation Paradigmatic
Performance (parole)	(3) Discourse Linguistic system in use Syntagmatic	(4) Integrative description Language variety in use

Inoue explains each area of sociolinguistics as follows:

(1) Society and language: this area focuses on the discussion on how to relate society and language, and it is well-studied in the history of linguistics, such as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, their theory of language relativity.
(2) Linguistic variation: this area targets at description of linguistic variation. It includes description of sociolinguistic variables from a number of perspectives, phonological, morphological as well as syntactic variation. This also includes some domains such as jargon, argot, group language, loanwords/lendwords.
(3) Discourse: this area deals with studying the structure of conversation, discourse. It also targets areas on language behaviors such as making a doctor call, asking to check changes at shop, finishing a telephone call, and so forth.
(4) Integrative description: this area aims to integrate (2) linguistic variation and (3) discourse. It intersects with the areas such as politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). Inoue's domains of sociolinguistics have a wider coverage of the sociolinguistic issues than Sanada's sociolinguistics. Different from Sanada's sociolinguistics, Inoue's domains mainly appeared either in his lectures at his university or in his reviews (Inoue 1986, 1988). He did not publish sociolinguistic textbooks.

These domains of sociolinguistics remind us of Neustupný (1976, 1978). Jiří V. Neustupný was one of the Prague Circle of structuralist linguists, and spent his academic career in Australia and Japan, pursuing issues in Japanese sociolinguistics. Neustupný (1978, 17–18) suggested that sociolinguistics could be classified into four types:

(1) Sociolinguistics I: Language and Society approach. Studies of the reflection of social structure in language: language relativity; kinship and other terms; power/solidarity in language; language contact and loyalty – Weinreich, Haugen, Fishman, etc.
(2) Sociolinguistics II: Variation approach. Multilingualism studies; studies of language varieties, Ferguson, Gumperz, etc.; Studies of language variables -Labov and others; pidginization.
(3) Sociolinguistics III: Communicative competence approach. Ethnography of speaking (Hymes, Ervin-Tripp and others); speech acts, pragmatics, etc.).
(4) Sociolinguistics IV: Language problems approach: language maintenance and shift, language planning (Haugen, Fishman, Rubin, and Jurudd, etc.).

Inoue sociolinguistics on the other hand demonstrated another further development of his domains of sociolinguistics. Inoue sociolinguistics from (1) to (3) share many aspects in common with Neustupný, although (4) Integrative Approaches were different from Neustupný's domains. Neustupný himself treated his sociolinguistics IV as located in a different level. Inoue instead explored Integrative Approaches to sociolinguistics, especially one to do with inter-personal and socio-psychological oriented research topics. Inoue sociolinguistics aims to be comprehensive so as to encompass all other research topics, such as gender, sexuality, linguistic landscape, language contact, language maintenance and shift, etc. in the name of "applied sociolinguistics"

4 Rise of gender, politeness, and discourse studies

Gender studies started back in the 1970s when Robin Lakoff published her paper, "Language and women's place" in *Language in Society*. One of the underlying motivations was to point out that numerous linguistic expressions indicate imbalances, ignorance, and disdain toward women in society.

Soon after, International Women's Year in 1975 inaugurated the era of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. This movement reached Japan, and a number of social activists and scholars devoted themselves to awakening people to gender bias and to propose ways for their elimination for a better society. Sibata, Sanada, and Inoue sociolinguistics included sex and gender differences in their domains although their discussions did not raise the questions of "why do men and women speak in a different way?" but rather focused on how men and women languages was different (Usami 2002).

Akiko Jugaku's 1979 book *Nihongo to onna* [Japanese and women] was a landmark in gender studies in Japan. In the 1980s, scholars such as Orie Endo, Katsue Reynolds Akiba, Sachiko Ide, Momoko Nakamura conducted their projects on language and gender in Japan together with feminist movements, to raise consciousness of gender issues in Japanese. The development of gender studies eventually led to politeness studies and discourse studies both of male and female speech from the viewpoint of inter-personal communication studies by Mayumi Usami. Their contributions and their academic significance, and also the influence from the international sociolinguistic community are discussed in Chapters 7 (Endo and Abe, this volume), Chapter 8 (Reynolds, this volume), Chapter 9 (Nakamura, this volume), and Chapter 12 (Usami, this volume). The rest of this section looks into variationists' approaches to language and gender of Japanese in the international sociolinguistic community.

4.1 Variationist sociolinguistics and sex-/gender-based variation in Japanese

In a period of rapid revaluation, sex and gender encode the social changes in many ways. In English-speaking societies, social sub-groups often mark their territory by subtle increases in certain vernacular variants. In a celebrated example, Bucholz (2001) showed that "nerd" girls in a California high school distinguish themselves by, for instance, releasing /t/ word-finally, a marker associated with refined speech, compared to their age-mates, for whom it is generally unreleased. In Bolton, England, Kirkham and Moore (2013) show that "anti-school, moderately rebellious" girls occasionally use non-concord *be* (as in *Mollie weren't so nice*) to mark their differences from their "institutionally oriented and conformist" classmates. These linguistic markers show up in natural conversation, and their social significance is inferred from conventions for gendered behavior with respect to females and males.

Japanese has many more overt linguistic features that are conventionally associated with female and male usage than English. As a result, social significance of linguistic variation is often easily interpretable. We are going to illustrate the relevance with two studies, one an example of gender-based variation and the other an example of sex-based variation (as defined in Chambers 2009: 136–49). Gender-based variation arises from social conventions that define linguistic usage as appropriate for one sex but not the other, in this case the use of first-person pronouns. Sex-based variation is biologically determined in its inception though it can take on social significance when it is manipulated and becomes associated with one sex, in this case pitch differences, which are rooted in physiological differences.

4.2 First-person pronouns among Japanese schoolgirls

Our case study on first-person pronouns relies heavily on the work of Ayumi Miyazaki (2002), but we hasten to point out that numerous other gender-based differences are available in Japanese and might have served as well. Among them are sentence-final particles (Okamoto and Sato 1992; Okamoto 1995), postpositional particle ellipsis (Takano 1998), conversational hedges (Lauwereyns 2002), and certain lexical items (Holmes 1992: 165), to name a few. Although gender differences have been leveling in Japan in each generation since the 1970s, they still offer a fecund area for sociolinguistic study.

As with all social changes, the new norms for young women have drawn complaints from older observers, as in this complaint aired on television (quoted by Okamoto 1995: 298):

> *Omeenani yatte n da yo!* [What the hell are you doing!]. . . . *Mazi ka yo. Iya na yatsu.* [Are you serious? Disgusting guy.] In classrooms of junior and senior high schools now, conversations like these are flying around among female students. Expressions like these make even male students feel embarrassed and are causing adults to lament, 'Recently, girls' speech has become *ranboo* 'rough'. (*NHK Jissen Hanashi Kotoba*, October 1991- March 1992)

Change persists regardless of complaints, as always, and Miyazaki (2002: 361) says, "The younger the women, the more they tend to use traditional masculine speech."

The traditional norms of women's speech (*onna rashisa*) are set out in rigid terms. Holmes (1992: 166) provides a textbook example for the first-person pronouns: "Some languages signal the sex of the speaker in the pronoun system. In Japanese, there is a word *atasi*, meaning 'I', used only by women, and another, *boku*, used only by men, but there is also a form *watakusi* which can be used by women or men speakers." It is not surprising that sociolinguistics, the study of the social uses of language, finds numerous departures from the norm in actual use. The ideal of women's speech, as Okamoto (1995: 317) says, "is too static and monolithic to account for the varied speech styles of Japanese women." The great advantage of Japanese sex and gender studies is that the prescriptive norms provide a well-defined starting point against which sociolinguists can measure vernacular usage.

The prescriptive norms alluded to in the quotation from Holmes above, are set out in greater detail by Miyazaki (2002: 360), as shown in Table 2.6. Miyazaki's table is drawn from a standard sourcebook, and we have added *uchi*, a first-person reference based on 'inside' or 'home' that occurs in vernacular use but is not included in the prescriptive source.

Table 2.6: Prescriptive norms for gender-marking first-person pronouns (Miyazaki 2002: 360 with *uchi* added [JKC], modified from Ide 1990: 73).

Style	Men's Speech	Women's Speech
Formal	watakushi	watakushi
	watashi	atakushi
Plain	boku	watashi
		atashi
		uchi
Deprecatory	ore	Ø

Miyazaki studied the use of first-person pronouns by grade 7 girls in a public high school in a Tokyo suburb. She discovered that the variants in actual use evaluated differently from the ideal system. Specifically, the system has simplified, with *watashi* falling out of use, leaving *atashi* as the feminine pronoun in plain style. Where both *ore* and *boku* are listed as masculine, in actual use *ore* alone is characterized as masculine and *boku* has 'feminized' somewhat. In the students' use, on a graded scale from Feminine to Masculine, the pronouns are ranked *atashi* > *uchi* > *boku* > *ore*.

With an evaluative system such as pronoun usage well entrenched in the sociolinguistic landscape, it follows axiomatically that it will be exploited in subtle ways in order to demarcate further individual and sub-group status. Miyazaki (2002: 362) then categorized pronoun use for each student and clustered the students into "peer groups", networks of friends. Figure 2.5 reproduces one corner of Miyazaki's sociogram. Each small numbered circle represents a student, and the first-person pronoun that she characteristically uses. The larger circles show the peer-groups.

Looking first at Group 2, in the lower right of the sociogram, we see that these four girls use the traditional feminine form *atashi*, and three of them sometimes use *uchi*, the next form at the feminine pole. They are the most traditional in their use (though it is noteworthy that even they avoid the old obsequious form *watashi*). Miyazaki (2002: 362) describes them as "four studious girls . . . aligned with the values of the school." She says they "diligently performed various *gakkyuu* tasks", that is, the assigned classroom tasks such as distributing papers and clearing boards.

At the opposite pole in pronoun use, Group 1, in the upper left in Figure 2.5, includes six girls who are least traditional. One of the six resembles the Group 2 girls in using *atashi* and *uchi*, but three others use *ore*, at the masculine pole and the other two *boku*. Miyazaki (2002: 362) says they are "most resistant to school rules and teacher authority." These grade 7 girls, Miyazaki says, made up erotic songs and talked about sex. Their classmates considered them *gehin*, or vulgar, showing peer groups comprised of individuals for whom characteristic first-person pronoun use is specified.

The traditional, highly structured system of first-person pronoun use in Japanese clearly takes on symbolic significance by marking the students according to their intramural allegiances. The Group 2 and Group 1 girls are the elementary school equivalents to Eckert's Jocks and Burnouts in the suburban American high school (Eckert 1989), halfway around the globe, and undoubtedly, like the Jocks and Burnouts, reflections of their social class as well as their academic interests.

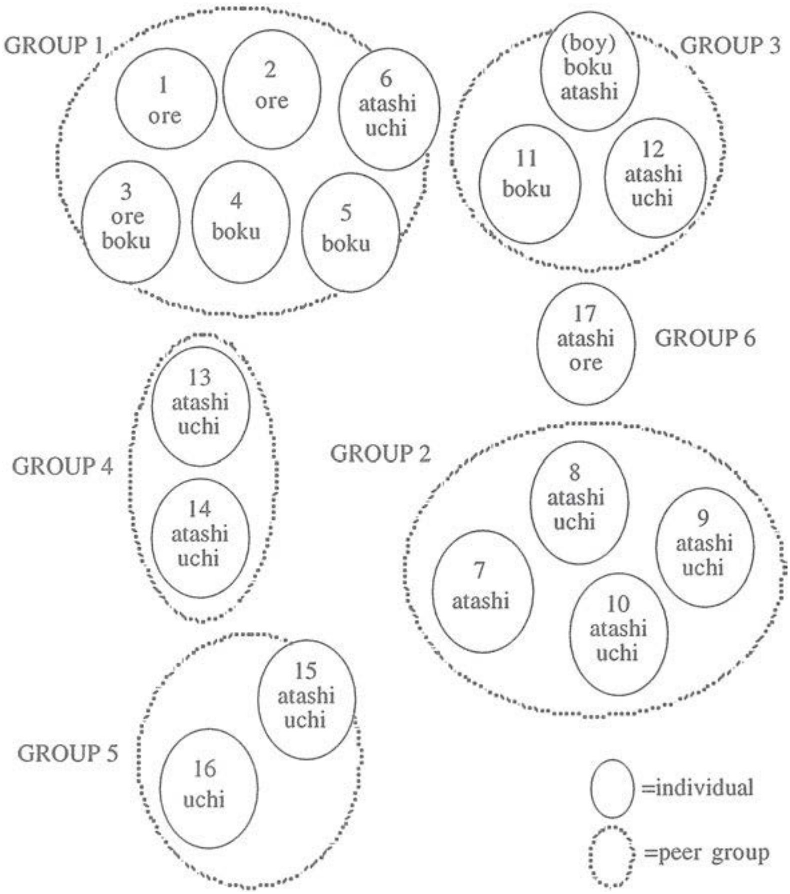

Figure 2.5: Detail of sociogram from Miyazaki (2002: 362).

Figure 2.5 reveals another striking example of the symbolic significance of gender-specific pronoun use. Group 3, in the upper right of Figure 2.5, includes three peers, one of whom is a boy. His presence there is his choice because, Miyazaki says, he "considered himself as belonging to a girls' group". In that respect, he was alone among the 16 other boys in his class, and he was also alone among the boys in using *atashi* for self-reference, at the feminine end, as well as the more masculine *boku*. The social meaning was obvious. One of the girls said, "He is *okama* because he says *atashi*." Flouting social conventions sends powerful signals. Miyazaki (2002: 361) likens this unconventional boy to another group of renegades she has studied: "Young female employees at a lesbian bar used *jibun*, a masculine pronoun normally associated with men in sports and militaristic groups." The more rigid the social convention, the more audacious the flouting of it, and unfortunately the more stigmatized the nonconformists.

Miyazaki (2002: 367) says, "The choice of first-person pronouns is thus an important resource for expressing group affiliation." The breakdown of the old rigidities is recognized as liberating even by Miyazaki's young subjects. Miyazaki asked one student why she used various first-person pronouns, and the student replied, "I think there are parts of me that don't fit *atashi*. . . . [T]here are times when I don't want to call myself *atashi*. . . . [*Boku* and *uchi*] pop up when I want to be free, or when I don't want to be so perfect."

Sociolinguistic studies of Japanese pronoun use reveal gendered practices in language with wonderful clarity, and they document subtle and nuanced changes in them. Discussions of Miyazaki's study along with other signal achievements of Japanese sociolinguistics in public lectures inevitably receive comments from older members of the audience stating that these young women would revert to a more traditional system when they matured and joined the work force. We expressed our doubts (and so, behind closed doors, did the young women who used the non-traditional forms). The future, in a sense, is now. The staying power of these changes in gendered practices can be discerned by applying sociolinguistic methods in other times and places, and by long-term studies of usage by mature women and men in the workplace and less formal situations. It is a fecund and inviting area of research, and one that will enlighten not only Japanese sociolinguistics but gendered variability in all societies.

4.3 Pitch as sex marker and gender symbol

Some differences between female and male usage in language are not gendered practices that arise from social or cultural conventions superimposed on the sexes. On the contrary, some differences arise from innate physiological and cognitive differences between women and men. These are sex differences as opposed to gender differences, and they are not social conventions but are inherent in the chromosomal and neurological differences that characterize the sexes. Pinker (2002: 341) says, "Neuroscience, genetics, psychology, and ethnography are documenting sex differences that almost certainly originate in human biology." Pinker should have included the language sciences in his list because of findings in female and male differences in verbal proficiency (Hyde and Linn 1988), cognitive processing (Yu 2010), and stylistic range (Chambers 2009: 151). The female and male asymmetries persist across linguistic and cultural boundaries and are thus the result of attributes of the sexes.

One of the sex differences that affects female and male speech most obviously is the physiological size of the larynx. Men's larynxes are usually longer than women's, and as a result, men usually have deeper speaking voices than women. This difference is merely statistical, clearly, as are most sex differences; the range of individual variation for vocal pitch (and for larynx length) is nearly the same for women and for men but men greatly outnumber women at the lower pitch ranges. The difference has its origins in a physiological change at puberty, when males undergo a lengthening of vocal cords, visible in the "Adam's apple", caused by protruding thyroid cartilage in the throat. Longer cords vibrate more slowly, producing lower pitch. The range for men is typically 80Hz to 200 Hz, and the range for women is 120 Hz to 400 Hz; the overlap in the pitch range shows clearly that the correlation of pitch with sex is a statistical bias, not an absolute difference.

Numerous studies show that physiological differences outweigh gender identification in vocal pitch. Although there is a common belief that gay men use higher pitch than straight men or have greater pitch range, more like women, this belief is demonstrably false. For instance, Linville (1998) and Smyth, Jacobs and Rogers (2003) recorded openly gay men and straight men in several reading and speaking styles. Though listeners could identify some of the speakers as gay based on various vocal cues, pitch was not one of them. Mean fundamental frequency (F_0) did not correlate with sexual orientation. Contrary to social stereotypes, pitch is not a cue to social gender. As Heffernan (2007) concludes, in his summary of the extensive literature on this topic, "Gay men may be gay, but they are still men, and their mean F_0 marks them as such."

The robust, incontrovertible evidence for vocal pitch as a physiologically determined attribute of the two sexes takes on sociolinguistic significance from discoveries that pitch differences can be exploited or exaggerated in order to make it a gender symbol.

Is pitch *completely* determined by anatomy? Not quite. In other words, as Yuasa (2002) says, "Biology cannot be the whole story."

This discovery originates in research by Graddol and Swann (1983), who analyzed F_0 for men and women and correlated their results with the height and weight and other physical factors of their subjects. For the men, they discovered, the mean F_0 correlated with height and weight. For the women, the mean F_0 was not a direct function of physical factors. They concluded that men's pitch reflects their body build, that is, they use what Graddol and Swann call their “natural F_0”, but women do not use their “natural F_0” for social reasons.

Yuasa (2002) applied this venerable finding in an ingenious comparison of Japanese and American subjects. Using female and male subjects from the United States and Japan, she measured fundamental frequencies and determined the averages for her cross-cultural sample as shown in Figure 2.6 showing for each group the range from highest to lowest average median F_0 (Yuasa 2002: 198).

Looking at the results for men, it is clear that Japanese men have slightly greater pitch range than American men; their highest average F_0 is slightly above 150 Hz but the Americans’ is slightly below, and the lowest is about 70 Hz compared to 90 Hz. The male American pitch range is, so to speak, contained within the male Japanese pitch range. The differences are much greater when we compare the female pitch ranges; the Japanese women have a considerably higher average F_0, about 310 Hz, compared to 240 Hz for the American women, and their lowest median is also higher by about 40 Hz. The female American pitch range is not contained within the Japanese range.

Yuasa (2002: 197–98) interprets these results as “evidence that speakers utilize pitch to meet expectations of their societies.” There is an “ideological link”, she says, “between high pitch and femininity (and low pitch and masculinity). . . . Recent psychological studies of sexual desirability found that Japanese men are attracted to ‘feminine personality traits’. . . . Thus, in some contexts, Japanese women still use high pitch and thus paralinguistically project a feminine image.”

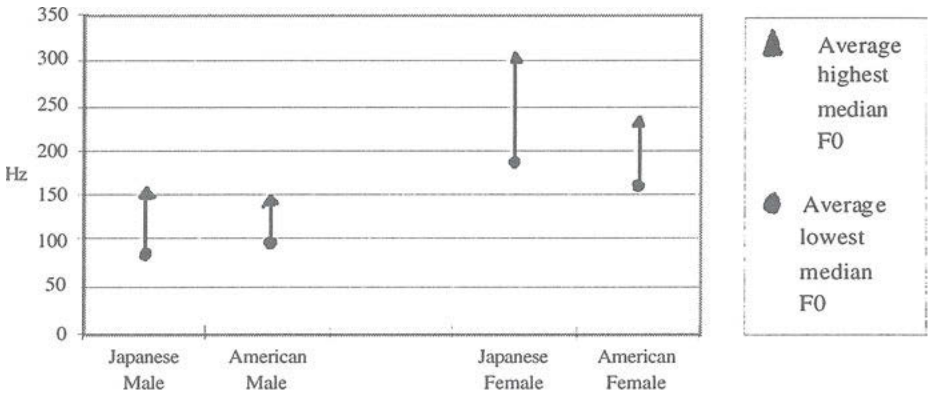

Figure 2.6: Pitch ranges for Japanese and American men and women.

Evidently this result does not apply only to Japan. Hearkening back to Graddol and Swann’s findings, it seems clear that the “ideological link” between high pitch and femininity also explains why American women do not use “natural F_0”. Yuasa showed a cross-cultural difference between the U.S.A. and Japan in so far as Japanese women exaggerate pitch differences more than American women, but underlying this difference is a basic sociolinguistic truism, that sex differences arising from inherent physiological and cognitive asymmetries can be exploited as symbolic markers.

It is important to distinguish the sociolinguistic role of sex differences that are exploited as gender markers from gender markers that arise from more fluid linguistic variation. Pitch, as a sex difference, is variable to some extent but it is essentially constrained by physiology. Individual norms are pre-set, determined by length of vocal cords and other physical factors. Within those norms, some variation is possible, but the amount is socially limited by extremes of falsetto or growl, which are not acceptable except for comedic purposes in either Japan or the United States or presumably all other societies. By contrast, gender markers associated with grammatical and phonological variants, such as the use of gender-associated pronouns in the preceding section (or *wa*- and *ga*- ellipsis, and most other gender-associated markers) are endlessly manipulable in theory. The norms for their usage are more fluid and can be adjusted to the social context. Those norms, by their nature, are more susceptible to change and variation in different communities of practice, and generally more sensitive markers of the social and cultural apprehension of gender.

5 International sociolinguistics vs. Japanese sociolinguistics

No one would disagree that Japanese sociolinguistics played an important role in the history of Japanese linguistics. Japanese sociolinguists including the ones in Section 3 and Section 4 endeavored to understand sociolinguistic phenomena. Young students took over their methodology and continued their sociolinguistic studies.

On the other hand, international sociolinguistics have made waves since the 1960s, and they reached Japan in the 1980s when a number of first-generation Japanese sociolinguists who finished their academic training at American/European universities came back to Japan. We saw an increase of the first-generation sociolinguists in later years. In 1988, the Linguistic Society of Japan organized a symposium on the difference between Japanese and International sociolinguistics (Inoue 1988). Today, it is the second-generation sociolinguists who take their initiative in sociolinguistic studies. For those who are active in sociolinguistics back in Japan, Sanada or Inoue sociolinguistics is 'classic' in their view.

This section, therefore, discusses the following three aspects: sociolinguistics and the sociology of language in Japan (5.1), criticism to Japanese sociolinguistics and misunderstanding of international sociolinguistics (5.2), and sociolinguistics textbook analysis (5.3) before we make our suggestion on how to evaluate Japanese sociolinguistics in relation to the international sociolinguistics (5.4).

5.1 Sociolinguistics and the sociology of language in Japan

We saw two kinds of Japanese sociolinguistic domains in Section 3. Sibata and Sanada applied an inductive method as formative devices in their domain. Inoue and Neustupný, on the other hand, employed a deductive method to designate their domains. In order to showcase the differences between Japanese and international sociolinguistic domains, let us first discuss the relationship between Japanese sociolinguistics and the sociology of Japanese language.

The international sociolinguistic community had long discussions as to the definition of "sociolinguistics" (Wardhaugh 1992; Hudson 1980; Chambers 2009). Depending on what sociolinguists pursue as their academic interests, their views of sociolinguistics are different. In particular, the differences between "sociolinguistics" and "language and society", or "the sociology of language", has been controversial. Hudson claimed that

> sociolinguistics referred to those who do not take the notion 'language X for granted, since this in itself is a social notion in so far as it is defined in terms of a group of people who speak X,' and sociology of language scholars, who believe that speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups, and to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures that are used. (Hudson 1980: 3–4)

According to Hudson (1980), William Labov, Peter Trudgill, J.K. Chambers and other so-called variationist sociolinguists belong to the former, whereas Michael Halliday, Terence Mitchell, Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, Basil Bernstein, and many others belongs to the latter.

A group of sociolinguists in Japan who follow Hudson (1980), Coseriu (1981), and Wardhaugh (1992) investigate their sociolinguistics topics (Noro and Yamashita 2009; Tanaka 1993) although this sociolinguistic community is rather small. They are active in conferences such as *Tagengo shakai kenkyūkai* 'Multilingual society forum', and they publish their journals such as, *Shakai gengogaku* 'Sociolinguistics' from 2001, *Kotoba to Shakai* 'Language and Society' from 1999. Their sociolinguistics co-exists with various types of sociolinguistics in Japan as well as in other countries.

It is true that Japanese sociolinguistics has a long history as a discipline in Japan, but Japanese sociolinguists did not have discussions as to how to define sociolinguistics and how to differentiate "sociolinguistics" from "the sociology of language". For instance, Sanada and Inoue included the linguistic variation and change studies in their domains on the one hand, but they also incorporated studies on language and identity, language planning, language and education, language relativism, and politeness into their domains on the other. They also incorporated different levels of sociolinguistics into their framework. This made their sociolinguistics unclear, compared with international sociolinguistics where its academic orientation is specific and straightforward. For instance, variationist sociolinguistics does not deal with language rights in highly multilingual communities or corpus planning of the official language.

5.2 Criticism of Japanese sociolinguistics and misunderstanding of international sociolinguistics

The field of *Gengo-seikatsu* received criticism from its beginning. Its exploratory approach toward language variation was accomplished by conducting large scale surveys to several thousand respondents. It treated language variation not simply as an indicator of language change in progress, but instead, simply tried to make a description of the variation by cross-tabulating with social variables. The criticism of this methodology in its heyday targeted its descriptivism. Critics argued that it did not make any attempts to generalize its findings into a general theory of language change, or a phonological/morphological theory (Minami 1973, 1976; Nobayashi 1984; Shibuya 1990).

Other critics have pointed some fundamental differences in how to deal with sociolinguistics. Kenjiro Matsuda, one of the first-generation of Labovian sociolinguists based in Japan, made his comparison between variationist sociolinguistics and Japanese sociolinguistics (Matsuda 2000, 2006). Table 2.7 shows the differences between the two types of sociolinguistics in these four aspects: statistical framework, factors, relationship with transformational grammar, and relationship with other research areas.

Table 2.7: Comparison between Variationist sociolinguistics and Japanese sociolinguistics.

	Variationist sociolinguistics	**Japanese sociolinguistics**
Statistical methods	Logistic-regression model (hypothesis and result)	Factor analysis (inductive, exploratory)
Factors	Internal, external factor, stylistic factor	External, domain
Relationship with transformational grammar	Variation theory, Lexical phonology, OT	Almost none
Relationship with other research areas	Dialectology, historical linguistics, discourse analysis	Dialectology, discourse analysis

Matsuda argues the differences between the two types of sociolinguistics is seen in four aspects. Firstly, statistical methods are exploratory in Japanese sociolinguistics whereas in variationist sociolinguistic, they are hypothesis-testing. Variationist sociolinguistics cover both linguistic-internal and linguistic-external factors whereas Japanese sociolinguistics only deals with external factors. No connections are attempted with transformational grammar in Japanese sociolinguistics. Variationist sociolinguistics was strongly connected with transformational grammar, as variationist sociolinguistics employed methodologies of transformational grammar (Shibatani 1982; Matsuda 2006). Variationist sociolinguistics had a stronger connection with historical linguistics than Japanese sociolinguistics.

Matsuda sought reasons why differences emerged between the two, and he noticed some misunderstandings of Japanese sociolinguists:

(1) Labov's New York study is the only representative study in variationist sociolinguistics.
(2) The target of the analysis lies in cross-tabulation of the social variables.
(3) It is social class that is the most salient in variationist sociolinguistics.
(4) Similar studies had been conducted by NLRI sociolinguistic surveys.
(5) Variationist sociolinguistics go against transformational grammar.

These misunderstandings caused other misunderstandings among Japanese sociolinguists. It was not easy to find any Labovian sociolinguists back in the 1980s who could help Japanese linguists to avoid such misunderstandings. This does not mean that we still have the gap between the two types of sociolinguistics. In recent years, we have witnessed an emergence of historical sociolinguistics, and a textbook on Japanese historical sociolinguistics was published in 2015 (Takada, Shibuya and Iyeiri 2015). The structure of this textbook adopts the Sanada sociolinguistics framework.

Another important issue is that Japanese sociolinguists have not been aware of social problems except for those working with gender studies in Japan. They struggled with gender imbalance as a social problem, and they created a scholarly community to host conferences, publish a journal, and make suggestions or corrections to Japanese dictionaries (Kotoba to Onna o Kangaeru Kai (ed.) 1985). Some of them raised issues of hegemony in Japanese society through looking at politeness and Japanese women (Usami 2010).

On the other hand, Japanese sociolinguists were taught not to commit themselves to be social activists, and not to take actions to solve language problems. Most Japanese sociolinguists thought that these topics were beyond their scope. Rather, they thought, such topics should be studied in sociology or history, but not in linguistics. Of course, we have some exceptions. Takesi Sibata was one of those who worked with language problems such as ones raised in Section 3 (Sanada and Sibata 1982). Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Institute for Japanese Language) conducted their sociolinguistic surveys on honorifics, loanword paraphrase proposal, doctor-patient communication until the early 2010s to struggle with language problems. Peter Trudgill once published his book on applied sociolinguistics (Trudgill 1984). This book led Japanese sociolinguists, Daniel Long, Seiichi Nakai and Hiroaki Miyaji to publish their applied sociolinguistic textbook in Japanese (Long, Nakai and Miyaji 2001).

5.3 Japanese sociolinguistic textbooks analysis

Since the 1990s, in addition to Japanese sociolinguistics textbook (Sanada et al (eds.) 1992, 2010; Sanada (ed.) 2006; Tokugawa and Sanada (eds.) 1991; Nakai 2006), there are a number of "Western-school" sociolinguistic textbooks available in Japanese (Azuma 1997; Tanaka and Tanaka (eds.)1996; Iwata, Shigemitsu and Murata 2013; Nakao, Hibiya and Hattori 1997). One of the characteristics of these textbooks is that they structure their books almost in the same way with sociolinguistic textbooks in the international sociolinguistics community (Trudgill 1972; Chambers 2009; Holmes 1992; Meyerhoff 2011; Romaine 2001; Tagliamonte 2011), books which Japanese sociolinguists can easily obtain in English.

The "Western-school" textbooks were well designed for the readers to grasp the relationship between language and sex/gender, age, social class, ethnicity. At the same time, they deal with pidgins and creole, language choice, code-switching, politeness, interactional sociolinguistics, stylistic variation, ethnography of communication.

In this regard, readers are exposed to the international sociolinguistics textbooks and their terms. It may be true that Sibata, Sanada and Inoue sociolinguistics have made their contributions and shared their significance with Japanese readers. However, undergraduate students today have a number of choices when they go to bookstore and order any sociolinguistic textbooks.

These indicates that sociolinguistics needs to find a common ground where Japanese and international sociolinguistics can meet and share their findings. The question, which arises now, is if this is really necessary, and if so, the next question is to what extent this is viable.

5.4 Toward a more integrated Japanese sociolinguistic framework

Previous sections discussed the differences in Japanese sociolinguistics and the criticisms toward it. In order to carry sociolinguistic studies into the future, sociolinguistics of every school much get together to discuss our future directions.

First, the domains of sociolinguistics should be simple and straightforward. As Chambers (2009) suggests, we should simply classify sociolinguistics based on the following categories: personal characters, linguistic styles, social characters, sociocultural factors, and sociological factors. This kind of classification of sociolinguistics explains targeted phenomena more effectively.

In order to understand the differences better, all those who work with sociolinguistics need to learn different approaches in sociolinguistics. Japanese sociolinguists studied international sociolinguistic textbooks, but they did not have anyone who had his/her training and could give enough instruction so that Japanese sociolinguists could perform research in the same way as Western sociolinguists. They read textbooks, research books, and articles, but they did not have any instructors in

Japan. The opposite is also true, i.e. Western sociolinguists should read Japanese sociolinguistics literature, and have opportunities to learn from them through training.

Another suggestion is that Japanese sociolinguistics should pay more attention to social problems. Sibata stressed the importance of working with language problems. Sociolinguistics needs to be more related to society. Rather than "problem-finding" approaches, "problem-solving" approaches should be employed in our future sociolinguistic studies. The same as language and gender scholars worked with gender bias of Japanese, Japan sociolinguists need to work with the issues such as honorifics, loanwords, dialects, social class, ethnicity, argots, SNS, aging, immigrants, attrition, and so on. Munemasa Tokugawa, a Japanese dialectologist and sociolinguist, proposed the concept of "welfare linguistics" (Tokugawa 1999; Shibuya 2000) in the 1990s, defining a branch of linguistics that brings scholars of various research areas together and conducts its study with the aim of achieving a better life. His idea became a mission of the Japanese Association for Sociolinguistic Sciences, started in 1998. A number of sociolinguists have been active under welfare linguistic paradigm.

6 Concluding remarks

The systematic study of the social uses of language – sociolinguistics in the broadest sense – has a long and honorable tradition in Japan. It has its roots in the initiatives of Takesi Sibata, whose socially realistic studies seemed at the moment of their undertaking to be *sui generis* but were really, as we have seen, ahead of their time. In Sibata (1951: 54), he stated, "By comparing . . . linguistic differences through members of the community and explaining the exterior cultural [= social] conditions which cause linguistic differences among the members, we may finally infer the direction and type of future linguistic changes." Seventeen years later, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968: 101) independently expressed a similar conviction: "The key to a rational conception of language change – indeed, of language itself – is the possibility of describing orderly differentiation in a language serving a community." Their elaboration of this conviction in opposition to contemporary structuralist tenets provided the theoretical underpinnings of sociolinguistics and impelled Labov, by his own admission (1972: xiv – xv), to the seminal studies that founded the discipline.

The influence of Sibata and his followers undoubtedly laid the groundwork for the easy reception of sociolinguistics in Japan when it emerged as an international academic movement. Japanese linguists became regular participants at international conferences from the start, and Japanese students were among the first-generation of graduate students in American and British universities.

As a result, Japanese sociolinguistics has maintained its own strong traditions while participating in the world-wide push toward understanding language in its social context. Because of its early, pre-theoretical origins, it has been engaged in studies for a longer timespan than other parts of the world.

In a discipline that is sometimes criticized for being anglocentric (as are many branches of the language sciences), the long and productive tradition of Japanese sociolinguistics stands as a beacon of independence. It has made significant contributions to our understanding of the social uses of language both at home and abroad. Its tradition should be celebrated, and its scientific progress must be perpetuated.

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Takehiro Shioda

3 Language life

1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics was introduced to linguistic research in Japan from the West in the 1970s. However, much before its introduction, a number of researches had been conducted, whose topics broadly overlapped the “sociolinguistics”. Field of the research is the *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* or *gengo seikatsugaku*, and this is a target of the chapter.

To start with, this chapter renders a brief definition of *gengo seikatsu* and *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. On the whole, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is research about *gengo seikatsu*, but since that is not always the case, I will first discuss its definition.

It is difficult to translate the term *gengo seikatsu* as terminology in linguistics in Japan into Western languages (Sanada and Sibata 1982). *Gengo seikatsu* is, in many cases, translated as ‘language life’ (Sanada and Long (eds.) 1997; Hosokawa 1997; Kunihiro, Inoue and Long 1999; Heinrich 2002; Heinrich and Galan (eds.) 2011; Sugito 2014). This term is also defined as follows.

> The main interest of this research institution* is concentrated on dialectology and *gengo seikatsu*, which could be literally translated as “language life”, and by which is meant the study of speech behavior in daily life. Language varieties according to the speaker’s regional background, social status, age, sex, and education are investigated. The aim of such study is to provide a total description of the speech behavior of the people in a community. This work serves to provide the scientific foundation for solving current language problems
>
> *referring to Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo ‘National Institute for Japanese Language’
>
> (Ide and Yoshida 1999: 444)

The reason of why translation of the term *gengo seikatsu* is difficult is not just because it is a uniquely Japanese concept but also because, even in Japan, the interpretation of this term varies amongst the researchers.

Sanada (2006: 74) clearly states that the concept of *gengo seikatsu* is not always academically clear. Even today, researchers do not share their understandings over the definitions of *gengo seikatsu* and *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Leading scholars of the *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* such as a *kokugogaku* scholar, Tokieda Motoki and a literature and national language education scholar Nishio Minoru had different views (Morioka 1972; Santo 2015). Naturally, Tokieda and Nishio school of linguistics had different definitions over the *gengo seikatsu* and *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Sibata Takesi, who later initiated the famous Shirakawa and Tsuruoka studies (described later) at the National Language Research Institute, stated that he happened to know that the first

Acknowledgements: I would like thank John Haig for his translation, comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-004

director of the institute, Nishio Minoru said, "I never thought of *gengo seikatsu* being interpreted that way (author's note: referring to the kind of approach used in the Shirakawa and Tsuruoka studies)" (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1999: 47). Nishio did not think one should approach *gengo seikatsu* through a quantitative study.

A variety of definitions for *gengo seikatsu* have been proposed (Tokieda 1955; Sibata 1977; Maeda 2007; Sugito 2014). What is in common among the definitions is that the *gengo seikatsu* aims to view human lives through language and language behavior. *Gengo seikatsu kenkyū* aims to examine the role of language and that of people themselves through surveys.

As characteristics of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, Minami (2000) list the following. Not all *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* results have all the characteristics of (1) through (5) listed below, but they at least have some of them.

(1) Attention is not paid to the pursuit of linguistic systems such as phonology, lexicon, or grammar as a primary objective, but rather is paid to aspects of actual language use.
(2) Identifying (socio-)linguistic variants of a variable in language systems, research investigates the actual language use.
(3) Language problems such as the purpose, effects, or influence of language use, or language education and language policy are examined.
(4) External factors related to the act of interpersonal communication, such as interactions, the people involved in the communication (e.g. sender, receiver, topic characters) and the personal relations, the psychology, the settings, and the means of communication, are analyzed.
(5) Attention is also paid to non-verbal communication, locating the verbal communication within the contexts of interpersonal communication.

In addition, the National Language Research Institute (now the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics) has been a leader in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, and has conducted series of large-scale surveys in all parts of Japan. Founded in 1948, the National Language Research Institute carried their research projects on language standardization, honorifics use and its consiousness, and communication consciousness on a basis of the research questions such as "how does speech community or do the individuals in the community live their lives, and use what kind of language?" "How do the social environments and social conditions affect the individuals in their language live?" (Sanada 1986a)

The scope of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is "so broad that doubt arises whether the research is about *seikatsu* 'life' rather than about *gengo* 'language' (Sibata 1977)." When one attempts to study "the human as viewed through their language acts", such study can exceed the framework of "linguistics". For example, Ogino mentioned that one of the readers commented on his article (Ogino 1983) about honorific use in the linguistics journal, *Gengo Kenkyū*, this was not a linguistics article (Ogino 1988). In fact, study on the honorifics use is a primary topic of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

Generally, linguistic studies such as phonology or grammar are not included in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Out of two types of studies, "language as symbols" and "humans through language", some *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* include both the former and the latter, others do the latter. In essence, the latter is regarded as more important and has been prioritized in the analyses. Sibata (1977) states that *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is the most comprehensive research field, including "external linguistics" (i.e. sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, psycholinguistics, geolinguistics, and the like). In the same way, Usami (2008) points out that the traditional *gengo seikatsugaku* includes modern sociolinguistics and pragmatics in a broad sense, and it aimed to describe and systematize a broad range of "language activity" including the history of *gengo seikatsu*.

There is also the indication that *gengo seikatsu* should not itself be an object of study but should present a viewpoint for linguistic studies (Hayashi 1995). In the same way, the author considers that *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* should be defined as linguistic research based on the perspective of *gengo seikatsu*, rather than as research to simply target *gengo seikatsu*. Putting it very loosely, linguistic surveys or research based on the observation and analyses of various human actions are worthy of being called *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

2 Trends in gengo seikatsu kenkyū

Gengo seikatsu kenkyū became popular in the postwar period. The following section renders a brief review of the relevant studies.

2.1 Gengo seikatsu kenkyū research until the 1940s

Gengo seikatsu first appeared in the early half of the twentieth century. However, much prior to that, there were some studies from the same perspective as *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. They are "*gengo seikatsu kenkyū*-like research" as they contributed to establish *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* so that they are called. At the same time, they are substantively sociolinguistics-like research as their studies appeared before "sociolinguistics" was introduced. In short, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*-like research will be treated as equivalent to sociolinguistics-like research, and no distinction will be made between them as the discussion progresses.

First, Sakurai (2007) offers *Onna Chōhōki* (1692) as one of the earliest works describing "linguistic variation based on male-female difference". This work could be termed a culture guide or a handy lifestyle dictionary for women that described words women should and should not use in contrast to men's language. According to Sato (2007), *Onna Chōhōki* includes a number of examples to caution against overuse of Sino-Japanese and to encourage to use “gentle ways of speaking” as a language etiquette. Also, it also raises a manner of writing with a reference to *kana* usage and etiquette in letter writing. The linguistic norms of Japanese society of the time are reflected in the book.

Tokugawa (1995) introduces such literature on language variation as *Katakoto* by Yasuhara Teishitsu (1650), which argues a standard language, and *Kusamusubi* by Tokugawa Munetake (1770), which dealt with *nyōbokotoba*, the court women’s language. According to Kato (2007), *Katakoto* described the vulgar, accented speech of the common people in Kyoto of the time, discussed its pros and cons, and cautioned against the decline of the speech of Kyoto; it is a valuable source that shows the state of language change and that of awareness of standard language.

Some works in the Meiji and Taishō periods treated social and regional variations, but it was Kikuzawa (1933) published in the early Shōwa period that first stressed the necessity of capturing social differences in language using the term *isō* ‘phase’. “Phase” is a concept that refers both to differences in the attributes of speakers and to differences in actual language use. Starting from a term in chemical engineering, it was borrowed into linguistics. Kikuzawa finished his undergraduate degree in the Engineering Division, Department of Applied Chemistry, Tōhoku Imperial University, and then started his studies at Department of Law of the same university (Sato 2002).

Kikuzawa explains the concept of “phase” as follows.

> When water is a solid, it is called ice, and when it changes to a gas, it is called steam or vapor, but seen from the viewpoint of physical chemistry, all are the same substance, and they are recognized as no more than different phases. If we adopt this term “phase” into Japanese language studies, language changes its phase each time the social phase changes. So, it is necessary for Japanese language scholars to study the changes each time Japanese changes its phase in this way. As one aspect of comprehensive studies of Japanese, we must recognize the particular facts due to the differences in phase, examine the circumstances of changes due to differences in phase, and understand the existence of a direction that ought to lead to finding the laws at work between them; I propose to call this field of research “Phaselogy”. (Kikuzawa 1933: 6–7)

Regarding Kikuzawa’s conception, it has been pointed out that “it does not have much theoretical backing” (Neustupný 1994). For example, the concepts of “attributes” and “variation” in modern sociolinguistics are lumped together in the word “phase”, making it difficult to understand (in later research, words corresponding to “variation” came to be called *isō-go* ‘phase words’). Sato (2002) also offered his frank opinion regarding the “phaselogy” proposed by Kikuzawa, saying “There are places in the division of fields of study that are hard to understand.” However, Kikuzawa’s claim that language is not something unitary but is something filled with variety is extremely important as a theory clearly indicates that language should be viewed from the differences in attributes and variety.

“Phaselogy” is subdivided into *yōsō-ron* and *yōshiki-ron*. *Yōsō-ron* refers to consider differences in phases against the background of linguistic society, and *yōshiki-ron* refers to consider differences in phases against the background of differences in the form of expression, such as spoken language or written language (Sanada 2007). In other words, *yōsō-ron* can be characterized as an extremely early attribute-oriented research viewpoint such as social groups, areal groups, or gender differences, and *yōshiki-ron* as a point of view linked with stylistics and modern "media and language" studies.[1]

Here the birth of the term *gengo seikatsu* will be described. The terms *gengo seikatsu* and *kokugo seikatsu* 'national language life' started to be used in the field of national language education after 1920 (Taishō 9) (Kurokawa 2000). However, these were interpreted as referring to the daily language activity of children in national language education, and they constituted only a part of what *gengo seikatsu* later came to refer to. The words *gengo seikatsu* were used quite a few times prewar and during the war, but on the whole, they appear to mean only "life using language" or "life accompanied by language use".

An early example of the use of *gengo seikatsu* by a *kokugogaku* scholar is Kindaichi (1933). As seen below, he used it as a subcategory of various kinds of "human life".

> Our lives are a harmonious, comprehensive unit. but just as one can analyze and consider each aspect, such as economic life, religious life, social life, family life, intellectual life, esthetic life, or sex life, so too it is possible to abstract and consider something called *gengo seikatsu* 'language life'. (Kindaichi 1933: 35)

It is said that the substantive starting point of the term *gengo seikatsu* that is linked to the present was Tokieda Motoki (Tokugawa 1994). Tokieda's *gengo katei setsu* 'language process theory' is a concept that language is not a "thing" that exists outside of human beings but is "human activity itself". Tokieda considered the study of *gengo seikatsu* to be the essential question of linguistics (Kokubo 1998). However, the later flow of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* did not always match the direction Tokieda had been considering.

In the prewar and wartime periods, the concept of *gengo seikatsu* was not a generally recognized concept in *kokugogaku* studies (Miyaji 1961; Kokubo 1998). It was postwar that the term *gengo seikatsu* came to be widely used.

1 "Phaselogy" was later inherited and developed within the world of kokugogaku. For example, Tanaka (1999) list the following as factors that bring about *isō-sa* 'phase contrasts'.

Social phases: those due to gender/those due to generation/those due to social status or social class/those due to occupation or specialist field/ those due to social groups

Formal phases: those due to differences between spoken and written language/those due to the genre or style of the writings/those due to the situation or hearer/ those due to the form of communication

Psychological phases: those due to a psychology of avoidance/those due to a psychology of beautification/ those due to a sense of comradeship/those due to a war psychology/those due to a sense of inter-personality or of treatment/those due to a seller's or buyer's psychology

2.2 Foundation of the National Language Research Institute

Japanese sociolinguistics in Japan was established through a strong connection with *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* by the National Language Research Institute (Sugito 2008). The first director of the National Language Research Institute, Nishio Minoru said "The National Language Research Institute have its mission to investigate *gengo seikatsu*" (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1999: 47). The development of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is inseparable from the National Language Research Institute.

The "National Language Research Institute Establishment Law" was promogulated and went into effect in December of 1948 (Shōwa 23) (Sugito 2008). The law contained the term *gengo seikatsu*, and this was the first time the words *gengo seikatsu* appeared in the body of a law (Sibata 1977). The first article of the law states, "In order to conduct scientific surveys regarding the national language and the *gengo seikatsu* of the people, and to build a firm foundation for the rationalization of the national language, the National Language Research Institute is established." "National language" here can be interpreted as the "state of language as a symbolic system", and "people's *gengo seikatsu*" as the "state of the people who use it". In other words, the National Language Research Institute started as an organization that would conduct surveys and research on both.

In the Ministry of Education's first draft of the first article of the law quoted above, it said. "In order to conduct scientific surveys regarding the national language, to improve the *gengo seikatsu,* and to contribute to the development of the linguistic culture of the people, the National Language Research Institute is established." However, a proposal from the occupation authorities held that they were not to be bound by the ideology of linguistic studies up to that time, but they were rather to broaden their researches to wider fields, such as language education and mass communication studies. In conducting research, to respect surveys of the actual state of language, the language in the first article of the law was revised from "scientific research regarding the national language" to "scientific survey research regarding the national language and the *gengo seikatsu*".[2] At this point, it was clear that the National Language Research Institute was an organization that would conduct research on the *gengo seikatsu* as well as the national language.

Following its founding, the National Language Research Institute conducted a series of the large-scale *gengo seikatsu* surveys in various part of the country (Table 3.1). Egawa (1975) called the period from around 1945 to around 1960 the "first *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* period". Citing from Egawa (1975) on the classification and descriptions of the surveys during the period from, they are briefly described below.

2 Roundtable discussion "The time of the founding of the National Language Research Institute" *Gengo Seikatsu* 267 (1973.12). 57.

a. Standardization studies
"I Hachijōjima", "II Shirakawa", "III Tsuruoka", and "VI Hokkaidō" belong to this category. At this period in time, there was concern about how to raise effectiveness to get Standard Japanese widespread. These surveys were conducted in order to find which factors would influence the adoption of Standard Japanese by individuals. The informants for the series of surveys were not selected through the classic dialectological survey method (i.e. Non-mobile, Older, Rural Males: NORM) but were selected through random sampling using statistical methodology. For details regarding "I Hachijōjima", "II Shirakawa", and "III Tsuruoka", see Chapter 1 (Coulmas, this volume) of this volume. "VI Hokkaidō" attempted to capture standardization from a different perspective; see Chapter 16 (Asahi, this volume) of this volume for details.

b. Honorifics studies
"IV Ueno", "V Okazaki", and "IX Tōkyō, Ōtawara, Nara, Takamatsu" belong to this category. One of the factors to explain differences in honorifics is the hierarchical relation between speaker and hearer. Generally speaking, a person of lower status uses a high level of honorifics when speaking to someone of higher status.

However, in the Okazaki survey it was found that attributive factors like hierarchical relations did not play a large role in different use of honorifics. A much stronger factor was whether one was in a stronger or weaker position in each inter-personal situation. For example, when asking a doctor to make a house call, the speaker can be considered to be in a weaker position, high levels of honorific forms are used. There was also a striking gender difference in honorific usage; it was confirmed that in contrast to women, who used high levels of honorific forms in all situations, men often differentiate their use depending on the situation.

Table 3.1: Language surveys by the National Language Research Institute (Prior to 1970, Miyajima et al. (1982)).

Survey		Random sampling	Respondents	Survey period	Publication
I	Hachijōjima				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1950)
	(1) Language survey (Doorstep survey)	✓	216	June-July, 1949	
II	Shirakawa				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1951)
	(1) Standardization survey	✓	635	December, 1949	
	(2) Languge ability and language life surveys	✓	61		
	(3) Evacuated students survey		444		

Table 3.1 (continued)

Survey		Random sampling	Respondents	Survey period	Publication
III	Tsuruoka (1)				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1953)
	(1) Common Japanese survey	✓	496	November, 1950	
	(2) 24-hour survey		3 (Male only)	November, 1950 and October, 1951	
	(3) Personality survey (No.1)	✓	156	November, 1950	
	Personality survey (No.2)		8		
	(4) Mass-communication survey	✓	1,011households (1,276 surveys)	November, 1950	
	(5) Common Japanese school education survey		137	November, 1950	
IV	Ueno				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1957)
	(1) Social life survey	✓	847	August, 1952	
	(2) Language life survey	✓	c3,000 (26 sections)	August, 1952	
	(3) Doorstep survey	✓	248	September, 1952	
V	Okazaki (1)				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1957)
	(1) Social life survey	✓	732	October, 1953	
	(2) Social class survey	✓	420	February, 1954	
	(3) Personality and honorific survey	✓	173	March, 1954	
	(4) Dialogue experiment		20 pairs	September, 1953 and February, 1954	
	(5) Doorstep survey	✓	433 (Main Group 246, Comparison 187)	October, 1953	
	(6) Recording surey		12 situations	September and October 1953	
	(7) Honorifics ranking survey		246	March, 1954	

Table 3.1 (continued)

Survey		Random sampling	Respondents	Survey period	Publication
	(8) Slide survey		173	March, 1954	
	(9) Analyzer test		164	March, 1954	
VI	Hokkaidō				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1965)
	(1) First, Second and Third generations survey		9 families (27)	August, 1958	
	(2) Third generation survey		161	December, 1958	
	(3) Furano survey		200	August, 1959	
	(4) Yoshi, Urausu and Toyokoro Survey		86	February, 1960	
	(5) High school survey		(I) 240 (II)29	(I) August-September, 1960 (II) February-March, 1961	
VII	Nagaoka				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1966)
	(1) Random sampling survey	✓	1,663	October, 1963	
	(2) Doorstep survey	✓ Selected from (1)	310	October, 1962	
VIII	Matsue				Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1968, 1971)
	(1) Basic survey	✓	1,414	October, 1963	
	(2) General citizen survey	✓ native speaker and (1)	220	November-December, 1963	
	(3) Student survey		683	October, 1963	
	(4) Housewives survey		90	November-December 1963	
	(5) Open school for women survey		62	Novemer, 1963	

Table 3.1 (continued)

Survey		Random sampling	Respondents	Survey period	Publication
	(6) PTA survey		81	November-December, 1963	
	(7) 24-hour survey		1 family	November, 1963	
IX	Tōkyō, Odawara, Nara, Takamatsu				
	(1) Honorific consciousness survey		708	December, 1964-January, 1965	Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1965)

c. Surveys on use of writing
The prewar *kana* spelling of words in Japan is called *kyū kanazukai* 'old *kana* usage'. Forms drastically different from the speech pronunciation were deemed correct. Also, complicated forms of *kanji* with many strokes were widely used. With a change of national language policy, *gendai kanazukai* 'modern *kana* usage', in which the *kana* spelling of words is closer to the speech pronunciation, and simplified *shin-jitai* 'new character forms' of *kanji* were adopted. "VII Nagaoka" examined how widely these new forms had spread is. In this survey it was confirmed that both *gendai kanazukai* and *shin-jitai* had spread widely.

d. "Matsue survey"
"VIII Matsue" was a survey concerning various aspects of *gengo seikatsu* and details are presented in Section 5 of this chapter.

2.3 Monthly journal *Gengo Seikatsu*

The monthly journal *Gengo Seikatsu* published from 1951 to 1988 by Chikuma Shobo regarding played an important role in the development and spread of the *gengo seikatsu*.

Editing of the monthly journal *Gengo Seikatsu* from 1951 was centered on the National Language Research Institute. In early issues of the journal, editorial supervision was made by the National Language Research Institute. While editorial supervision moved away in later issues, substantively speaking, researchers of the National Language Research Institute were in charge of editing (Sato 2014). The title *Gengo Seikatsu* was given by Nishio Minoru.[3]

3 Roundtable discussion "*Gengo seikatsu kenkyū* at the National Language Research Institute", *Gengo Seikatsu* 1964.3, roundtable discussion "For a rich gengo seikatsu", *Gengo Seikatsu* 1976.9. Remarks by Etsutaro Iwabuchi.

The topics in *Gengo Seikatsu* had a wide coverage of language in society. Issues after 1954, there were many 'special' issues. For instance, ten years of the issues in traditional *kokugogaku* or linguistics such as "etymology", "foreign borrowings", "conjugational *kana*", "romanization", "sentence structure", or "pronunciation", were overwhelmingly in the minority. What is more, these topics were discussed from the perspective of how language is used in society or peoples' consciousness (in other words, a *gengo seikatsu* perspective). Other topics targeted a variety of social phenomena to describe the role and usage of language, especially Japanese.[4]

Since *Gengo Seikatsu* was not an academic journal but was directed at the general public, the topics for special issues were selected by the extent of interest the general public would have. In other words, not all of the wide variety of topics in *Gengo Seikatsu* were pursued as the subject matter of academic research. However, *Gengo Seikatsu* did publish works of an academic nature. The proportion of sociolinguistic articles and books until 1985 in *Gengo Seikatsu* amounted to roughly 20% (Sugito 1988). *Gengo Seikatsu* have been a vital piece of infrastructure for researchers of the time working in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* or sociolinguistics.

2.4 From the 1960s to the 1970s

The *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* that had begun around 1950 lost steam around 1960 (Minami 1974a, 1974b, 2007; Egawa 1975; Sanada and Sibata 1982; Sanada 1986a; Neustupný 1994; Tokugawa 1995). New language policy of Japanese language such as the establishment of *tōyō kanji* and *gendai kanazukai* was enforced soon after the war. This led to the necessity to conduct objective, scientific surveys to examine the *gengo seikatsu* of Japanese. *Gengo sekatsu kenkyū* at the time was vigorous, but after that time, it temporarily lost speed. Minami Fujio commented on the situation during this period as follows.

> The period after World War II, roughly from the Shōwa 20s to the Shōwa 30s was a period in which interest in *gengo seikatsu* grew. Language policies of the government were put into practice, such as the establishment of *tōyō kanji* and *gendai kanazukai* and the colloquialization of new law texts. The romanization movement and the *kana* writing movement were actively pursued among the general populace. In this era, many believed that pragmatic requirements regarding language would tie language research together. In the area of research, surveys of word and character use in written language materials, surveys looking at the degree of standardization in regional society, and surveys of honorific use were conducted using statistical methods. However, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* can be thought to have lost its vigor in the period from the late Shōwa 30s to the early Shōwa 40s. Researchers appeared to have returned to the traditional (orthodox?) world of research on language systems. (Minami 1974c: 117)

4 In addition, Takahashi (1976) and Nomura (1985) describe and analyze the changes in the topics of special issues over time.

Several explanations have been offered as reasons for why the movement in research turned sluggish: Within the National Language Research Institute as a research center of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū,* the *Chihō Gengo Kenkyūshitsu* 'Office for Regional Language' devoted itself to surveys and to editing the Linguistic Atlas of Japan from 1957 until 1975 (Sanada and Sibata 1982). Since this sort of survey must take the form of cooperative research, it is difficult for researchers to each demonstrate their strengths as individuals, and researchers grew tired of doing survey after survey (Egawa 1975). The research ended with the investigation of various individual questions, and efforts to build a general, unified theory were insufficient (Minami 1974a).

After a period of stagnation of about ten years, around 1970, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* began to recover. When Watanabe Tomosuke completed his project on *gengo shakaigaku-teki kenkyū* 'linguistic sociological research', *Shakai Kōzō to Gengo no Kankei nitsuite no Kiso-teki Kenkyū I* 'base study of the relatisonship between social structure and language' *(3 volumes)* were published in 1968. Minami Fujio's *Taigū Hyōgen no Jittai: Matsue 24 Jikan Chōsa kara* 'The state of attitudinal expressions: From a 24-hour survey in Matsue' was published in 1971 (Sanada and Sibata 1982). In addition, real-time panel studies of "Tsuruoka survey" and "Okazaki survey" were conducted in 1971 and 1972, to look into changes that had taken place over the twenty-year period in between.

Also, around this time Western sociolinguistics was introduced to Japan. In 1972 William Labov's *Sociolinguistic Patterns* was published in the United States, and the the Western sociolinguistics to Japan arose in the form of introductions and quotations from the book (Matsuda 2015). Some Japanese English linguists were interested in Labov earlier than his publication (e.g. Murata 1969), but they seem not to have influenced Japanese language researchers. It was in 1973 that *shakai gengogaku* was first used as a translation for "sociolinguistics".[5] For more details, see Chapter 2 (Asahi and Chambers, this volume).

Stimulated also by the introduction of sociolinguistics from the West, Japan's *gengo seikatsu* style research regained its vigor (Egawa 1975).

One of an early English publication from Japan is Sibata (1975). Sibata (1975) was later translated in Japanese and included in Chapter 1 of Sibata (1978), "Sociolinguistics in Japan and its topics". However, the Japanese version seems to have considerable additions over the original English version.

5 As far as the author of this chapter has been able to research, regarding the US-Japan Joint Conference on Sociolinguistics (attending from the US was William Labov (Ogasawara 1970) and from Japan were Tetsuya Kunihiro, Tadao Suzuki, Fummio Inoue, Chie Nakane, and others (Kunihiro 1971)), the conference title was translated as *Shakai Gengogaku Nichibei Kyōdō Kaigi* in a 1970 report (Ogasawara 1970). On the other hand, in another report the Japanese translation of the title was *Nichibei Gōdō Gengo Shakaigaku Kaigi* (Kunihiro 1971). In addition, as examples of the use of the term shakai gengogaku, there are Murata (1972, 1973a, 1973b) and Hashiuchi (1973).

2.5 The 1980s and on

Gengo seikatsu kenkyū and *gengo seikatsugaku* continued to be used from the 1980s on by researchers in national language education and by researchers at the National Language Research Institute whereas most researchers moved in the direction of adopting the title *shakai gengogaku*, “sociolinguistics.” However, even the later Japanese sociolinguistics inherited the DNA of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. In 2006–2009, a “*gengo seikatsu* group” was placed in the research development division of the National Institute for Japanese Language. During that period, the third Okazaki survey, was conducted. Also, as discussed in Section 6, since 2000, a number of researches has taken place to examine the *gengo seikatsu* of minority groups in a speech community, in particular the *gengo seikatsu* of foreign learners of Japanese in Japan.

One of the contributions in Japanese sociolinguistics is the large-scale surveys by National Language Research Institute and the “real-time panel studies”. Reports on new large-scale surveys conducted since the 1980s include *Daitoshi no Gengo Chōsa* ‘language survey of major cities’ (1981), *Gengo Kōdō niokeru Nichidoku Hikaku* ‘a comparison between linguistic acts in Japan and Germany’ (1984), *Kigyō no Naka no Keigo* ‘honorifics within the enterprise’ (1982), and *Gakkō no Naka no Keigo* ‘honorifics within the school’ (2002, 2003).

Daitoshi no Gengo Chōsa was the first survey conducted in the major cities of Tōkyō (658 informants) and Ōsaka (373 informants) using the large-scale survey methodology. Cities had high degree of demographic movement, the social structure in the cities was too complex. Many assumed that it was extremely difficult to capture the state of their *gengo seikatsu*. Surveys question in the survey were on accent, vocabulary, grammar, honorifics usage, language consciousness and language behavior.

Gengo Kōdō niokeru Nichidoku Hikaku was conducted to examine differences in linguistic behaviors between Japanese (1,098 informants) and Germans (323 informants). Survey items comprised questions about linguistic behavior in greeting, shopping, and asking directions, as well as questions regarding their *gengo seikatsu* such as contact with foreign people and languages, television, and mass media. The survey results showed that Japanese used formulaic greetings more than Germans; most Japanese use standard greetings before and after eating, or when leaving the house or returning, but few Germans do.

Kigyō no Naka no Keigo reports the results of a survey towards employees in enterprises (1,087 questionnaire survey respondents, 254 interview survey informants). This study aimed to capture the *gengo seikatsu* not within a particular “region” but within an “organization”. Generally speaking, honorific use is influenced by the speaker’s and hearer’s sex and age, this study shows that rank (e.g. division chief, section chief) and years of service in the enterprise were the key factors to control the honorific use.

Gakkō no Naka no Keigo investigated honorific consciousness and usage (e.g. degree of influence from hierarchical status with the interlocutor and intimacy) targeting junior and senior high school students who have not yet entered society (6,021 questionnaire survey respondents, 342 interview survey informants).

As for real-time panel studies, the Tsuruoka surveys top the list. As raised in section 2.2, these surveys investigated one aspect of the *gengo seikatsu* in the city of Tsuruoka, the degree of standardization and the use of Tsuruoka dialect and Standard Japanese. The Okazaki surveys were on honorifics and awareness of honorifics. See Chapter 2 (Asahi and Chambers, this volume) for details on both.

The Tsuruoka surveys and Okazaki surveys targeted the same areas and the same people with the same contents. With the spread of the birth years of the informants, they examined more than 100 years' language change. It was possible to see both changes in real time (survey years) and apparent time (age of informants) and changes due to the aging of the same informant. These surveys made significant theoretical contributions regarding language change in general (Inoue 2015).

Other real-time panel studies include the Seattle project investigating intellectual development, which adopted the same kind of survey format, but the Tsuruoka surveys are the world's oldest real-time survey over the longest period (Abe, Yoneda and Maeda 2013; Yokoyama et al. 2014).

One of the achievements in the real-time panel studies was to clarify an individual's language change after the "language formation period". The language formation period normally refers to the period from five years old to around 13 years old, and generally it is thought that after this period, while vocabulary may change, there is almost no change in phonology or accent. However, in the Tsuruoka surveys, comparison of the first and second surveys made it clear that even after the language formation period, an individual changed his or her phonology or accent in response to changes in his or her environment (Egawa 1975).

In addition to the surveys and studies conducted by National Language Research Institute, Japanese *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* has been carried out on a number of different fronts. For example, in Ogino et al (1990), in which he compared honorific use in Japanese and Korean using a questionnaire survey, he clearly stated, "this research can be characterized as a continuation of Japanese *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*". *Gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is primarily concerned, not with language structure or systems, but with the language use. What is more, while this approach has been used with regard to Japanese concerning honorifics, it had hardly been applied in research on Korean before.

NHK Broadcast Culture Research Institute conducted the *gengo seikatsu* of Japanese in 1979 to examine peoples' language consciousness in the form of a social survey (targeting 3,600 Japanese citizens over the age of 16, 2,629 effective responses, effective response rate 73.7%) (Inagaki et al. 1980; Bunken Yoron Chōsa Gurūpu 1980). Survey items included such items as "feelings about the latest young peoples' language". "the masculinization of women's language", "the speed at which the news is read", "feelings about velar nasal", "feelings about the use of potential forms like *mirenai*", "recognition and use of buzzwords", "recognition and use of likes and dislikes of loanwords", "honorifics", "the image of Standard Japanese", "dialects", "the current state of the Japanese language and the influence of broadcasting", "Japanese language disarrayed". The NHK Broadcast Culture Research Institute continued a number of surveys and studies based on a *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* perspective, starting with *Gendaijin no Gengo Kankyō Chōsa* 'Survey of the language environment of present-day Japanese' (1987–1996).

Kokugo ni kansuru Yoron Chōsa 'public opinion poll concerning the national language' by the Agency for Cultural Affairs is another work by a state organization. This survey can be characterized as basic surveys for the purpose of formulating national language policy. This survey has been conducted every year from 1995 up to the present, asking questions to 3,000 people on a variety of topics related to the normative consciousness of Japanese language in *gengo seikatsu* such as *kanji*, loanwords, and honorifics.

3 Sociolinguistics and *Gengo seikatsu*: Similarities and differences

Sociolinguistics perspective can be found in many traditional Japanese linguistic studies. As introduced in Section 2.1, Kikuzawa (1933) was a pioneering study to capture the structure and use of the various varieties of Japanese in relation to social attributes and style. This is in fact a sociolinguistic perspective. It shares with the sociolinguistics conception that language is not uniform but differs from person to person, from place to place, and from situation to situation (Sanada 1986b).

As discussed earlier, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* become vigorous with strong orientation for objective, scientific consideration of the connection between the speaker of a language and various aspects of society.[6] On the other hand, as described in Section 2.4, it was in the early 1970s that sociolinguistics was introduced to Japan.

Such surveys as the postwar *Yomikaki Nōryoku Chōsa* 'Survey of reading and writing ability' and the *Hachijōjima Chōsa* 'Hachijojima survey' and *Shirakawa Chōsa* 'Shirakawa survey' conducted by the National Language Research Institute are generally characterized as the beginning of sociolinguistics in Japan, in spite of the fact that at that time the term "sociolinguistics" did not yet exist in Japan. The research area of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and sociolinguistics are extremely similar, and the analytic perspective and methods are shared to a great degree, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* was reinterpreted to be not so far from sociolinguistics.

6 It was in the late 1950s that research on the sociology of language began in the US. That is, in terms of the timing, Japan started seven or eight years earlier compared to the US, and this fact has been recognized by Dell Hymes and William Labov (Sanada and Sibata 1982) (however, sociolinguistics is older in Europe than in the US; the University of Brussels opened a course called Sociologie du Langage in 1933 (Maher 1998)). After that, sociolinguistics began to gain vigor in the mid-1960s (Sugito 2008), and it became popular in Japan as well from the late 1970s.

Between *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and sociolinguistics, they at first stayed separate in the form of "conventionalists" versus the "revolutionaries" or the "Japan faction" versus the "foreign faction" while recognizing an overlap in the areas of research and being aware of each other's existence. However, it did not take long before it made little sense to aggressively distinguish between them.

In early periods, sociolinguistics was thought to be part of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* (Sibata 1977). However, it goes without saying that all research areas in each do not overlap. Today, the opposite is common; *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is one field within sociolinguistics.

The rest of this section shall consider the similarities and differences between *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and sociolinguistics.[7] I will treat such Japanese sociolinguistic studies which share the characters of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* (=can be considered far from the mainstream of Western sociolinguistics) as being *gengo seilatsu kenkyū*-like studies.

3.1 Similarities

Similarities of both share have already been described above. One is that language is different for each individual, and it is full of heterogeneity. Another is that both are based on the hypothesis that the ideal language user does not exist (Sibata 1978: 9). No single linguistic community is homogeneous. Instead, community presents a heterogeneous situation in which various varieties of language are used (Sanada (ed.) 2006: 4). It follows that when one wants to know the state of a language, one does not describe the state of a particular single speaker but attempts to grasp the language of a large number of people through surveys.

Both *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and sociolinguistics started to resolve language problems. The *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* at National Language Research Institute have reported their research findings to tackle with such matters as language standardization in regional societies or honorifics and *taigūhyōgen* treatment expressions. At the bottom of all these studies lies the recognition of language problems. On the other hand, American sociolinguistics attempts to tie itself to the clarification of and resolution of

7 It appears that the National Language Research Office of Tokyo University considers sociolinguistics and *gengo seikatsu ron* 'language life theory' as simply variant names. "As research areas in national language studies, corresponding to various domains making up the linguistic system of Japanese, there are grammar, semantics, lexicon, phonology, and writing systems, and concerning language use in a broad sense, there are conversational analysis (syntax) and sociolinguistics (*gengo seikatsu ron*)." (National Language Research Office (Japanese Language and Literature (National Language Studies) Specialist Curriculum), (http://www1.u-tokyo.ac.jp/laboratory/database/14.html, accessed 8 May 2020).

language problems such as discrimination against by society such as African Americans, women, immigrants, and foreign workers (Sanada (ed.) 2006: 4).

3.2 Differences

As an overall tendency, most Western sociolinguistic studies verify a hypothesis whereas Japanese *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* conduct observation of the target situation, and a large-scale data collection (Sanada (ed.) 2006: 5). *Gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is in this sense, inductive.

Some claim that sociolinguistic research in Japan do not put any priority to elucidate language ability. Citing the research questions by J. K. Chambers that language variation research ought to pursue, such as "what is the reason (purpose) for the existence of language variation", "how is that evaluated within the language community", "what do the various variant forms represent", Ōta (2006) points out that these issues are totally lacking in Japanese sociolinguistic research. *Gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and Japanese sociolinguistics have not had enough discussion over the social meaning of language variation. In this sense, Matsuda (2015)'s generalization is very accurate; in the language variation studies, Japanese approach focuses on the phenomena while American approach focuses on the theory.

Regarding large-scale surveys, Japanese *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* uses much larger samples than Western sociolinguistics. The *Nihonjin no Yomikaki Nōryoku Chōsa* 'survey of the reading and writing abilities of the Japanese' (Unger 1996) conducted even earlier than the first real *gengo seikatsu kenkyū,* the *Shirakawa Chōsa* 'Shirakawa survey', impacted on this survey framework. Planned under the direction of the American GHQ and the Civil Information and Education Section, the survey respondents were obtained from the stratified random sampling. American positivist sociology shaped this research methodology, and this methodology was later inherited by *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* (Inoue and Long 1998).

As to analytic framework, Japan's *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* seems to embrace such external factors much more than American sociolinguistics. For example, both the series of language standardization surveys by the National Language Research Institute (i.e. Hachijōjima Survey, Shirakawa Survey, Tsuruoka Survey, Hokkaidō Furano Survey) and Labov's New York study (Labov 1966) de-emphasize internal factors and emphasize social factors. However, this is actually not an indication of commonalities between Japan and the US, but rather demonstrates their differences. Regarding language change, Labov himself emphasized both internal and external factors. Labov (1966) can only be said to be heretical within the context of all his research, given that this work that leans heavily toward an explanation relying on external factors (i.e. social factors) and not giving consideration to internal factors.

Next, let us look at the subject matter and topics of research. There are several topics that Japanese *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* deals with but which are not much dealt with in Western sociolinguistics.

First of all, there is research on honorifics. This is a topic that arises from the structure of Japanese language. There is also an abundant accumulation of research over a long period within traditional national language studies and dialectology (Matsuda 2015).

Among the special issues in the journal *Gengo Seikatsu*, some issues do not easily fit into the framework of sociolinguistics. Nomura (1985) categorized the special issue topics from issues 1 through 400 of *Gengo Seikatsu*. But it was Sugito (1988) who indicated topics that did not fit into the framework of sociolinguistics research based on Nomura's categorization (Sanada and Sibata 1982). For example, such topics as "literal style and writing", "speaking and listening", "language and communication", and "word play and humor" can be offered as topics characteristic of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

Stylistics is raised as a topic in sociolinguistics, but in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū,* "literal style and writing" is quite a broad concept. For instance, it treats novelists' language and issues in national language education such as good and bad compositions. Similarly, it also treats "speaking and listening", and it proposes good ways and bad ways of speaking. "Communication" is a topic of present-day sociolinguistics, but in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* fairly sociological topics like word-of-mouth recommendations and misinformation are raised. On the contrary, "wordplay and humor" is only rarely studied in sociolinguistic research.

Finally, there is also a difference in how they are related to other research areas in linguistics. Comparing variation theory in the West and Japanese "field linguistics" influenced by the variation theory, the variation theory is linked to some degree with generative grammar and historical linguistics (Matsuda 2006). Historical perspective of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is studied under a name of historical *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* (i.e. consider how language behaviors were conducted in the past), and it cannot be said that there was an active link to the study of Japanese grammar.

4 Connection with language policy

There are two interpretations in language policy research: objective description and portrayal of language policies now being pursued or policies that have been pursued in the past (i.e. research about language policy) and research that provides concrete materials useful in pursuing contemplated language policies (i.e. research for the sake of language policy). However, the two interpretations cannot be definitively distinguished. This is because, for example, when drafting a plan for a language policy to be put into effect in the future, one refers to examples of language policies pursued in the past or of language policies pursued in other countries. Even so, the character of the two kinds of research differs greatly.

First of all, "research about language policy" has been widely pursued in Japan. Sakurai (2007) lists examples of such research in the prewar period, the wartime period, and the postwar time periods as Hoshina (1921, 1933), Ando (1928, 1929a, 1929b, 1929c, 1929d, 1931), Tokieda (1942) and Toyoda (1964, 1968).

However, such research has been generally regarded as separate from *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Since the term "sociolinguistics" is widely used after the 1970s, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and language policy studies have come to be regarded as fitting into the single framework of sociolinguistics.

On the other hand, concerning "research for the sake of language policy", there are works that, even viewed from a global perspective, stem from a very early period. The *On'in Chōsa Hōkokusho* "A report on phonological survey" and *Kōgohō Chōsa Hōkokusho* "A report on colloquial Japanese" were full-scale materials contributing to language policy. The Kokugo Chōsa Iinkai, "National Language Investigation Board" compiled and published them in 1905 and 1906, and they were reports about the phonology and grammar of Japanese in all parts of the country. The phonology report included 29 entries (9 long sounds, 10 vowels and semivowels, and 10 consonants) and the grammar report included 38 entries related to grammatical items. The board requested each province to conduct surveys, compiled the results into the reports (Shimono 2014a, 2014b). However, although these survey reports can be characterized as dialectology research, they are not generally regarded as *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

The *Nihonjin no Yomikaki Nōryoku Chōsa* (Unger 1996) mentioned in the previous section can be an early example of "research for the sake of language policy" with *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* undertaken under the direction of the GHQ and the Civil Information and Education Section. This survey was conducted with the objective of finding out the level of reading and writing skills before revising the Japanese writing system. The survey had a sample size of about 21,000.

Surveys like the *Hachijōjima*, *Shirakawa*, *Tsuruoka*, *Okazaki*, and *Matsue* surveys described earlier were *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* conducted with "research for the sake of language policy".

Of "the research for the sake of language policy" studies, a series of surveys on vocabulary and the *kanji* writing system, starting with *Gendai Zasshi 90-shu no Yōgo Yōji* 'vocabulary and characters used in 90 types of modern magazines' (1962, 1963, 1964) have been most used in practice. In addition, the report on *Tōyō Kanji Kaitei Onkunhyō* 'revised table of Sino-Japanese and native Japanese readings for the *tōyō kanji*' (1972) and the report on *Jōyō Kanjihyō* 'table of *jōyō kanji*' (1981) were considered and written based on the results of National Language Research Institute surveys.

Moreover, in order to formulate standards for vocabulary to be learned for each level of the Japanese Proficiency Test for foreign learners, the results of statistical surveys of vocabulary in newspapers and magazines by the National Language

Research Institute and results of studies concerning basic vocabulary conducted by the Japanese Language Education Center of the Institute were used (Bunkachō 2005: 770). These surveys on vocabulary can be included in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* in a broad sense.

What is more, collections of basic data on how people feel about school subjects such as Japanese and foreign languages (i.e. English) (e.g. Shioda 2000; Takishima, Yamashita and Shioda 2019) or peoples' consciousness regarding loanwords can be regarded as a part of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

Role of *Gengo seikatsu* research in the foundation of the National Language Research Institute was discussed earlier. Sibata (1978)'s statement below is very persuasive.

> The National Language Research Institute can be a sociolinguistics research institute for the purpose of resolving sociolinguistic problems (primarily Japanese language and Japanese writing problems) in Japan. (. . .) Sociolinguistics must not be done for the sake of sociolinguistics itself. It must be for the sake of resolving a problem. (Sibata 1978: 7–8)

The *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* research spirit accumulated over the years was applied in the twenty-first century to research for the sake of language policy in *Gairaigo Iikae Teian* 'proposal for rewording from loanwords' (2002–2006) and *Byōin no Kotoba o Wakariyasuku Suru Teian* 'proposal for making hospital language easier to understand' (2007–2009). These can be characterized as one of the "welfare linguistics" proposed by Tokugawa Munemasa.

As Sibata (1978) pointed out the necessity for research that benefits society and for research that contributes to the resolution of linguistic problems. Tokugawa (1999) proposed the idea of "welfare linguistics" that is useful to people and to society, expressing his thoughts as follows (Yoshioka 2004).

> In the same way, linguists should not just say "Linguistics research is enjoyable; It's enough to pursue the truth." That is also important, but should one not also think of contributing to society? How are my research results to date useful to society? What is lacking? I think the time has come for thoughts like these. (Tokugawa 1999: 90)

Gairaigo Iikae Teian from National Institute for Japanese Language focused on the problem of the use of difficult-to-understand loanwords in public situations and proposed a concrete plan to replace them with easier to understand phrasing. National Institute for Japanese Language investigated the use of loanwords through a vocabulary survey targeting ministry white papers, local government public relations brochures, newspapers and the like, selected words for consideration, and for each word asked in a social survey "Have you seen or heard this word? (recognition rate)", "Do you understand this word? (comprehension rate)", and "Do you use this word yourself? (usage rate)" Words with a comprehension rate of 75% or less were termed difficult-to-understand foreign borrowings and suggestions were made for paraphrasing each one (Aizawa 2012).

Similarly, *Byōin no Kotoba o Wakariyasuku Suru Teian* 'proposal for rewording on words and expression at hospital' progressed through the steps of (1) selection of vocabulary for consideration, (2) implementation and analysis of survey, (3) consideration of ways to make them easier to understand, and (4) presentation and promulgation of proposal (Tanaka and Aizawa 2010).

This research approach of not stopping with grasping a linguistic state of affairs is something completely new. It is a bold attempt to bring the step of policymaking into the subject matter of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* by moving beyond basic survey research needed from an academic point view to include "discovery of a problem → consideration of countermeasures → proposal directed to society" (Aizawa 2008). It can be characterized as a result of the maturation of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

5 24-hour surveys

24-hour surveys are one of the remarkable examples in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Targeting several informants, all their utterances for a day are recorded and analyzed. A representative example is the Matsue 24-hour survey, the first discourse research project in Japan with such a large scale and broad view (Neustupný 1994),

As for 24-hour surveys themselves, even before the Matsue survey, surveys in Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture (1949), Tsuruoka, Yamagata Prefecture (1950), Iida, Nagano Prefecture (1951), and Ueno, Mie Prefecture (1952) had been conducted (Sanada (ed.) 2006: 76). The means of recording the utterances were: handwritten records by two researchers only for the Shirakawa survey; handwritten records by three researchers in rotation supplemented by a tape recorder for the Tsuruoka survey; handwritten records, tape recorder, and shorthand for the Iida survey; and basically, tape recorder for the Ueno survey (supplemented by a researcher only when necessary) (Nakamura 1955).

Since in the first Shirakawa survey, in order to determine whether the results of an interview study on standardization using a survey questionnaire corresponded to actual language use, a 24-hour survey was planned. The statistical interview survey was primary and the 24-hour survey was secondary. However, following this survey, it gradually became apparent that the 24-hour survey was an effective method for capturing the actual state of *gengo seikatsu* (Sanada (ed.) 2006: 76).

The Matsue survey was conducted in 1963 in Matsue City in Shimane Prefecture by the National Language Research Institute. This was a large-scale survey conducted to grasp various aspects of *gengo seikatsu* from a multifaceted and comprehensive perspective and had a large influence on later studies as the starting point for discourse analysis. For example, Minami (1987, 1990), which consolidated work on treatment expressions through the categorization of linguistic acts, began from putting into order data from this survey (Asahi and Matsuda 2008).

The Matsue survey comprised a “overview survey” and a “case survey”. Particularly worthy of mention as “case surveys” were the 24-hour and related surveys.

(1) 24-hour survey:
A family of five, all native to the city of Matsue, was selected, and the linguistic behavior by the members of the family and visitors to the family (24 persons) over a period of a day were observed and suitably memorialized. In addition, within the family’s home, two tape recorders with three microphones were used for recording. The observation and recording continued for 16 hours between 6:00 am and 10:00 pm.

(2) Continuous observation survey:
In order to supplement the 24-hour survey in (1), observations and recordings were made in a continuous way for one to two hours each day at different times of the day for several days. This survey targeted three people.

Function:
{greetings} [announcements and business conversations]: few ~*(ra)reru* forms, many ~*nasaru* forms
[casual conversation]: many ~*(ra)reru* forms, few ~*nasaru* forms

Content:
[daily conversation topics, personal affairs, family]: few ~*(ra)reru* forms, many ~*nasaru* forms
[individual gossip]: many ~*(ra)reru* forms, few ~*nasaru* forms

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The contents of the conversations from these 24-hour surveys were transcribed. The discourses were categorized in terms of function, intonation, and content.

For example, when different honorific forms were compared, the following tendencies were observed (Minami 1974a). The forms denoted *~(ra)reru* include *~raeru* forms, and the forms denoted *~nasaru* include *~naharu* forms.

In addition, it was found as a result of this 24-hour survey that there was a strong tendency to use *~(ra)reru* with regard to a third party who was not present and to use *~nasaru* in reference to the listener, who was present (Minami 1974b). Furthermore, the tendency in Japanese to use *~(ra)reru* forms in reference to someone not present had already been pointed out in *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* by João Rodrigues, published at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Minami 2007).

The researchers who conducted the Matsue study pointed out as possible problems for this 24-hour study: whether or not the family selected for the survey was representative of an average Matsue family; whether or not the day the survey was conducted was representative of the whole of the *gengo seikatsu* of that family; and whether or not, conscious of the survey, the circumstances under which they were acting were different from their usual circumstances (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1971).

6 Problems and prospects for *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*

6.1 Problems

Concerning problems for *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, a number have already been indicated.

(1) The problem of characterizing *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and theory construction
Maeda (2007) raises the questions of what the purpose of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is and from what perspective research ought to be conducted.

Iwabuchi (2004) points out the fact that a methodology has not been firmly established in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* and the fact that theoretical research has not developed have created grounds for sociolinguistics gaining vigor as a replacement.

Are these not because, in the variety and complexity of the topics dealt with in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, sight has been lost of the proper characterization and direction of research, resulting in a sense of drowning? The fact that it has been impossible to sufficiently derive a general theory of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* appears to also be connected to this fact.

(2) The subject matter of some research has deviated too far from *gengo* 'language'
Iwabuchi (1994) points out that one reason *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* come to be abandoned is that, in many cases, the proportion discussion regarding *gengo kankyō* 'linguistic environment' occupies in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is quite large, and, in contrast, discussion of linguistic behaviors and the linguistic systems is relatively sparse.

In other words, *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* needs to pay attention to both various linguistic phenomena and to *ningen no seikatsu* 'human life', but if the balance between them is skewed, there arises a doubt as to what *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* is.

(3) Concerning the series of large-scale surveys by the National Language Research Institute
Tokugawa (1988, 1994), rating the significance of the series of large-scale surveys conducted by the National Language Research Institute very highly, points out the fact that the statistical processing of the survey results has been pursued to an extreme. It may cause people to forget perspectives and research topics other than this methodology, and may have an aspect of casting a negative influence.

The idea is that, like children being overwhelmed by an "outstanding father" who has conducted a series of large-scale surveys as *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*, researchers have hesitated to take up research topics other than language standardization or honorifics or hold a qualitative perspective rather than solely using statistical analytic methods.

It cannot be denied that, as a negative influence from large-scale surveys, the impression has spread widely that statistical analytic methodology based on random sampling is the high road of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Among Western researchers, there are many who take a negative view of the application of random sampling to sociolinguistics research (Matsuda 2003) (See also Ogino 2002). The implementation of large-scale surveys requires strong funding and teamwork, making it difficult for an individual researcher to conduct one alone. Or, perhaps the success of large-scale surveys has given birth to the mistaken belief that if one is not a member of a large research institute, it is impossible for one to conduct *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* on an individual level. The author of this chapter believes that this is also a remote cause inviting distancing from *gengo seilatsu kenkyū*. In addition to the subject matter taken up by *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* being varied, the analytic perspective and methodology should also intrinsically be varied.

However, even so, the value of the results of the surveys by the National Language Research Institute themselves are unquestioned. Especially, there is still ample room for research that compares and contrasts the results of past surveys.

6.2 Prospects

Sanada (2006) gives the following five points as possible directions along which future *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* might develop.

(a) Language, media, and communication
(b) Reading and writing skills
(c) Public language service and the like
(d) Attitudes toward the Japanese language
(e) The way names are written

"(a) Language, media, and communication" probes how a change in the medium influences language. Hitherto, how and whether radio and television have been involved in changes in the Japanese language has examined. In Japan, much of the general populace believes that television has had a large influence on the Japanese language and a large proportion of them look to announcers as a source of norms for the standard language (Shioda, Ota and Yamashita 2008; Shioda 2013; Shioda and Takishima 2013; Shioda 2018b). In addition, research on computer-mediated communication is expected to grow in the future. A certain amount of research has already been done on the language of emails and twitter, but, since it is not easy to obtain data, research on closed social networking services like LINE is still insufficient. The *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* approach should be effective in this sort of domain.

Concerning "(b) Reading and writing skills", the problem has arisen that, due to the spread of word processors and personal computers, people have become unable to write *kanji*, and research from such a perspective has been conducted. In the future it will be necessary to be aware of such questions as: In what kinds of situations is handwriting of *kanji* necessary?; To what degree is the ability to handwrite *kanji* needed?; Isn't the ability to input quickly and accurately by keyboard or on a smartphone more valuable? Changes in the linguistic environment influence one's *gengo seikatsu* and one's awareness of it, and this could become a topic for future research.

As examples of research that tackle "(c) Public language service and the like" head on, one can point to, for example, Asahi (2005), Takada (2005), Yoshioka (2005), Asahi, Yoshioka and Aizawa (2005). In addition, the *Byōin no Kotoba o Wakariyasuku Suru Teian* 'proposal for making hospital language easier to understand' (Yoshioka, Aizawa and Asahi 2007; Tanaka and Aizawa 2010; Tanaka 2012) can be characterized as a core work in this area. In addition to these, one can cite surveys and studies on the language used in fast-food restaurants and convenience stores (e.g. Shioda 2002). In the past, there has been large variation in the Japanese language due to differences in hierarchical position, gender, and age, but research has progressed on the assumption that, compared to other languages, there is almost no variation due to differences in social class (Shioda 2018a). However, at the present time, when social class differences are widening in modern society, one can consider awareness of social class to have become necessary in language research. Even though they both serve the public, the language used at a fast-food restaurant or convenience store is different from that used at a first-class hotel. The various problems regarding such differences in linguistic environment are amenable to study from the standpoint of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*.

Surveys regarding "(d) Attitudes toward the Japanese language" are conducted regularly by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and the NHK Broadcast Culture Research Institute (e.g. Shioda, Ota and Yamashita 2008; Bunkachō Bunkabu Kokugoka 2014; Shioda and Takishima 2013). Since normative consciousness concerning language is considered to be something that also influences the rapidity of language change, it will be necessary to continuously conduct studies in the future as well.

There is little sociolinguistic research dealing with "(e) The way names are written", but it is a topic that is comparatively often taken up in *gengo seikatsu kenkyū*. Enmanji (2005) describes in detail the development of the *jinmeiyō kanji* 'list of characters to be used in personal names' postwar. There is research confirming that there is an on-going tendency to put more emphasis on the reading of characters than on their meanings when naming children (Shioda 2005), and this change in linguistic awareness is connected with the recent tendency in naming to choose *kirakira nēmu* 'sparkling names' (non-traditional names using *kanji* in uncommon ways).

From the standpoint of Japanese language education, research examining the linguistic environment of non-native Japanese speakers in Japan (Noyama 2013) and the Japanese language necessary for life in Japan (Kaneda 2013) is robust. At the same time, especially regarding linguistic acts, there is quite a bit of research by non-native Japanese speakers on topics native speakers seldom notice.

Considering these tendencies, the perspective nourished in Japan in the form of *gengo seikatsu kenkyū* can indubitably be expected to continue to be implemented in the future.

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Part II: **Sociolinguistic patterns**

Fumio Inoue

4 Style, prestige, and salience in language change in progress

1 Introduction

1.1 Language change from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics

This chapter will provide a multi-perspective overview of ongoing language change in contemporary Japan based on recent research. The sociolinguistic focus here is change in the language system or "corpus planning" as well as change in the social positioning of languages or "status planning". The other chapters variously discuss changes in languages (Chapter 18 (Hiramoto), Chapter 19 (Long)), dialects (Chapter 16 (Asahi)), honorifics (Chapter 10 (Nagata), Chapter 11 (Takiura)), and group language (Chapter 5 (Nakanishi)). Such changes reflect long-term historical change while phenomena strictly involving the linguistic system, like phonology and grammar, evolve unconsciously during the early stages of language acquisition in childhood. Phenomena involving interpersonal and social interaction change with conscious social awareness during adolescence or adulthood.

Social change affects language. Although the "new dialect", discussed later, is described primarily in terms of vocabulary and grammar, its diffusion is regulated by region and social context. It is related also to the social awareness that accompanies dialect and dialect image. Without doubt, when placed in a sociolinguistic context, the language changes occurring in contemporary Japanese can be seen in new and different perspectives. The *basso continuo* or basic theme in this chapter is the relation between age and change or re-evaluation of the "apparent time".

1.2 Characteristics of sociolinguistics in Japan: Collection of mass data

In section 1 some characteristics of Japanese sociolinguistics will be pointed out as the general introduction to this chapter. Sociolinguistic studies in Japan dealing with the

Acknowledgements: The research reported here was supported in part by project funds from the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL). I would like to thank De Gruyter Mouton, Eastern Mediterranean University Press and NINJAL for permission to reproduce altered version of their figures. I would also like to thank John Haig for his comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-005

Japanese language have recently been published in English in considerable quantity and theoretical results have become accessible without the necessity of knowledge of the Japanese language. In addition, owing to the works of foreign researchers, we have been able to describe multifaceted phenomena (Peng (ed.) 1975; Neustupný 1978; Long 2007, Coulmas (ed.) 2007; Coulmas et al. (eds.) 2008; Heinrich and Galan (eds.) 2011). A characteristic of sociolinguistic research by Japanese sociolinguists is the collection of mass data. Many studies have produced theoretical contributions from the results of extensive surveys (Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999). A *literacy survey* by the GHQ (the General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) immediately after World War II was a starting point (Chapter 3 (Shioda, this volume)). Data and know-how have been handed down by joint research projects of state institutions, and follow-up surveillance has been conducted for more than half a century. Thanks to continued follow-up surveys involving large amounts of data, it has been possible to demonstrate theory with statistical analysis (Nomoto 1975; Yoneda 1997).

Phenomena linked to language change have been viewed as the “deterioration” of language and many field surveys were conducted after World War II dealing with fluctuations in grammar and vocabulary especially vis à vis age differences. The changes in modern Japanese were noted, but little research had charted the fluctuations at present as ongoing linguistic change until the influence of Labov (1966, 1972). Since then, research on the standardization of dialect and the investigation of *new dialects* has made great strides. These phenomena can be positioned as linguistic *change from above* and *from below*, respectively. The new dialect is an instance of ongoing linguistic change and the number of years required for change can be calculated as well as the speed of the diffusion (Inoue 2010). We can demonstrate that the language always flows and fluctuates while the other phenomena are also changing. It is a universal phenomenon in human language as well as a characteristic of Japanese.

Honorifics have been viewed as a peculiar feature of Japanese, located in the vicinity of politeness theory in Western linguistics (Brown and Levinson 1987). Social stratification differences are conspicuous. The adoption of honorific usage after adulthood has been empirically proved (Inoue 2013) explained in conjunction with middle-class awareness and the influence of post-war democratic education.

The language system of Japanese is different from the Western system (Shibatani 1990). Therefore, phenomena showing sociolinguistic variation as well as research techniques are different. The phonological system of Standard Japanese is stable, and there is little internal variation. However, because Standard Japanese differs remarkably from the northern Tohoku dialect, for example, exquisite results have been obtained in the sociolinguistic survey of Tsuruoka city in northern Japan. Because Japanese is grammatically an agglutinative language, particles and auxiliary verbs have developed and their ongoing changes have been surveyed. A large-scale historical movement of the verb and adjective inflection systems has been studied (Onishi 1997).

1.3 Ongoing change due to language contact

Ongoing change related to language contact has been observed (Coulmas (ed.) 2007; Heinrich and Galan (eds.) 2011). The inflow of loanwords is considerable and is a problem of corpus planning. As to status planning, conspicuous is the rise and influx of English. Diglossia is partly established in Japan, and the relationship between High and Low varieties holds between English and Japanese. Diglossia is also reflected in the linguistic landscape (Backhaus 2007). By contrast, Japanese has continued to advance overseas. *Gaikōgo* 'lendwords' literally 'out going words' (Chapter 17 (Daulton, this volume)) is a new theme of "interlingual dialectology". These various phenomena will be discussed in the following sections.

2 Language standardization and new dialect

2.1 Standardization and new dialect

Sections 2 and 3 describe dialect (and standard language/common language) as a subdivision of the Japanese language. Research progresses on sociolinguistic variation and ongoing change in dialects. The investigation of language standardization and new dialects has achieved considerable results in particular. A typical example of language change from above is the spread of the standard language. The new dialect, by contrast, is a typical case of language change from below. As the standard language disseminates more widely on the surface than new dialect, it will be considered first.

The starting point for this kind of standpoint is Labov's treatment of social stratification as one aspect of linguistic change in progress based on the assumption of uniformitarianism of geology. If generation differences and social variation are reflections of linguistic change, linguistic change can be grasped as a tangible social phenomenon (Inoue 2010). However, the theoretical question pointed out by Labov is the distinction of *real time* and *apparent time* (Labov 1972). The investigation of age differences makes use of apparent time, and it is not a simple and direct reflection of linguistic change. To observe linguistic change more realistically, repeated surveys are necessary. Fortunately, the tradition of Japanese sociolinguistics provides us with several examples of repeated surveys.

Phonological standardization in Japan was widely studied after the World War II. One noteworthy investigation was a field survey carried out in 1950 in Tsuruoka City, Yamagata Prefecture. The results were so clear that three consecutive surveys were conducted 20 years later and then 40 and 60 years later (Yoneda 1997). When the main results of these four surveys were brought together, it was demonstrated that linguistic change formed an S-shaped curve, as shown in Figure 4.1 (Tōkei Sūri Kenkyūjo and Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2014: 26).

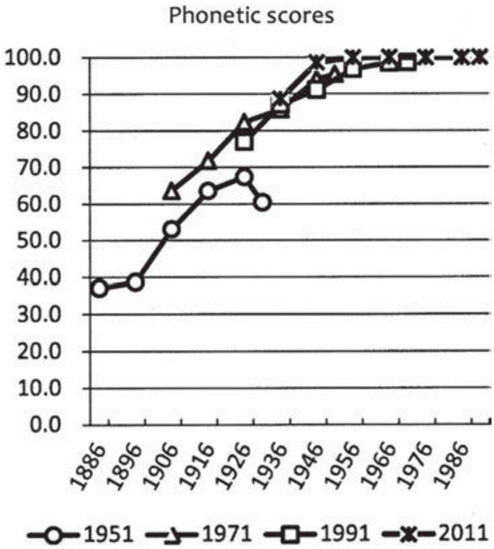

Figure 4.1: Standard pronunciation in Tsuruoka four surveys.

Language standardization advanced at the rate of 1% per year on average over the 40 years between 1886 and 1946 (according to the birth year of the informants). The speed later decreased because the change became nearly complete after 1946. Modern Japan needed a standard language after the Meiji Restoration (1868) for national unification. Eighty years after 1868, the standard language had spread throughout the phonemic system of speakers in the regional city of Tsuruoka. Vocabulary and grammar changed more gradually.

The process of standardization discussed here seems to be the reversal of dialect decline. In fact, bi-dialectalism spread after the War, and most residents use dialect at home and standard language in the public sphere, showing the situation of *diglossia*. The standard and dialect are both used in Tsuruoka according to High and Low *domains*. Dialect is utilized still in appropriate informal situations as related research suggests. New dialects also arose, so that completion of language standardization was somewhat delayed. In the 21st century, however, attrition of dialect, the dissemination of the standard language progressed and *dialect shift* as a kind of language shift occurred. This change was influenced by the modernization of society, the development of industry, and responds to the awareness of residents. It is also related to dialect image, described in Section 3.

2.2 S-shaped curve of language diffusion

In the following section, a language change in the present day will be considered. Two patterns will be pointed out. One is the S-shaped curve and the other is the jump-up pattern. These two patterns of change were proposed in the sociolinguistic survey conducted in Tsuruoka.

The first pattern is called the *Nomoto-Egawa model* (Nomoto 1975), and from a wider theoretical standpoint it relates to the *S-shaped curve*. Typical examples were observed in the phonological items of the Tsuruoka survey (Figure 4.1). The lines of four survey results overlapped to form a good S-shaped curve that showed the process of language standardization over 100 years. It seems that language change usually takes this pattern. The S-shaped curve is often observed in the process of diffusion of various phenomena and there are various theoretical hypotheses for this. It is often assumed as the accumulation curve of normal distribution in statistics.

The second pattern of change was observed in pitch accent items in the Tsuruoka survey. The standard accent was observed to *jump up* in almost all generations from the first to second surveys with larger numerical values than the previous survey. The same pattern also appeared from the second, third to the fourth surveys. People of the same generation answered using more standard language accents every 20 years later. Adults also adopted standard accent even after adolescence or *gengo keiseiki*, 'language formation period'. In previous reports it was described as a jump-up phenomenon. Particularly in the fourth survey in the 21st century the standard accent is arriving at the ultimate state, thanks to jump-up.

This is also a change showing a post-adult *late adoption* pattern. It was observed in the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics later (Section 4.3) regarding honorifics and discourse behavior which are adopted late in life. These testify that apparent time data is not always a faithful reflection of linguistic change.

2.3 New dialect and language change

Apart from language standardization, which can be observed in many languages in the world, a seemingly reverse change was discovered in Japanese dialects, and was named as *new dialect*. Linguistic geography in Japan was positioned by Takesi Sibata as one of the means to reconstruct the language history in the past (Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999). Attention was paid to language changes, ongoing changes (Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Trudgill 1992; Chambers 2003). To see the site of ongoing changes, linguistic maps by age group were drawn and the existence of the new dialect was demonstrated in the process as changes which cannot be explained as standardization. New dialect sheds light on the concept of (*overt* and *covert*) *prestige* and *salience*.

Hereafter new dialect forms will be analyzed. "New dialect" is defined by three conditions: it is (1) a non-standard linguistic form, (2) used more among younger people, (3) used more in informal situations (Inoue 1993, 2010, 2011b, 2016). In other words, it is a typical linguistic change in progress, and an ongoing change from below

(Inoue 1993; Labov 1994). "New dialect[1]" is a case of de-standardization (Inoue 2011a) at the level of corpus planning of language. Research paying attention to the new dialect became active in recent times. The new dialect may seem to have arisen suddenly as a result of the recent movement of dialect revitalization (Section 3). However, it is not so. The phenomenon has continued since great antiquity. Inoue (1993, 2010, 2011a) took up the expressions that were newly propagating from various places nationwide. It is possible to explain because there are justifiable linguistic reasons why the newer expressions propagate. They are the same as the causes of the linguistic change given by historical linguists who study past linguistic change. Moreover, the changes have taken place considerably earlier according to dialect historical data, and they are progressing still now. The new dialect is a part of a language change that has continued for a long time. It is not an exceptional phenomenon at all. If there were no great pressure of the standard language in the modern age, the new dialect might well have disseminated further. It is another current which must have diversified and have enriched dialects of various places.

"New dialect" is ubiquitous. The new dialect always arose as a language change. However, dialects of various places ceased to be used in the end of the 20th century. The dialects were forgotten, and the dialects are being researched as a topic of language attrition. The people who wish the revitalization of local culture interpret the new dialect as a star of hope. The new dialect can also be interpreted as a kind of the *language deterioration*. It is a linguistic change criticized by the intelligent people. Man feels resistant in changing the custom acquired when young. It is a kind of "imprinting". The people who have confidence in their language criticize new expressions of young people. It is a phenomenon happening everywhere of the whole country before. However, only the language of Tokyo is highly esteemed recently, and the intellectuals who spoke a local dialect lost one's self-assurance. The intellectuals in Tokyo have the normative, prescriptive consciousness, and the new dialect of Tokyo is criticized as a deterioration of the language. However, a local new dialect can diffuse among the young people without being criticized.

In a word, actual linguistic phenomena can be considered similarly for a new dialect in the countryside and deterioration of the language in Tokyo. They are both linguistic changes in progress and linguistic changes from below (Labov 1972). They are part of the linguistic changes that have happened in the long Japanese history. The linguistic changes keep happening still, not only in the remote past, but even after the War. The new dialect is a recent part of a long historical transformation. When the new dialect is interpreted as a language change, it is possible to expect it to show the "S-shaped curve of the diffusion". The change takes the shape of the S-shaped curve

1 The definition of *shin-hōgen* 'new dialect' in Japanese dialectology is different from that in English dialectology, as treated by Trudgill (1992, 2004). In Japan *shin-hōgen* is used for newly-born forms, and signifies individual linguistic change. On the other hand, English "new dialect formation" according to Trudgill is a new linguistic system as a whole, such as colonial language or urban language of new towns.

in the case of each individual word. The diffusion of a potential verb (*ra*-deletion discussed later) is a typical example; spread in individual verbs shows the S-shaped curve in a shorter time span of several decades, and diffusion to other conjugational types of verbs shows the accumulative S-shaped curve pattern in a longer time span of several centuries (Inoue 2010). This is connected with *lexical diffusion* (Wang 1979).

2.4 Local new dialect in Shōnai glottogram

Next, local new dialect will be discussed, and an original research technique will be introduced, which is suited for research in language change in progress. *Glottogram* is a technique developed in Japan, showing both geography and age in the same graph. A glottogram can also be called an "age area graph". Linguistic change in progress can be shown in one graph making use of apparent time.

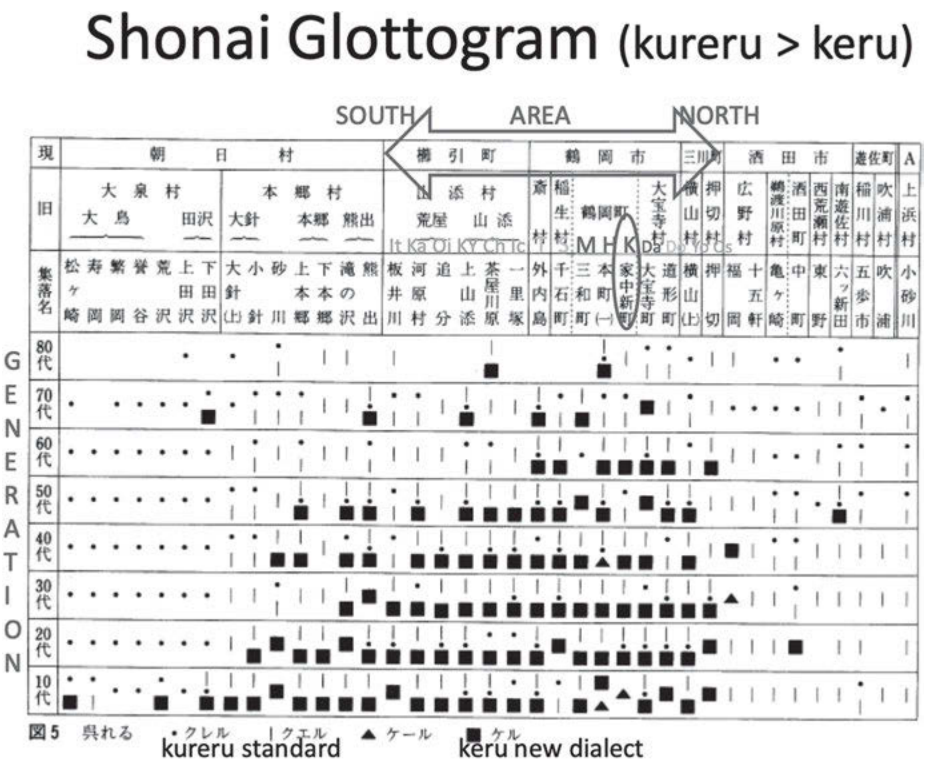

Figure 4.2: Shonai glottogram of *kureru* (Inoue 2016: 74).

The glottogram technique was applied in the Tsuruoka area of northern Japan (Inoue 1993). Figure 4.2 is an example of the glottogram based on Inoue (2016: 74). The localities from south to north are arranged horizontally from left to right. Informants are arranged vertically according to age groups. Young people (teens, born around 1960) are shown below and elderly people (in their eighties, born before 1900) are shown above. The glottogram shows the apparent time differences for a time span of sixty to seventy years. The locality with circled K, the former *samurai* residential area of Tsuruoka city, is postulated to be the cultural center of the whole area.

The word shown in this glottogram is *kureru* 'to give' in standard Japanese. As the purpose of this glottogram research was mainly to represent the dialect distribution patterns, standard *kureru* is shown by small dots. The older dialect form is *kueru* which was created by r-deletion, shown by a bar. New dialect form is a shortened expression *keru*, shown by impressive large square, as this dialectal form is noteworthy for its increasing use by young informants. Standard forms and new dialect forms are used mainly by younger speakers near the city area.

Many more glottograms were drawn and they showed similar distribution patterns. Other new dialect forms will be mentioned without figures here. Standard *omosiro katta* (was interesting) is expressed as *omosye kke* by young speakers around Tsuruoka City. Another new dialect form is *kaeda*, a shortened form of *kareda* (*kareta* in Standard Japanese), meaning, 'withered', formed by r-deletion. When all the data of the 16 new dialect forms were assembled and shown in one glottogram, a pattern emerged which appeared similar to standardization (Inoue 2013). That is, the use of new dialect forms is prevalent among young speakers in the city area. However, the new dialect forms show a pattern resembling a steep *conide* volcano (or volcanic cone), like Mt Fuji, as opposed to *aspite* volcano (or shield volcano). This means that the new dialect forms born and adopted in the Tsuruoka city area are passed on or handed down to the next generation, but they do not easily diffuse to the neighboring rural areas. There seems to be a barrier between the city area and rural areas.

Standardization is typically a phenomenon of modern times. In contrast, the emergence and diffusion of new dialect is a process which has occurred throughout the long history of human language. We can logically surmise that similar processes of diffusion would have occurred even before modern times and all over the world as a universal phenomenon. New dialect is thus a kind of observatory of perennial linguistic changes.

2.5 Tokyo new dialect and its diffusion

Some of the examples of new dialect are concerned with language in Tokyo showing retrograde movement into this cultural center (Inoue 1986, 1993, 2010). In this section we will observe a typical case of "reverse" diffusion. These are examples of *Tokyo new dialect*, or local forms introduced into Tokyo.

Uzattai 'uncomfortable' was originally used in the western suburbs of Tokyo. Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of the survey in the 1980s (Inoue 2010, 2011b).

This map shows the usage rate of older (left pillar, born in the first decades of the 20th century) and younger (right pillar, born around 1970) generations in eight localities of Tokyo Metropolis. This shows that younger people in the inner-city Tokyo began adopting the western suburban form *uzattai*. Later, *uzattai* diffused to almost all younger people in inner city Tokyo, and then it diffused nationwide through the mass media (The form was later shortened to *uzai*, and *uzattai* became rather old-fashioned. Chapter 5 (Nakanishi, this volume)).

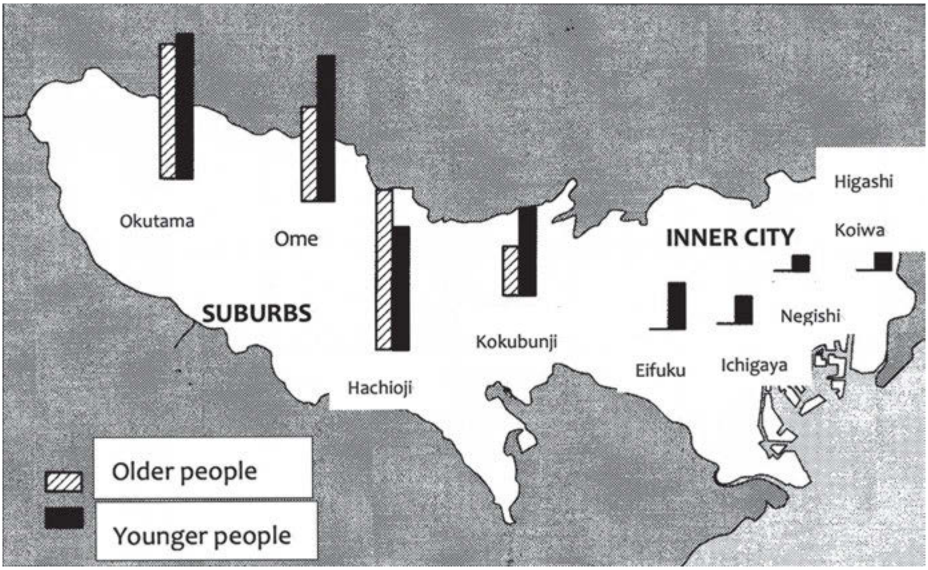

Figure 4.3: Distribution of *uzattai* in Tokyo (Inoue 2010: 59).

The inflow phenomenon of peripheral dialects to Tokyo was exemplified above. Many more examples have been reported (Inoue 1986, 1993). However, the opposite (or usual) direction exists, too. That is, the diffusion phenomena from Tokyo new dialect to peripheral dialects. Once a form is adopted as a Tokyo new dialect form, a newer step of diffusion is often observed. Younger people adopt the new Tokyo form all over Japan. Prestige of urbanity or large cities is a basic mechanism (Labov 2003). This can be called change into "Tokyo speech diffusion" or "Tokyo colloquialism". It is a diffusion going along the fringe of an umbrella in Figure 1.3 of Chapter 1 (Coulmas, this volume). As an example of a new dialect that made Tokyo a new starting point and shows a quicker nationwide diffusion, *zyan* (isn't it) is typical. It likely arose in the 19^{th} century in Yamanashi Prefecture, west of Tokyo. It extended to Shizuoka Prefecture in the first half of the 20^{th} century. It flowed into Tokyo via Yokohama in 1970's and rapidly spread to the provinces after that.

As another example of language change caused by the inflow from the west into a Tokyo colloquialism, "*ra*-deletion" or *ra-nuki kotoba* will be discussed, such as *mireru* ('can see', standard *mirareru*) and *kireru* ('can wear', standard *kirareru*). As for the diffusion of a potential verb (*kanō dōshi*) of these vowel-stem verbs (*ichi-dan dōshi*), there is a report that they were found in Edo period near Nagoya. The field survey result is also abundant. A potential verb had appeared partially in consonant-stem verbs (*go-dan dōshi*) before the Edo period. It extended to almost all consonant-stem verbs since the end of the 19$^{\text{th}}$ century (Inoue 2011a). This process is a part of a long-term historical language change covering all verbs. Recent examples of new dialect are *ikanakya dakara* (originally *ikanakereba naranaikara*, 'because it is necessary to go', in Tokyo) and *kimotii* (originally *kimoti ii*, 'pleasant', in various places in Japan) and *zyane* ('isn't it', in Tokyo Metropolitan area).

2.6 Umbrella model of diffusion

Many new dialect forms have been found to be created and diffused in the 20th century and even in the 21st century. The *umbrella model* of diffusion for new dialect forms in modern Japanese was proposed (Inoue 1993, 2008, 2010, 2011b) as cited in Figure 1.3 of Chapter 1 (Coulmas, this volume). The speech or vernacular of Tokyo can be considered to be similar in status to other dialects in the sense that it is used colloquially in daily activities. It is natural that dialectal forms from the countryside are introduced to the cultural center of Tokyo in the form of colloquial speech. Situated at the rim of an umbrella, they exchange terms and expressions. *Covert prestige* among youngsters can contribute to dialectal expressions becoming popular in Tokyo. Geographical proximity effect is important for this kind of diffusion. Thus, the horizontal axis shows north – south allocations in this model. However, population size is also influential, suggesting that the *gravity model* is applicable at this stage (Trudgill 1974, Inoue 2008). The prestige of large cities is not always the decisive factor for a form to be adopted by speakers against the common sense of both scholars and lay people.

The umbrella model was constructed to explain the mechanism of linguistic changes from below and from above on the basis of the new dialect forms. The diffusion process of Tokyo new dialect can be divided into at least three steps.

1. diffusion in the countryside,
2. diffusion into Tokyo,
3. diffusion from Tokyo to other areas of Japan.

New dialect forms are reported in many languages of the modern world; in the English language, in the USA, Canada, and the United Kingdom (Chambers 2003). The umbrella model should be universally applicable to many languages of the world. It also helps to explain the linguistic changes of this chapter in a unified manner.

The other types of diffusion are actually ascertained by new dialect research, and the umbrella model was revised and became more complicated. Another peak was added to explain the historically old peak of Kyoto. And many small subpeaks were added to explain diffusion of local, regional new dialect, which is similar to *cascade model* of Labov (2003).

2.7 Standardization and internationalization

The portion of the umbrella model indicating standardization needs a brief mention. It is a change from above, like raindrops permeating from the top of an umbrella. The portion of the umbrella model for the internationalization, shown as raindrops from outside, is not considered in this chapter. It will be briefly mentioned in the Chapter 17 of "borrowings" (Daulton, this volume).

3 Dialect image and dialect souvenir

3.1 Social history of three types of dialects

So far, we have observed actual linguistic changes in the countryside and Tokyo, without paying enough attention to speakers' linguistic consciousness (or perception). Here we turn our eyes to sociopsychological mechanism. *Salience* in linguistic change can be surveyed in the phenomenon of *dialect image*. Before discussing dialect image in the 21st century we should give a brief historical survey of the social status of Japanese dialects. Three sociolinguistic states can be distinguished if we look back at more than one hundred years of dialect usage in Japan: (1) eradication, (2) description, and (3) utilization. Now Japanese dialects are in the state of utilization (Inoue 2012). The entire trend is shown impressionistically relying on books and academic papers on dialects (Inoue 2011a, 2011b, 2012). These trends are observed in the mass-media too. (1) Books and papers for the eradication of dialects were mainly published before World War II, or in the age of militarism or imperialism, striving for national unification. (2) Neutral attitudes and objective description were observed throughout the century, but explicitly recommended after World War II, in the atmosphere of democratization. (3) The positive commercial utilization of dialect for amusement has become prominent recently. Nowadays nationwide standardization has permeated among young speakers, and geographical differences are disappearing. As a background to this, there are changes in people's ability to use standard language, and also changes in how dialect is perceived.

In the age of (1) dialect eradication, the *dialect inferiority complex* advocated by Sibata (Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999) became a social problem. Examples of "dialect murder" cases (cases where use of dialect led to a murder or suicide) have been documented. Instances of "dialect murder" have now decreased and the age of eradication seems to be over. (3) dialect has increased in scarcity value and a movement towards the opposite direction of positive evaluation can be observed. In other words, the economic value of dialects as language resource has changed from minus to zero, and then on to plus (Inoue 2012). Dialect in Japan is now treated as style, accessory, and cos-play (Inoue 2011b).

3.2 Three factors for dialect souvenirs

In the following, concrete visible data showing the present status of dialect will be presented. Concepts of *indicator*, *marker*, and *stereotype* in the order of *salience* are useful (Labov 2001:196). On the other hand, the existence of *kizukanai hōgen* 'unnoticed dialect' (for example words used at school or *gakkō hōgen* 'school dialect', like *bii-si* 'B0 size paper' used near Nagoya instead of standard mozō-shi) should not be forgotten (Inoue 2011b). Stereotypes or salient dialect features are important in the field of "perceptual dialectology" and "folk linguistics". Japanese studies have offered important contributions in this field (Preston 1989; Preston (ed.) 1999; Preston and Long (eds.) 2002).

The linguistic landscape phenomena observable from outside corresponds with dialect image, which is the main topic of perceptual dialectology. In this section, three factors which seem to influence the geographical distribution of dialect souvenirs will be discussed.

(1) a linguistic factor: difference from standard language which is partly paralleling geographic distance from Tokyo.
(2) an external or non-linguistic factor: numbers of tourists are reflected in the micro geographic distribution of souvenir shops.
(3) a psychological factor: emotionally positive dialect image or a love for one's hometown.

The first factor of difference from standard language will be treated later. To state concisely, difference from the standard is proportional to railway distance from Tokyo (Inoue 2008). The second factor of tourists does not show clear correspondence, if seen nationwide. We will analyze the third factor of dialect image first. For this factor, the *dialect landscape* gives important information, if arranged geographically.

The numbers of dialect souvenirs collected and recorded in various books were processed on the computer and shown in the map according to prefectures (on the basis of a graph in Inoue 2007, 2011b). As shown in Figure 4.4, three main areas are observed: the central Kyoto-Osaka area and the peripheral northern and southern tips of Japan. This awkward pattern of separate three peaks can be well represented if we take up the metaphor of a *double volcano*, high on both sides and in the center.

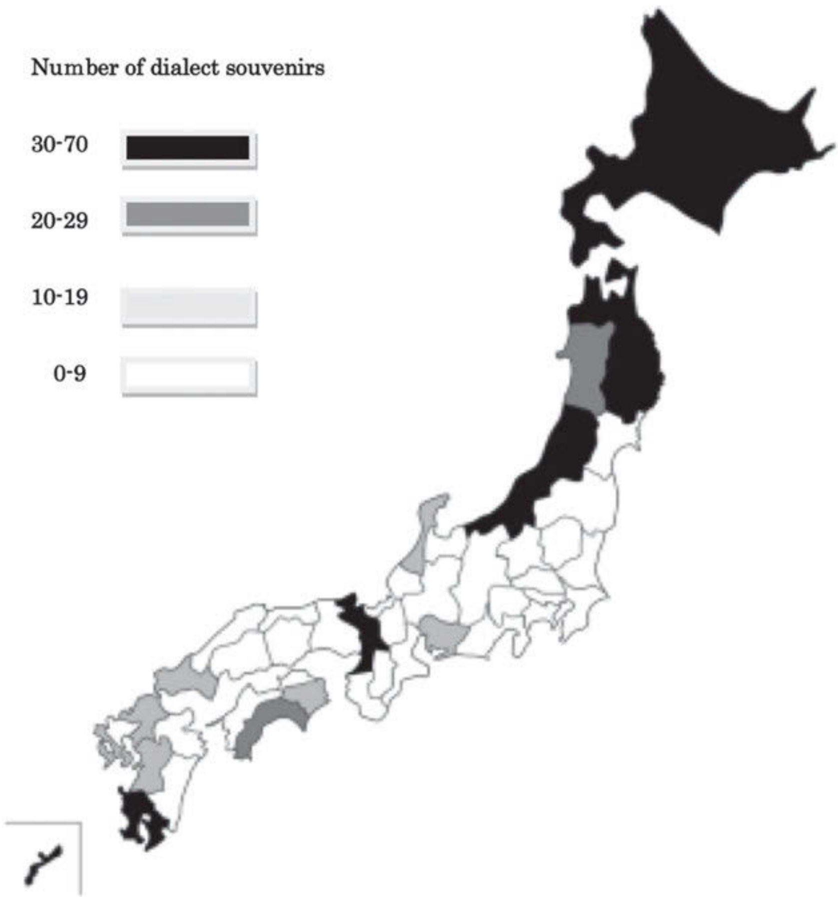

Figure 4.4: Dialect souvenir by prefectures.

3.3 Dialect image of Japan as a double volcano

This double volcano distribution in Figure 4.4 shows some similarity to one factor of *dialect image*. Multivariate analysis of dialect image has shown that Japanese dialects can be classified into four groups by intersection of two factors of intellectual and emotional images (Inoue 2012).

The data in Figure 4.5 are based on a large-scale nationwide survey of regional differences by NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Takahashi 1997). Three questions connected to dialects ("I like the dialect", "The dialect should be kept", "Local accent is shameful") are mapped (Inoue 2007, 2011b). Emotionally positive (≒ pleasant) dialect image, shown by dark meshes, are high at both ends of the country and also in the central Osaka and Kyoto areas. This matches the double volcano dis-

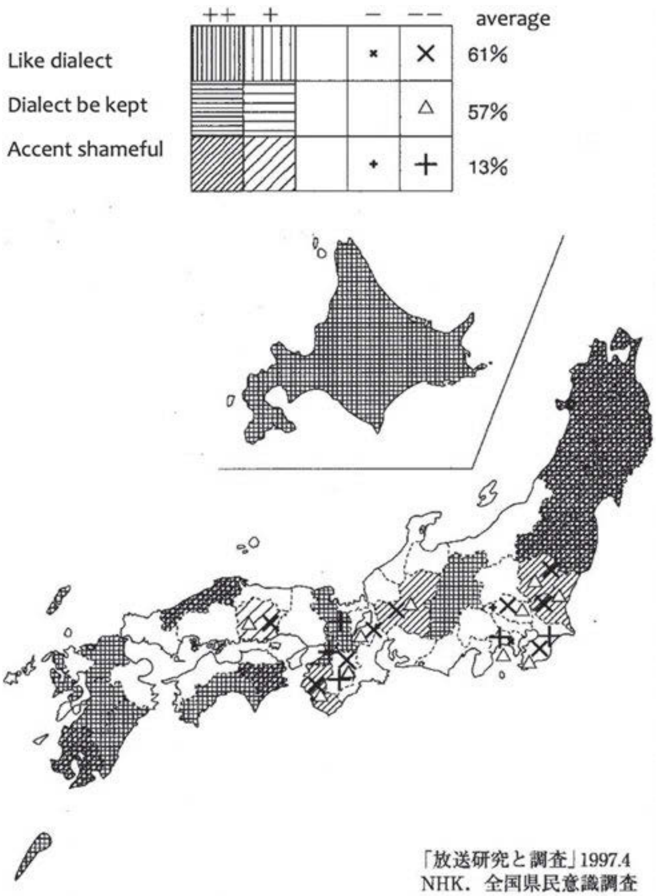

Figure 4.5: Dialect images of Japan in NHK survey.

tribution quite well. Since ancient times, northern Tohoku and southern Kyushu have been regarded as places where different dialects are spoken. It corresponds to the old outer ring mountain. On the other hand, the old capital Kyoto is the central crater hill. Emotionally positive dialect image can be also regarded as parochialism in a positive sense, or local patriotism, love for one's hometown. Similarities can be found with Preston's key words of pleasantness and correctness in perceptual dialectology (Preston (ed.) 1999; Preston and Long (eds.) 2002).

3.4 Double volcano model and dialect landscape

Among the three factors above, (1) difference from standard, (2) number of tourists, and (3) emotionally positive dialect images, the last one or people's own dialect image best explains the overall geographical distribution. However, the second, tourist factor is also important, because small-scale geographical locations of dialect signboards and dialect souvenirs match up with tourist spots in cities (Inoue 2012). This shows that dialect relates to economic activities.

The more deep-rooted cause of this tendency of double volcano model is a sense of difference or rivalry, or a kind of antagonism against the standard language and the Tokyo dialect. This attitude relates to "salience" in linguistic change. The three major dialects perceived by the Japanese are northern Tohoku, central Kansai and southern Kyushu dialects. These three areas are located like a double volcano, high in the center and two peripheries. People of these areas are conscious of the difference from the standard language; desire to cherish own dialects is strong, and there are thus many dialectal souvenirs. If we look into concrete words and expressions utilized in dialect souvenirs, "salient" characteristics (stereotypes and markers) are easily found. Diffusion of new dialect forms from the Kyoto and Osaka areas is also observed (Inoue 2010), showing traditional prestige of old cultural center of Japan. For this kind of analysis of dialect landscape, extralinguistic information must be taken into consideration.

4 Honorifics and late adoption

4.1 Universals and specifics in changes of honorifics

In the fourth section, we focus on honorifics. When we divide the surface of the earth into areas of language and then areas of dialects, it is group language that comes next (Chapter 5 (Nakanishi, this volume)). These phenomena are distributed in a certain scale of area (or space). Next comes phenomena which do not occupy an area. Use or non-use of honorifics (Chapter 10 (Nagata, this volume)) are phenomena that can be utilized in the scene of interaction or in the brain of an individual. However, since group differences can be explained neatly when honorific expressions are taken into account, we discuss honorifics first.

Honorifics is one of the trends of sociolinguistics, a major theme in language variation, and it is linked to another trend, discourse research (Chapter 12 (Usami, this volume); Usami 2002). Honorifics in Japanese belong to the type of East Asian honorific systems (McAuley 2001; Inoue 2011b, 2013). Japanese honorifics had been treated as unique to Japanese before World War II. According to the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), since politeness was positioned as a universal phenomenon in human language (Chapter 12 (Usami, this volume)), consideration from a new perspective advanced (Watts, Ide and Ehlich (eds.) 2005). Research on politeness in Western languages that may be difficult due to their systems for expressing politeness can be conducted more easily in Japanese making use of its intricate systems of honorifics. Moreover, the result may have universal value to the languages of the world.

Honorifics also show ongoing language change, but a change pattern that was overlooked in traditional language change theory was discovered. The two change patterns (S-shaped curve and jumping) of Tsuruoka phonological standardization in section 2 were beautiful, and many language changes (and changes other than languages) are first accepted by the younger generation. This seems to be the main language change with universal character. However, in the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics, an unexpected change pattern was observed. It is a pattern of extreme *late adoption*. The pattern of change in honorific expressions of Okazaki city contrasts with the pattern of phonological standardization of the Tsuruoka long-term survey. Changes in progress can be observed in honorifics, but the changes progress with a mechanism different from phonology.

4.2 Findings from the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics

This section is a report on the honorifics survey in Okazaki City near Nagoya, which was headed by the NINJAL (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics) (Matsuda 2012). The OSH (Okazaki Survey of Honorifics) was conducted in the years 1953, 1972, and 2008, and shows real-time changes over a span of 55 years following WW II. Thanks to new visualization techniques, this section is able to report on phenomena that were not well understood before. These phenomena have significant theoretical implications for change in honorifics and in language in general. One sociolinguistic phenomenon discovered might be called "*late adoption* of honorifics". Though this idea had been mentioned in previous honorifics research, this survey confirmed it with empirical evidence. This evidence comes from a technique which shows the results of all three surveys on a "birth-year-real generation graph".

4.3 Late adoption of honorifics: Polite degree in Okazaki survey

"Degree of politeness" in honorifics, which was the original theme of Okazaki survey, was examined using the method of "birth-year-real generation graphs". The degree of politeness, often considered as the prototype of honorifics, was subject to "late adoption". Upon adding the results of the third survey, significant changes in honorifics were identified. The analysts of the third survey had an advantage. By employing the "birth-year-real generation graphs", the survey results could be displayed at once while maintaining the 10-year interval generations. For theoretical background, sociolinguistic research technique has also progressed. Particularly, a new method for analyzing and displaying data that can also be applied to research dealing with discourse phenomena was thus developed.

Figure 4.6 shows the main results of the degree of politeness applied in in the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics (Inoue et al. 2016: 51; Inoue 2017a). A three-level point system of politeness, *-gozaimasu* (very polite) one point, *-desu* and *-masu* (polite)

2 points, and *-da* (casual) 3 points was used. A degree of politeness was assigned and calculated for each sentence by the researchers. The level of politeness on the vertical axis is inverted as the politest level is given the numeric value 1, and least polite level the numeric value 3, (Inoue 2017a).

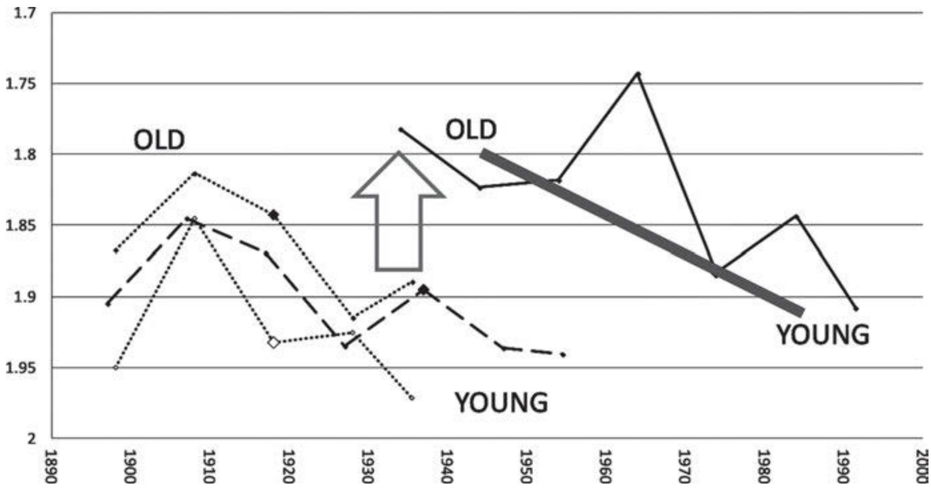

Figure 4.6: Increase of polite degree in Okazaki by birth year (Inoue et al. 2016: 51).

Values corresponding to these three levels were used to evaluate the data of the 12 contexts (questions) in each of the three surveys. The horizontal axis faithfully shows the birth year. The overall degree of politeness goes up with time, however, the leaders are not the younger generations but the middle-aged generations, who always answer more politely. The pattern where young people bring in new phenomena that has been seen previously in standard Japanese does not apply to honorifics. The bold straight line in Figure 4.6 approximates the curve of the surveys. As the direct bold line indicates, in all three surveys (in four curves[2]), younger people are not the most frequent users of polite expressions. As the large upward arrow indicates, the generation born in the 1930's increased their use over their lifetimes. In the first survey in 1953 they were in their high teens and in the second survey (1972) they were about 30 years old and had begun using more polite expressions. In the 2008 survey as 70-year-old people, their degree of politeness increased still more.

If only this right-descending line were shown, we would read a decline in progress from the line. If, for example, it were an old dialectal form (or a dead word or an obsolete word), the line would go down to the right and continue to decrease in repeated

2 In the first survey, two sets of researchers (Professional or Proper) and the students of the local university (College or Control) conducted the interviews, so the data line was divided into two.

surveys. As the phenomenon appears less in the younger generation (apparent time), the natural inference is that the phenomenon will continue to decrease. The phenomenon will be reduced if the investigation is repeated later (in real time). Looking at the age difference in only one survey, we would predict from this right-descending line that "because the answers of young people are not polite, they will become increasingly non-polite in the future". However, by repeating the same survey decades later, the same right-descending line reappeared repeatedly. Such a change with age is difficult to observe from the age difference appearing in one survey. It can only be grasped by real-time, long-term repetitive surveys.

4.4 Increase of sentence length in Okazaki survey

Below we discuss the significance of sentence length in honorific studies. Length of sentences is convenient because it is a numerical variable with continuous values, enabling minute calculation. Quantifying phenomena related to respect or politeness is difficult and subject to subjectivity, but measurement of sentence length is simple and objective. It can be used as a useful and effective index in the analysis below. To mention the conclusion first, the sentence length strongly correlates with honorifics.

The reason for the above can be explained as a concrete general theory. First, polite ways of speaking are generally longer because the frequency of use is small, so polite expressions get longer owing to Zipf's law. Secondly, an agglutinative language like Japanese often adds special respectful elements before or after another element, so a sentence gets longer by that amount. In a Japanese-English contrastive study looking at how speakers talk with one another to convey the same content, polite expressions became longer in both Japanese and English (Hill et al. 1986). In European languages, there are two kinds of pronouns T / V (e.g. tu / vous in French or du / Sie in German) depending on two levels of politeness (Brown and Gilman 1960), the verb paradigm is different, but in general the polite expressions V are longer. Thirdly, as a general tendency of language change, expressions linked in syntagmatic contexts are often shortened, as labor saving, simplification of pronunciation comes into play. Newly occurring short expressions are treated as colloquialisms or slang, and often coexist with a longer expression that does not change. It is felt that short expressions express a lower degree of respect and politeness. Fourth, as noted in Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1987), when attention to the face of the participants of discourse is generally heavy, the elements expressed in language increase (although "Do not do the FTA" is an exception). A typical example is an element that is attached before and after the main information of a discourse. Many discourse markers such as greetings and hedges are also used. These are universal phenomena. As we will see below, we found that the length of a sentence is closely related to honorific expressions in Japanese. Length can be a useful indicator of politeness. It is worth applying to other languages as well.

Here, the length of sentences in the Okazaki survey will be analyzed. The length can be calculated by counting the number of moras (or syllables in Japanese) in the responses. As the three lines in Figure 4.7 indicate, elderly people use longer sentences and younger people briefer sentences (Inoue 2017a). Also, looking at the generation born in the 1930s, they gave short replies in the first survey, slightly longer replies in the second survey, and in the third survey gave replies even longer than speakers of the past. This pattern is similar to the other graph of the degree of politeness (Figure 4.6) and related graphs. Let us list typical response sentences in the "luggage deposit scene". These are replies of the same male born in 1937 who cooperated three times in the survey. When he was young, he was brusque, but as he grew older, he used longer sentences.

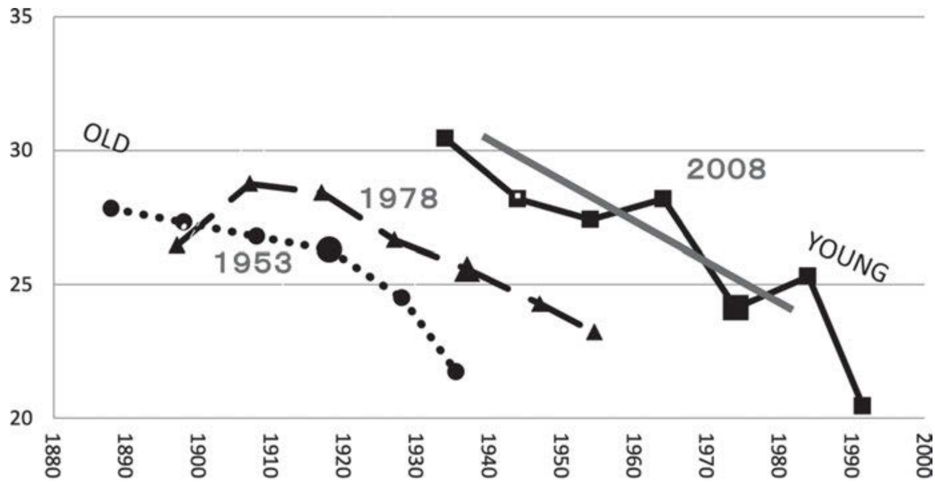

Figure 4.7: Increase of sentence length: real time by birth year (Inoue 2017a).

1953 • 16 years old	*kono nimotu o azukatte kudasai.* 'Please keep this luggage'
1972 • 35 years old	*tyotto suimasenga, kono nimotu o azukatte kudasai.* 'I beg your pardon a little bit, but please keep this luggage'
2008 • 71 years old	*anoo, tyotto hoka e ikimasunode, itizi kono nimotu o hokan shite oite itadakemasendeshooka.* 'Well, I will go to another place a little bit, so could you please safeguard this luggage for a while?'

By comparing cohorts or people born at the same time, the number of moras increases as they get older. This change is due to *aging*. As described later in Figure 4.8, even in tracking data of the same person in the panel survey, the response sentences become longer as informants get older. This trend was confirmed with concrete real time survey data.

According to the analysis of the Okazaki survey, expressions which relate to politeness were as follows. These expressions all contribute to lengthening of sentences.

the new polite expression –*te itadaku*	5 moras
the polite first-person pronoun *watakusi*	4 moras
the politest form of copula *de gozaimasu*	6 moras
hesitation filler or hedge *ano*. . .	2–3 moras
formulaic expressions such as *sumimasen*	5 moras

Sentence length is symbolic of politeness and is thus appropriate as a representative clue for measuring differences of honorific or politeness expressions. By the way, the word "polite" in Japanese also includes the nuance of "long". Below, we use sentence length as a convenient index showing the degree of respect.

4.5 Panel data in Okazaki Survey of Honorifics

The results in Figure 4.7 showed the effectiveness of repetitive surveys in allowing observation of changes in real time. These are the findings of the random-sampling survey. Information from the *panel survey*, that is, the follow-up survey data of the same person is important. A visualization technique which can take account the whole picture was employed for analyzing the panel survey.

4.5.1 Possibility of influence of new incoming residents

As the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics was repeated three times, we could observe changes in real time. Seemingly contradictory tendencies of *real time* and *apparent time* can be explained when we consider the late adoption of honorific behavior.

Now we will move to another problem of real time change which has not been discussed. As to changes of a community as a whole, there is a possibility of influence from new incoming residents. In Okazaki City, there was a fairly large degree of population growth, partly because of the automobile industry in the neighboring Toyota City. To rule out the possibility that changes were introduced by the new residents, it is necessary to observe the behavior of the same people over time. Fortunately, a panel survey (follow-up data on the same individuals) was conducted in Okazaki, allowing *longitudinal*, life-span change in the same person to be traced. The results of the panel survey data will be analyzed next.

4.5.2 Use of slanting lines for the panel survey data

The new technique of presenting the Okazaki panel survey is described below. The whole situation can be grasped at a glance. A large amount of data is necessary to obtain reliable conclusions from the panel survey. However, only a small number of speakers could be followed up, and there are biases of age and gender. It is dangerous to argue with only average values. On the other hand, discussing individual cases separately is time-consuming and may lose sight of generality. Concerning the panel survey, the values of each individual were represented on a scattergram instead of taking average values, in order to examine change over the three surveys. All speakers were placed in the order of birth year on the horizontal axis and numerical values of sentence length on the vertical axis. Thus, all the data can be visually presented and examined. This technique is similar to dialect distribution map in which every informant is shown according to geographical location.

4.5.3 Panel survey of the same informants

In the graph of Figure 4.8, all the informants who were successively interviewed in the first and the second surveys are shown individually (Inoue et al. 2016: 152; Inoue 2017a). The vertical axis shows the length of sentences in moras. The horizontal axis shows the birth years of individual informants of the panel sample. Two neighboring positions are allotted side by side for one informant's length of sentences of the two surveys. The value, "2" is added to the point corresponding to the second survey but the first survey is unmarked so that the lines can be seen as a kind of arrow. The directions of the slanting lines show the changes of sentence length between the two surveys.

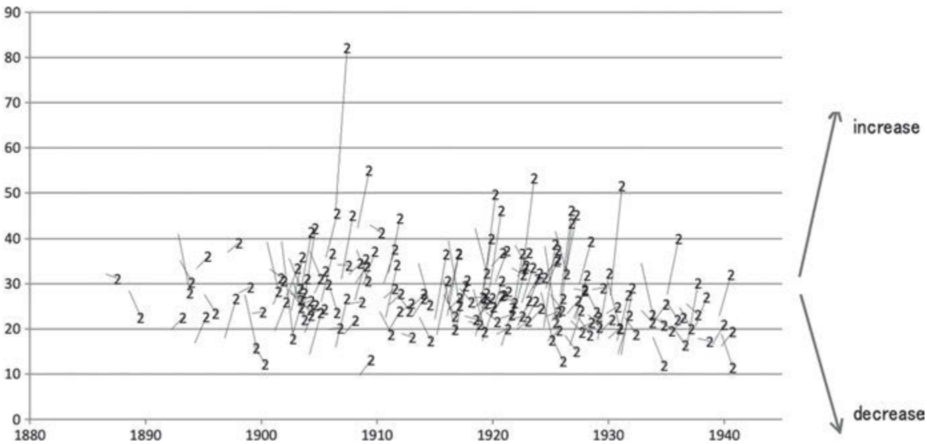

Figure 4.8: Sentence length in Okazaki panel data (first and second surveys).

Most of the lines point in the direction of the upper right-hand side, showing an increase in sentence length. Only a few lines point in the direction of lower right-hand side, showing a decrease of sentence length. The data of each individual showed increasingly longer replies to be a lifetime change (change with age). The overall average sentence length increased as follows.

25.7 in the first survey → 28.5 in the second survey.

Individuals used longer sentences to express the same thing after 19 years, and even longer after 36 years. Those who cooperated in the second survey and the third survey, and those who cooperated 3 times in the first, second, and third surveys, showed similar tendencies in the graphs which are skipped here (Inoue 2017a). The same individuals use longer sentences several decades later, after becoming older. This is the great advantage of panel surveys, which allow follow-up on the same individuals. The lengthening of sentences in Okazaki was not due to demographic changes (i.e. immigration from other locations). Real time changes could be traced, so lifespan change in individuals over time and with age was substantiated.

4.6 Four types of youth word and age-grading

Here we will consider the relationships of language change and age distribution pattern. In typical *language change*, a pattern of usage of a community changes but individual usage is stable through life. In *age-grading* the usage of an individual changes through life, but the whole pattern of the community is stable (Labov 1994; Sankoff 2006). The relation of language change and age-grading can be explained on the basis of Figure 4.9.

In Figure 4.9 four directions of change from a state in the center are shown. In each square, the horizontal axis shows speaker's age with older people on the left, and the vertical axis shows ratio of usage in the form of a black mountain. In state 0 as a starting point in the center, only young people use a certain form. When we observe states about 30 years later in a real-time survey, four theoretical possibilities can be postulated. State 1 is a *fad word* which is used only for a short period, like *sye e* [ʃe:] (interjection in 1960s used in a cartoon *Osomatsu-kun*). State 2 is a *cohort word* which is used by the people born at a certain time. Names of characters of popular TV cartoons are examples, like *Sakanoue Ojarumaru*. State 3 is an *age-grading* word which is used at a certain time of life-stage. A youth word in a narrow sense is age-grading. Typical examples are words among students at schools like *haya-ben* 'early lunch'. To add to this, if we move the peak of the mountain to ages of babies, *baby talk* or *infant word* is another case, like *wanwan* 'dog'. If we move the peak of the mountain to the ages of elderly people, *yakuwarigo* 'role language' and 'character language' (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015) of elderly people can be situated here, like *wasi zya wai* 'It's me'.

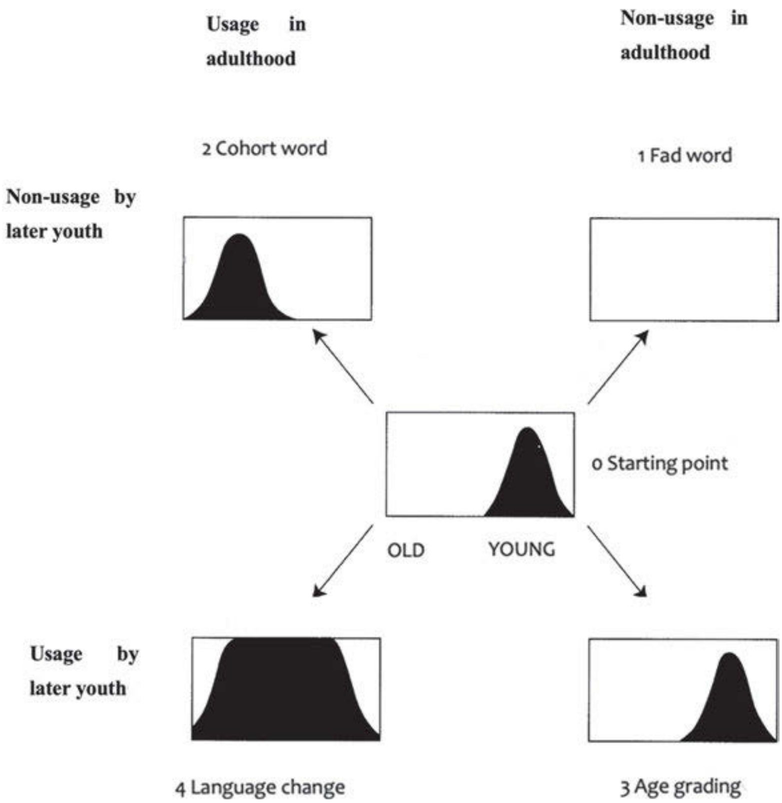

Figure 4.9: Language change and age-grading (30 years later).

State 4 is *language change* in which both former youth and newly appearing youth use the word in question. Typical examples are standardization like *osorosii* 'horrible' instead of *kowai*, and *pinku* 'pink' instead of *momoiro*. We should not forget the cases of new dialect like *zyan* 'isn't it' and *tiga-katta* 'was different' (Inoue 2011b).

If we apply these theoretical possibilities to the patterns of Okazaki honorifics above, the pattern is partly like age-grading, but the whole usage rate has increased in half a century. To add to this, a similar pattern is observed in the use of *-te itadaku* 'receive the favor of' which has been increasing nationwide for nearly a century. So, this pattern should be regarded as language change with very late adoption.

4.7 Essential nature of honorifics

4.7.1 Age of adoption of honorifics and apparent time

The extremely late adoption observed in Okazaki is due to the essential nature of honorifics (Inoue 2011b, 2013; Inoue (ed.) 2017b). As an important part of discourse behavior, honorifics are adopted rather late in life. Sociolinguistic competence or pragmatic competence is different from typical linguistic competence like phonology and grammar and is learnt after maturity. Honorifics are related to socialization. For example, even university students are exempt from criticism for non-use or incorrect use of honorifics, because they are in the state of moratorium regarding honorifics. Moreover, honorifics are correlated with higher social class. Thus, honorifics are treated as a barometer of refinement. Those people with socially upward aspirations (or intentions) try to adopt proper use of honorifics to adapt to their future situation. This social background mechanism can explain the late adoption of politeness expressions.

As has been discussed above, late adoption can be observed in many facets of politeness phenomena. Age difference data in apparent time is misleading, at least in the cases of discourse behavior and honorifics. Real time data based on repetitive surveys is more reliable for these.

4.7.2 Impact on language education and research technique

The results above from a large-scale actual survey can give insights to other areas of research, such as language education and linguistic research techniques. In the field of language education, the influence of the mother tongue, or first language, should be reconsidered. For second languages or foreign languages, it should be taken into consideration that the age of adoption of discourse behavior is very late for first language users also. Language education for younger people need not pay too much attention to discourse behavior or politeness strategies. Also, as to comparative or contrastive (or international) surveys of university students on discourse behavior, the late adoption of sociolinguistic competence is a factor which merits consideration, because students are not full-fledged socialized speakers. Depending on the target, the data of fully socialized adults is sometimes essential.

4.7.3 The place of Okazaki honorifics in life stage

It is possible to position the Okazaki results within a broad-based perspective (Inoue 2011b). On a geographical scale, Japan's honorifics were set as part of the world's honorifics, and Okazaki's honorifics within the dialectal variation of Japan. On a historical scale they were set against Japanese honorifics history, in particular that of modern honorifics (of the standard Tokyo dialect). Late adoption was observed in many phenomena involving honorifics. The basic mechanism can be explained in relation to life stages. The time-series data obtained through the longitudinal survey in Okazaki can be linked with individual life stages, a different sense of time-series data. There are principally four stages (or domains) which would serve as a motivation to learn honorifics. They are listed in order of life stage, which progress according to age: home, local society, school, and workplace. According to the survey results and opinion polls on language, each stage shows acquisition of different honorific elements and usage mechanisms. This can be explained by considering the employment pattern of Japan in the past.

4.8 Further analysis as fragments of discourse sequences

This section dealt with 12 items (response sentences to questions) of Okazaki Survey. These 12 contexts involve the language used for giving directions, asking for things, etc. In other words, the differences between different interpersonal contexts were compared. Analysis of all the items in the survey is the next task (Inoue et al. 2016).

The replies in Okazaki Survey were interpreted as fragments of a discourse sequence, and discourse analysis was carried out on them. To achieve a discourse analysis of the whole reply, discourse elements were examined. Attention was paid to the discourse function elements which appear in all the 12 contexts. “Attention-drawing” increased overall, especially in contexts with request elements. “Expressing reservation” saw an overall decrease. Formulaic expressions such as *sumimasen* ‘excuse me’ increased, and expressions of honorifics in the broad sense along with courteous expressions increased. There seems to be a relationship with the broad sense of honorifics, e.g. politeness, attitudinal expressions, respectful expressions, and courteous expressions. The above findings were obtained principally from analysis of the birth-year-real generation graphs. In other words, the analysis is based on data from the three surveys concerning non-linguistic (social) factors such as age, gender, and academic background. This change is consistent with a change in the Japanese communication pattern after the War. In the past, “silence is gold, eloquence is silver” was cherished. However, with Westernization, people are encouraged to express themselves in language, and even in the commercial businesses such as supermarkets and convenience stores, cashiers express their actions in words. Doctors are asked to provide explanations to the patient. Compared with the past, people have come to verbalize more often. In other words, the need to emphasize the psychological relationship with the partner in dialogue has increased. Post-adult adoption in the Okazaki survey can be regarded as a reflection of a large-scale trend in the world in the modern era. Japanese communication is changing as it increasingly orients itself to the attention to listeners. The people who have had enough social experience of life can perform sociolinguistic communication better. It is a movement to change the old, traditional way of interaction since the Edo period and to break away from communication based on fixed human relationships of age and social status.

5 Social group, gender and stratification

Thus far, phenomena have been presented from the standpoint of language. In Section 5 extralinguistic factors, social group differences will be examined. Language differences by social groups were great during the feudal period and faded with the modernization since the Meiji Restoration (1868), especially after the WW II (1945). In the 21st century group differences are becoming increasingly vague. However, honorifics can be taken up as a useful index to see differences in social attributes.

5.1 Gender differences

The largest group classification in terms of the number of people is gender difference. In the Japanese language, gender differences were large (Ide and McGloin (eds.) 1990; Inoue 2011b) (Chapter 7 (Endo and Abe, this volume), Chapter 8 (Reynolds, this volume)). Especially, differences in pronouns and sentence-final particles were large. Also, in the honorific phenomenon mentioned in Chapter 3 (Shioda, this volume), women tended to use more polite expressions. Changes that eliminate distinctions between men and women have been in progress after the WW II (Chapter 6 (Ozaki, this volume)). Loss of gender differences seems to be correlated with the fact that less feminine behavior is observed.

5.2 Social stratification

In sociolinguistic variation research in the United Kingdom and the United States, dynamically ongoing changes, and statistic relationships with the social strata are usually observed. In feudal Japan, the consciousness of the rigorous class differences (warrior, farmer, artisan, and merchant) was strict and they lingered until the modern era. Especially in castle towns and Kyoto, the difference in social strata was intense and language difference was large. Due to the high economic growth since the 1970s, the middle-class consciousness has spread and democratization and equalization advanced as consciousness. In Japanese sociolinguistics, during the post-war democratization process, there were not so many studies on social stratification differences, and research was delayed. Relationships between various socioeconomic indicators and language have been studied, but the correlation studies did not prosper. There are several studies to see correlation with linguistic phenomena individually. In the following we look at the relationship with the language by extracting the educational background and occupation.

In Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1981), there are graphs that show what kind of person have mastered the use of humble language forms *kenjōgo*. Three levels of expression show clear correlation with age. The young generation uses forms without honorifics. Middle-aged people add honorific elements and elderly people use special honorific (suppletive) forms showing their mastery of honorifics. On the other hand, when we look at relationships with academic background, people with low academic background use forms without honorifics. People with a high degree of education frequently add honorific elements, and people with higher education use honorific expressions (suppletion). In other words, the elderly with a high degree of education are familiar with the difficult (suppletive) honorific words. Younger people usually have higher level of education. Therefore, it is contradictory that young people use forms without honorifics. This suggests that the education factor is more powerful than age. Although young people on average have increased their academic career in terms of university education, they do not master honorifics. Humble language *kenjōgo* tends to be used less and less and expressions with *te itadaku* 'receive the favor of' are used instead more and more (Inoue (ed.) 2017b).

5.3 Occupation and change in the degree of politeness

There was a clear hierarchical social difference in honorifics in prewar Japan. Recent movements of honorific usage in the direction of decrease of the social stratification are observed in many linguistic phenomena. An example from the result of the large-scale Okazaki Honorifics Survey will be presented in which the difference in occupation is reduced. The informant attribute, "occupation" is analyzed in Figure 4.10 (Inoue et al. 2016: 188). We used the politeness level of the response sentences (Figure 4.6) as an indicator. The upper part of each graph shows ratios of polite words (The politeness of the vertical axis is 1 point for highly respectful "*de gozaimasu* style", 2 points for "*desu masu* style", 3 points for "*da* style". So, the vertical axis is inverted in the graph). Results of three surveys executed in 1953, 1972, and 2008 are shown according to informants' birth year. Four lines are shown because the data in 1953 of proper (professional) and control (college) interviewers are shown separately. "Office work" (white collar), "service trade" (gray collar), "labor" (blue collar) and "no job" were adopted to be useful divisions for investigating occupational differences in linguistic phenomena. Under this division, the "service trade", i.e. speakers that belong to sales, service, and other such occupations, showed a distinct pattern.

The person in the "office work" on the upper left is generally polite, all age cohorts plotted above the baseline of neutral "*desu masu* style". They show almost no change even across age groups, and the differences between the surveys are small. For the "service trade" on the upper right side, the differences in the three surveys are conspicuous. In the first survey, the numeric value was on the baseline, but in the second survey it became politer among the elderly. In the third survey, all age groups became polite above the baseline. Changes in the lifetime of people born around 1930 are also great. People in the "service trade" become polite after adulthood in their twenties or thirties. "Honorifics late adoption after adulthood" is typically observed. The main player of extreme late adoption of honorifics can be regarded as "service trade" people. For the

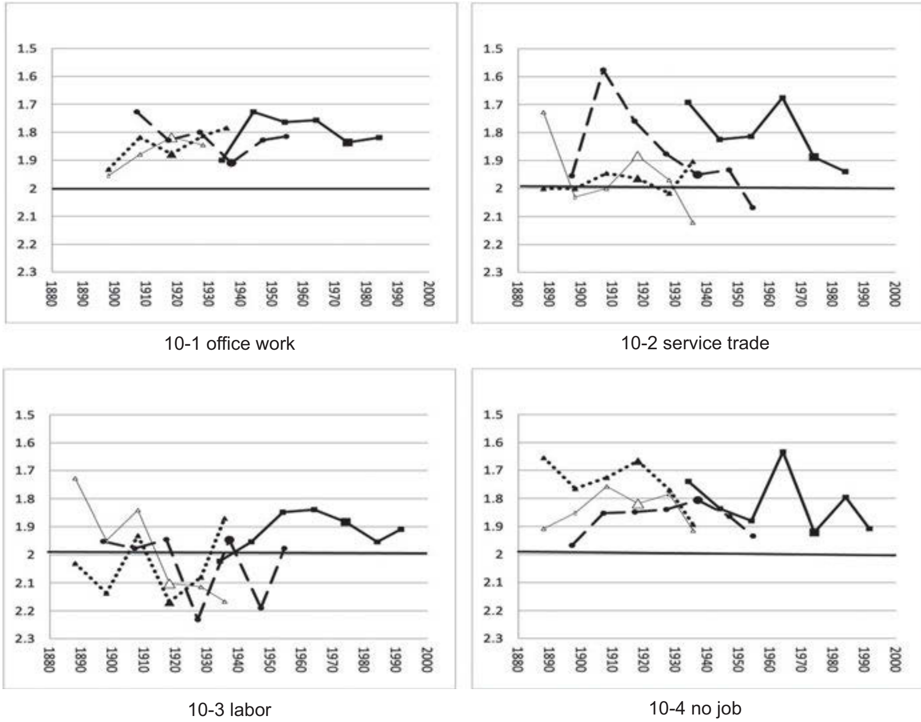

Figure 4.10: Occupation differences of polite degree in Okazaki.

"labor" on the lower left, the age difference of the first and second survey is irregular and low. In the third survey, middle-aged people become more polite. "No-job" at bottom right are housewives, students, and retirees. In the first survey, the expressions are polite because the housewives were mostly polite. After the second survey, the proportion of housewives decreased, due to women's social advancement. Thanks to the reduction in the proportion of unemployed women, the politeness of the third survey did not increase and show an irregular pattern. In sum, the service trade showed the biggest change with age, with the middle-age generations producing the politest (and longest) utterances. The place of the service industry in honorifics usage is now clear.

As mentioned above, differences in occupation clearly appeared in the use of honorifics. This is quite understandable for Japan. White collar office workers are expected to make good use of honorifics. Gray collar salespeople are differentiated: there are scales of jobs. For example, cabin attendants and jewelry shop clerks are expected to use highly elaborated honorifics, but fishmongers can utilize vigorous expressions without honorifics to indicate freshness of the commodity. Blue collar laborers are exempt from honorifics. However, the difference according to occupation decreased after the WW II. This reflects the fact that the income of the people increased and the differences in the social levels has gradually become less striking. Salient hierarchical differences that were not sincerely dealt with in sociolinguistics in Japan were demonstrated with long-term changes in occupation. Language differences by groups are also present in technical words etc. (Chapter 5 (Nakanishi, this volume)). Movements towards reduction of language differences among various social groups are consistent with the trend of the diminishing of differences among members of Japanese society. Formation of the middle class was once the background. Currently, simplification of behavior is another tendency in the background.

5.4 Democratization and equalization of honorifics

Analysis of the social attributes in Okazaki's honorifics was conducted using similar graphs. Several trends were uncovered using features of the graphs, such as differences according to the context of use. Over the half-century, there was an increase in politeness according to the age differences in the random sampling survey results and an increase along with the aging of individuals seen in the panel survey. *Late adoption* was observed in many of the phenomena related to honorifics.

The ultimate background is the trend toward "democratization" and "equalization" of Japanese society (Inoue 2011b). Honorific usage in Okazaki has come to pay increased attention to the relationship between speaker and listener over the half-century. The influence of the degree of intimacy has increased while the social status of the listener no longer receives much consideration. Also, whether the message is a request or an invitation has also come to influence honorific usage. This is the same trajectory as current change in Standard Japanese (Inoue et al. 2016). Rather than rely on honorifics, the trend is to use the entire discourse to make adjustments to the relationship with the listener. Japanese has come to draw on a range of phenomena including honorifics in the broad sense and politeness. Due to the multiplicity of choices, there is no one correct answer. It is difficult to train beginners. This could explain why "manual honorifics" for service industries have recently spread.

5.5 Change of honorifics as style

This fits into a universal trend in honorifics change. A shift parallel to that of the second-person pronouns in Europe, from power to solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960) is occurring in modern Japanese honorifics. In other words, the standard for differential use is shifting from status and power to intimacy and solidarity. Also, looking at differences in use according to context, honorifics are now frequently used in requests. In other words, a new standard which overlaps with the old standard of status and power has been introduced, and the degree of intimacy and of psychological imposition (as treated in politeness theory) in each context have become involved. This mechanism can also be interpreted as a result of the democratization and equalization of communication.

This is a change towards *style*. Honorific elements are practically used as a *register* in relation to formality. Recently almost no honorifics are used in the informal "*da* style", but many honorific forms are utilized in the "*desu masu* style" or the "*de gozaimasu* style" which show formality between interlocutors. The relation of interlocutors and the settings or domains influence the selection of the degree of honorifics. The old original usage of honorifics to show fear or respect toward a supernatural power, the emperor, or nobilities (as a topic and third person) is now retreating. The main function of honorifics nowadays is to constitute "style". This trend is parallel to recent usage of dialect as style (section 3.1). The Japanese seem to pay more attention to linguistic distancing between interlocutors than before.

6 Memory time of terms for 'father'

6.1 Utilization of memory time

In Section 4, the effectiveness of repeated surveys in real time has been ascertained. The real time data based on panel surveys are most reliable. However, it is difficult to obtain this kind of data (Sankoff 2006). To see change by repeating the same survey, an interval of at least 10 or 20 years is required. But sometimes we cannot wait years for repeated surveys. If young researchers try to deal with only their own data, they will not be in time for the deadline of the doctoral thesis. There are two ways to reduce the time required. One is to find past investigation results and to follow up on their surveys. Japanese researchers are fortunate because large scale social surveys have been repeatedly conducted since WW II. The other method is to use "memory time", by asking the informant questions both about the past and the present.

This section introduces the new technical term, *memory time* along with apparent time and real time. In the case of a single survey, adding questions like the following after asking about present time usage may provide useful information about the past. "How did you say it in your childhood?" or "How did you say it in the old days?" or "When you were young, what would you have said?" However, not so many people can remember correctly what words they used to use. One should choose a phenomenon for which old expressions tend to be remembered, words that are easily recalled. Address terms for 'father' in childhood are convenient because they are often remembered clearly since they are connected with family status and identity. By asking questions that require recalling the past in the survey, it is possible to expand the time span. For speakers who are 70 years old, it is possible to know their language usage nearly 60 years ago.

6.2 'Father' in Shiga glottograms

Kinship terms reflect social structure in various facets. The choice of kinship terms is highly indicative (*salient*) of social class. The address terms including 'father' are noteworthy in that they reflect the social hierarchical consciousness of the family. Suffixes before and after 'father' indicate the height of style (politeness/respect). Focusing on affixes (Inoue and Yamashita 2014), a highly valued expression was found to have spread from the city to the countryside. Also, the tendency of spread from social upper classes to lower classes was observed. "*Law of honorific reduction*" applies (Inoue (ed.) 2017b), and it is positioned also as a trend of "democratization and equalization of honorifics".

Let us consider the research in Shiga prefecture as a valuable example that can explain the change in both real time and memory time (Inoue (ed.) 2017b). In the survey, we asked in about 1987 what forms the informants had used in the past, and in the year 2009 we asked both what forms they used in the past and what they use now (Yamashita and Hanzawa 2010). In Figure 4.11, word forms were divided into five types, and a bar chart with three bars was drawn (Inoue 2017a). In an ordinary survey, only the usage rate of the right bar showing current usage (Inoue 2011a) would be shown. But we also asked about the forms they used in childhood, so we got the information of their memory time shown in the middle bar. Since we had asked the usage in childhood around 1987 in the same area, we also got information for their usage in memory time as shown in the left bar. The black standard form of *o-too-san* has increased steadily, and instead the shaded colloquial *o-too-chan* decreasing. As data of the three surveys are based on glottograms or age-area graph (apparent time or age expanding from 80 years old to 10 years old) like Figure 4.2, the change over a period of close to 90 years is ascertained (from the 70s in the late 1980 or birthyear of 1910 to the teens in 2011a or birthyear of 2000), though concrete data is omitted here. In Shiga prefecture, a new standard form *o-too-san* has advanced.

Actually, we also conducted a large scale glottogram survey from central Kyoto to northern Hokkaido. In Shiga prefecture near Kyoto, it could be interpreted that the highly respectful form *o-too-san* was used from long time ago (Many address terms were utilized according to social classes in feudal and prewar Japan, and *o-too-san* was first attested in a document in Kyoto Osaka area). This exemplifies the tendency of "High in West, Low in East" in honorifics. The change of the word form for father reflects the nationwide diffusion of the standard language. Strong association of affixes attached to the words for 'father' with the social class of the speaker has disappeared.

6.3 Apparent time, real time, and memory time

This is the result of the survey of memory time by asking terms for father in the past. It is useful both theoretically and for actual data presentation. Different answers were

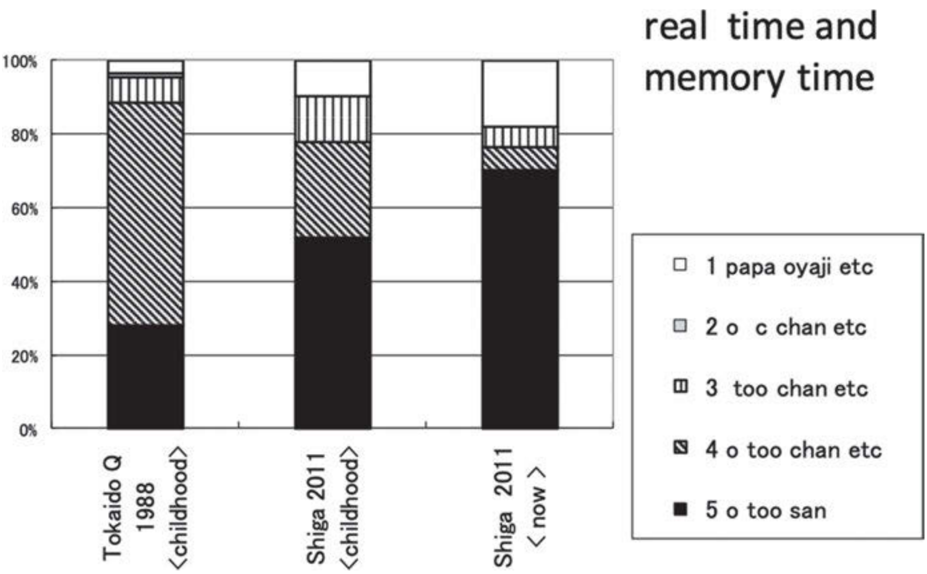

Figure 4.11: Real time and memory time in Shiga Prefecture (Inoue 2017a).

obtained in the past and at present. The effectiveness of memory time was shown, and the possibility of trying to reconstruct the past by asking memories was shown. As this kind of research has shown to give meaningful results, memory time can widen the scope of the time dimension. Memory time makes use of a speaker's active (or positive) vocabulary to uncover his passive (or receptive) competence. Memory time is a useful field technique. Memory time leads further into the research topic of "age linguistics" or the relation of language and age (Sankoff 2006). A new technical term "aetalect" (from Latin aetas 'age') has been advocated by Dirven and Verspoor (eds.) (2004). This term expands the subject of age linguistics from gerontology to younger members.

Age differences showing apparent time are convenient because they can be acquired through a survey at one time point. Repetitive surveys (successive surveys over time) are more informative and reliable because they make use of real time data. Memory time is also useful for reconstructing linguistic change in progress in one person's lifetime. It is useful especially in the case of linguistic changes from above, because they are changes a speaker may be conscious of and often are remembered when new expressions appear and co-exist.

Memory time is a method for asking what memories of the language usage in the past a speaker has. This technique can also be applied to endangered languages and dialects which are falling into oblivion (Long 2007). When there is no information of age differences of the speaker and when there is no concrete data of the past, it can be utilized as a third time dimension. This method is useful especially for diachronic descriptions of minority languages, and languages in danger. Even if the last speaker is gone, we should not give up. Someone may remember several words and expressions which were used before. Someone may also tell us in which circumstances the expressions were used properly. At least someone may remember that a different language was used in the community in the past.

Memory time was utilized in folklore studies as a common technique. It was applied in sociology in the name of life history. Collection of narrative data for discourse analysis sometimes collects the same memory data. Recall tests in psychology and marketing do the same thing, though the purpose is different. The first systematic survey in Japanese dialectology making use of memory time was executed by Sibata though he did not use the term "memory time". Consciousness of the old and new expressions for 'mushroom' showed a clear geographical distribution. Information from informants on the oldness of word forms can be utilized to reconstruct word history as Sibata advocated. This use of memory of the past is important, if not essential, when language standardization is rapidly spreading. This technique can be applied to any language or dialect in the world.

7 Conclusion

In this chapter, dialect and honorifics are analyzed from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics. The concepts of prestige, salience, and style are discussed on the basis of concrete data. At the same time as basso continuo or basic theme, several phenomena showing complicated relationships between age and linguistic change have been discussed on the basis of repetitive real time surveys. There was a problem of whether we could regard the age difference (= apparent time) as a historical change when we considered language variation as an ongoing change in sociolinguistics (Labov 1994). Repeated surveys are effective to confirm changes in real time. This chapter summarizes the results of several large-scale surveys in Japan. Language universal phenomena about ongoing language change were found. On the other hand, when the pattern of change of honorifics was under inspection, a phenomenon which had not been pointed out in the past, "late adoption after adulthood", was empirically verified.

The language of the easternmost island country of the Eurasian continent was once thought to be unique and peculiar. As international exchange has progressed, it has been recognized that Japanese is not at all a very strange language. There is no noticeable specificity from the standpoint of sociolinguistics as well. The rich accumulation of survey data is one characteristic of Japanese sociolinguistics. Based on empirical studies in Japanese, it is also possible to mention universal tendencies in various languages of the world. It is expected that an even broader theory will be born from mutual exchange of researchers both in Japan and abroad.

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Taro Nakanishi

5 Group language (*shūdango*)

1 Introduction: History of research on "group language (*shūdango*)"

The term *shūdango* 'group language' (hereafter 'group language') was proposed by Takesi Sibata (Sibata 1956, 1958, 1978; Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999). Later, the concept was expanded by Watanabe (1977, 1981). At present, Yonekawa (ed.) (2000) and Yonekawa (2009), which collect various examples of group language and demonstrate their characteristics through careful consideration of them, can be considered the to be the most detailed description of group language.

In this section I will first introduce what each of these three considered to be group language. By grasping the differences among them, we can grasp the history and spread of the concept of group language in research on the Japanese language. Sibata defined group language as follows:

(A) Definition of group language in Sibata (1958) and Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) (1999)
  a. Group language is artificially created.
  b. Group language arises when the bonds among a group's members become tight.
  c. Group language arises most easily in small, homogeneous, isolated groups.
  d. Group language firms up the bonds among the members of a group, but it loosens or cuts off ties with people outside the group.
  e. Characteristics of group language take the form of use of foreign loan words, changing the morphology of words, or changing the meaning of words; characteristics are seldom found in pronunciation, grammar, or writing.
  f. Group language can be classified into cant (secret language), jargon (occupational language)/specialist terms, and slang.
  g. Cant and jargon are used for communication; slang is used for recreation.
  h. Cant and jargon are passed on within the group as tradition, but slang hardly ever is and is extremely short lived.

Acknowledgements: I would like thank John Haig for his translation, comments and help in improving the style of this chapter. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers, Yoshiyuki Asahi and Fumio Inoue for their valuable comments and suggestions. The research reported here was supported in part by project funds from the National Institute for Japanese and Linguistics (NINJAL) and by JSPS grants, grant numbers 16H01933 and 19K00640.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-006

Sibata held that group language arose through group life and by means of this kind of language, the bonds among members of the group become tightly knit. Sibata's definition of group language can be valued as the first proposal in Japan concerning group language.

Following Sibata's proposal for group language, Tomosuke Watanabe (1981) further developed the concept, defining the term "group language" as follows:

> (B) Watanabe's (1981) definition of group language
> Group language exists within an ethnic or national language or their dialects, is used within particular social groups and various specialized fields within society such as occupations, sports, academics, politics, or the arts, and is language unique to each such social group or specialized field. Or, if not completely unique, it is language characteristic of the group or field.
> (Translated from Watanabe 1981: 11)

Watanabe thus grasped group language from the viewpoint of social groups and pointed out that there are group languages for each group. Furthermore, it is characteristic of his analysis that the unique language used in specialized fields is also included in group language.

A concrete classification is presented in Figure 5.1. Watanabe first divides group language into secret language and non-secret language and then further sets up two categories under non-secret language.

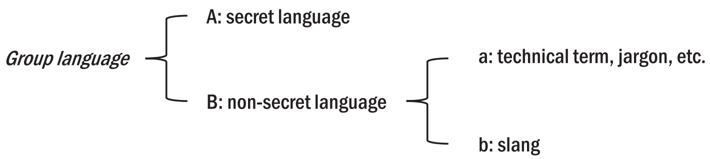

Figure 5.1: The classification of group language.

Yonekawa further refined the concept of group language. Yonekawa (ed.) (2000) and Yonekawa (2009) will be taken up here. Yonekawa (ed.) (2000) listed the following as characteristics of group language.

(C) Characteristics of group language according to Yonekawa (ed.) (2000)
   a. The intentions/orientation of the language is different for each group. For example, criminals are secret language-oriented and young people are play-oriented.
   b. Words are created using word-formation methods that are not common in general language.
   c. There are many synonymous words.
   d. There are many words that only convey meaning within a small range of people; there are words incomprehensible to outsiders.
   e. Outsiders can pass as members by learning the words and using them.

f. Native Japanese and Sino-Japanese vocabulary are extremely common in long-standing groups, but in newly formed groups, foreign loans and acronyms are common.
g. Aside from specialized terminology, group language are generally colloquialisms.

Yonekawa conducted an analysis based on a concrete collection of group language and pointed out detailed characteristics concerning the word-formation methods, the word-types, and the functions of the various group language as well as the fact that each group had a different orientation.

At the same time, Yonekawa (2009) presented the following classification of group language.

Group language
- Language of anti-social groups: Criminal terms: Terms used by pickpockets, thieves, hucksters, gangsters, delinquents, etc.
- Language of occupational groups: Jargon: Terms of the broadcasting industry, the newspaper industry, the police, officialese, etc.
- Language of groups under restrictions: Terms of the army, the navy, prisons, etc.
- Language of student groups: Young peoples' language: Campus words, student slang, female college student language, high school girl language, gal language, etc.
- Language of hobby and entertainment groups: Otaku terms, mahjong terms, fishing terms, etc.

Figure 5.2: Classification of group language (Yonekawa 2009).

A characteristic of Yonekawa's classification of group language is that it takes into consideration the character of each of the various "groups" arising in society. And, it limited the groups dealt with in group language research to "social groups". The term social groups refers to functional groups in which a certain degree of systematization of hierarchy and roles can be seen. For example, a political group, an economic group, a cultural group, the military, and the like are all functional groups. Yonekawa further finely divided groups among the social groups by their character and classified the various group language as in Figure 5.2. Through this, the breadth of what can be taken as group language was broadened and the content of the classification was finely scrutinized.

For example, in Yonekawa's classification, new genres like student language and *otaku* language are included, but specialized and technical terminology is omitted. This captures the fact that specialized and technical terminology are formal terms that are presumed to be shared with people outside those groups.

Yonekawa also showed deeper thoughts concerning the function of group language. Concerning the function of group language, besides the traditional functions, Yonekawa pointed out the functions of concealment, of amusement, of solidarity, and of purification. Furthermore, concerning one of the group language, young people's language, Yonekawa pointed out that it also has the functions of encouraging conversation, conveying an image, and buffering, indicating a wide range of functions in addition to those indicated by Sibata and Watanabe.

Comparing in this way general studies on the concept of group language, it can be said that Yonekawa's approach is the most detailed. However, there is still room to consider whether introduction of the concept of "social groups" and classification of group language in terms of that concept is really the most appropriate way to examine the essential nature of group language (such as deepening consideration of the facts of function).

Thus far, we have looked at the changes in the concept of group language and, in terms of one special area of group language research, the flourishing of research on young people's language starting in the 1980's was striking. Furthermore, along with changes in contemporary society, research on group language on the internet and caregiving and medical language is progressing and contributing to the deepening of group language research. For example, the group language of new groups on the internet are giving rise to new group language characteristics. Like ascii art, one can point to new writing characteristics that did not exist before in the expressions used on bulletin boards by internet groups.

2 Positioning "group language" research

2.1 The relations between group language research and research in related fields

As stated earlier, group language investigates language variation in sociolinguistics, and takes an intermediate position among the following themes arranged in order of area on the earth's surface (or size of population): language, dialect, *group* (gender, generation, social stratum, occupation, etc.), and style (honorifics, vulgarism, taboo, etc.). It is also the subject of research in dialectology: *social dialect* or *sociolect* in opposition to regional (geographical) dialect (Holmes 1992, Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes (eds.) 2002). Interest has been found in European and American language research have been both interested in group language since the early days, and there has been both general and specialized books (Dauzat 1928, Nash 1993). Also in Japan, there have been descriptions and dictionaries about special language in some social groups such as aristocrats, samurai, and prostitutes since before modern times. In modern times, it was named *isō* ('phase', a technical term in physics) and dealt with various phenomena (Kikuzawa 1933, Tanaka 1999). In this sense, a comparison of the research results of sociolinguistics and those of group language research is desirable in the future.

2.2 Viewpoints in "group language" research

There are perspectives in group language research such as the following (Yonekawa 2009).

(A) *Theories of origin*
This is a field that examines concretely such questions as when and how group language arose and came to be established, from where was it adopted, how is it propagated, and what are the relations among each group language?

(B) *Theories of attributes*
This is a field that clarifies how differences in social groups (occupation, purpose, membership, standards, and history) are related to terminological characteristics. It pursues such questions as the relationship between the character of the group and the forms, meanings, and uses of words and the quantity of word types.

(C) *Theories of semantic categories*
Considers what differences in social groups (occupation, purpose, membership, and standards) make into group language, viewed from the perspective of categories (semantic classification).

(D) *Theories of word formation*
Studies how each group forms words. And then, comparing the various groups, clarifies overall characteristics and those of each group.

(E) *Theories of language consciousness*

a. Evaluation: Clarifies what words are evaluated how and to what degree.
b. Recognition of the current situation and orientation: Clarifies recognition of the present situation determining in what situations group language should be used and when group language must not be used. Also clarifies the orientation that determines how one ought to speak in this kind of situation.
c. Consciousness of standards: Clarifies for each group consciousness of how group language should be, what correct language is.
d. Identity: Clarifies the identity of the language user in the use of group language. Since it often happens that group language arise from a feeling of fellowship (solidarity), it is thought that in using it, one has an identity as one belonging to a group. In addition, also considers consciousness of those outside the group using the group language.

(F) *Theories of history (Theories of change)*
In group language, there are also words that have become archaic and words that have fallen out of use. Conversely, there are also neologisms. There are also shifts

from old words to new words to designate something. It is thought that the social background in which the group is placed casts a large influence, but the theories consider concretely what kinds of things are at work in these processes.

(G) *General theories*
After clarifying the characteristics of the various group language, the theories clarify the similarities and differences of the terminology of social groups broadly divided into five categories as well as the general characteristics of group language. Such things as the lexical characteristics and functions of group language are the main topics. Also clarify the characteristics of social groups from the perspective of group language.

The fields of group language research are thus highly diverse. As a topic for the future, it would be desirable to find commonalities and differences in group language and universal linguistic phenomena to return the results to general linguistics.

3 The significance of "group language" research

This section will consider the significance of group language research. The significance of group language research lies in the following.

(A) The significance of group language research (Yonekawa 2009)
   a. Through the study of colloquialisms that have hitherto been considered "bad language", one becomes able to give overall consideration to language as a whole.
   b. It is the best material allowing the consideration of the dynamism of language and the study of colloquialisms makes this clear (an example will be given in Section 4).
   c. Since it reflects people's psychology, one can see the relation between language and psychology and is forced to reconsider the role language plays.
   d. It reflects the state of society and the world and allows one to see the relations between language and society.
   e. One can reconsider one's language standards consciousness concerning such matters as the deterioration of language, beautiful and ugly speech, and correct versus incorrect language.

4 The state of group language

This section introduces variations and characteristics of specific group language. Since, concerning group language research, Yonekawa (ed.) (2000) and Yonekawa (2009) stand out, examples and their characteristics will be introduced from Yonekawa (ed.) (2000) and Yonekawa (2009, 2016).

4.1 Word formation in "group language"

One of the characteristics of group language is its extremely characteristic word formation. Since, in the relations between people who share a similar orientation, it is sufficient that the language they speak convey their intended meanings, one finds a freedom of expression, such as various contractions and metaphors, compared to more standard language use.

This section will outline each of the word formation methods of group language with concrete group language examples. There are both word formation methods with a morphological perspective and those with a semantic perspective.

4.1.1 Word formation methods from a morphological perspective

(A) Borrowing

Among the methods for word formation is borrowing from dialects or foreign languages. An example of borrowing from a dialect is the use of *metya* 'very' by young people in Tokyo. This is from the Kansai dialect *mettya* 'very' and entered Tokyo in a changed form.

There are many borrowings in group language in addition to those from foreign languages. Some of the argot of criminals has come to be used by police and the newspaper industry. Examples include *satu* 'police' and *deka* 'detective'.

(B) Contraction

Among the contractions in group language, in addition to omission of the beginning of a word, omission of the middle of a word, omission of the end of a word, and omission of both the beginning and end of a word, shortening of compound words is also found.

Omission of the beginning of a word is common in criminal argot but uncommon in general speech. Because the beginning of a word is omitted, it is difficult to determine immediately what the original form was. Because of this kind of characteristic, this kind of word is frequently found in argot.

mayaku 'narcotic' → *yaku*

Place names are also common.

Sinzyuku 'Shinjuku' → *zyuku*

Omission of the middle of a word is less common. This is an example of the contraction of an adjective in young people's speech.

hazukasii 'ashamed, embarrassed' → *hazui*

The middle of the word has been omitted. Omissions of the end of a word is common as in general speech.

ryookai 'All right' → *ryo*

Contractions omitting elements of compound words is common.

syuusyoku katudoo 'job hunting' → *syuukatu*

In addition to these, the are no few examples of contractions of whole phrases or clauses to a single word.

dotanba	*de*	*kyanserusuru*	→ *dotakyan*
at.the.last.moment	LOC	cancel	
'Cancel at the last moment'			→ 'last-minute cancelation'

(C) Inversion
Inverted words have the first mora of the word moved to the end of the word. Such words are characteristic of criminals, charlatans, delinquents, biker gangs, and the music and entertainment industry. It is a characteristic not found in general speech.

huda 'card, ticket' à *dahu*

(D) Changing the reading of a *kanji*
Many *kanji* (Chinese character) have more than one reading. There are in group language in which the reading of a character is deliberately changed from the normal reading to another.

In criminal argot, there are those who change the reading of the character for 'thing' from the normal *mono* to *butu*. In then comes to indicate 'something illegal'.

(E) Reading parts of a character separately
From long ago there have been examples, called *zinazo* 'character riddle', of decomposing a *kanji* character and reading its composite parts separately. An example from modern times is *roha* 'free of charge'. There is a word, *tada*, that means 'free of charge'. One of the characters used to write *tada* is 只. This can be decomposed into the *katakana* characters ロ *ro* and ハ *ha*, which combine to form *roha*. In this way, a *kanji* can be decomposed to form a new word with the same meaning.

(F) Stating in other words
This is a method in which another word is created without the intermediation of characters or symbols.

For example, in the green grocers' trade, *soramame* 'broad bean' are called *ten-mame*. The first part of *soramame* is written with a character meaning 'sky'. In the green grocers' trade language, a different word *ten* also meaning 'sky' has been substituted and combined with *mame* 'bean'. This is a kind of wrong reading as described in Chapter 20 (Sasahara, this volume) in this volume.

(G) Parody
The phrase *penisu no syoonin* 'the merchant of penis' is used to mean "pimp". The phrase is a pun on the title of a play by William Shakespeare, *Benisu no Syoonin* 'The Merchant of Venice'.

(H) Rhyming game
Forms made through a rhyming game are common in young people's language. It is an example of word play. One example is *Sonna no ariettei* 'That is unbelievable.' (Sonna no arienai × Ariettei (a heroin of an animation)).

(I) Blends
Since these are formed by combining parts of two words, the original meanings of each are preserved. An example is *abura-gissyu* 'greasy, persistent' formed from the first part of *aburagitta* 'oily. greasy' and the second part of *enerugissyu* 'energetic'.

(J) Acronym
This was originally a word formation method in languages with an alphabetic writing system like English, but it is also a method of forming words from romanized Japanese.

***K**uuki*	*ga*	***y**omenai*	→ *KY*
atmosphere	NOM	read.POTEN.NEG	

'Can't understand the atmosphere of conversation.'

(K) Compound
Creating a derived verb through the addition of conjugational suffix -*ru* is often found. An example is *tiku-ru*, delinquent argot for 'inform on'.

4.1.2 Word formation methods from a semantic perspective

These are methods in which the meaning of a word changes from the original meaning. At least the following three methods can be identified.

(A) Expressing figuratively
There are examples in which figurative expressions of the thing one is trying to express have become group language. When using an already existing expression, the meaning becomes more particular. For example, such things as shapes, states, colors, actions, and sounds can be figurativized.

For example, as an action that has been figurativized, in the National Diet, the phrase *okyoo o yomu*, which originally denoted '(Buddhist monks) read the sutra' is used to mean 'explain the meaning of the law'.

As an example of figuratizing a sound, In the *sumo* world, the word *gatinko*, from *gatin* 'the sound of something heavy and hard clashing like bricks', is used to describe a do-or-die contest'. The word has also spread beyond the world of *sumo*.

(B) Association
This is a case in which something is expressed by a word that triggers an associated meaning. There are simple examples, riddle-like examples, and examples of association by homonym. For example, in young people's language, someone with thinning hair is referred to as *amerikan*. This is because in Japan, weak-flavored coffee is called *amerikan koohii*. Both 'weak in flavor' and 'thin' are the same word *usui*.

(C) Personification
This is a case in which a person's name or a word that mimics a person's name is used to express something. For example, in the department store industry, the name *Kawanaka-san* '(lit.) Mr or Ms Kawanaka' is used to mean 'shoplifter'. The name *Kawanaka* is similar in sound to *kawa-nai*, meaning 'not buy', and thus the name came to denote 'shoplifter'.

4.2 Characteristics of "group language"

In previous sections, we have looked at concrete examples of group language from the perspective of word formation. This section will build on that and describe the overall characteristics of group language pointed out by Yonekawa.

First, the orientation of the language is different for each group. For example, criminals are oriented toward argot that preserves secrets, young people are oriented toward play for the sake of the spirit of the conversation, the travel industry is oriented toward raising the efficiency of their jobs, and bureaucrats are oriented toward ambiguity. Therefore, they all have different characters.

Second, group language creates words using word formation methods that are not much found in general speech. Examples include inversion, rhyming games, parody, and riddle-like figurative meanings. Therefore, in addition to traditional functions of language, such functions as concealment, amusement, solidarity, and purification are seen in group language.

Third, there are many synonymous words. There are many synonyms found within a single group and there are synonyms that are also found in other groups. This is because words are not inherited as is in general speech, but they are renewed by creating new words, since each group has its own orientations,. This can be seen if one looks at the words classified into semantic categories. The categories with the largest number of synonyms and near-synonyms are police officers (patrolmen), detectives, burglars, pickpockets, gamblers, and shoplifters.

Fourth, since, unlike general speech, there is no necessity for language to be comprehensible to everyone, naturally there are many words that are only comprehensible within a narrow range. Therefore, there come to be words that are not comprehensible to an outsider.

Fifth, through the use of words that are not intelligible to outsiders, speakers can act as though they were specialists. The television and publishing industries in particular are objects of adoration to young people and so using the vocabulary of those industries gives them a feeling of superiority, of being on the leading edge of the era, and of directing the age.

Sixth, an extremely large number of groups that have been around for a long time use native Japanese and Sino-Japanese vocabulary, but newer groups often use words borrowed from foreign languages and acronyms.

Seventh, aside from specialist terminology, many group language are associated with colloquialisms. In terms of the fact that in an individual's consciousness of usage there is another proper way of expressing a meaning and in the circumstances of using the group language it can be termed colloquial.

5 "Young people's language": The group language of student groups

This section takes up one area of group language research and introduces its research perspectives and characteristics. As a concrete example, it introduces "young people's language", research on which flourished in the 1990s and contributed greatly to deepening group language research. In addition, very much similar to young people's language, there is campus words. Campus words refer to the language used by students at a particular university and, while there is a great degree of overlap, it has its own unique characteristics. For example, in campus words there are many words that are directly related to student life, such as words that refer to the campus and words that refer to students and the surrounding area. Also included are words related to courses, words related to commuting, words related to job hunting, and words related to clubs and common interest groups, among other things.

What is dealt with in this section is young people's language in a broad sense, including campus words. The characteristics of young people's language taken up here are those pointed out in Yonekawa (2009).

5.1 The social and historical background of young people's language

There has always been a young people's language, but its nature differs with the times. The number of university students first topped 1,000,000 in the 1960s, establishing a youth culture. In 1960 the percent of students continuing on to college or university was about 10%; now it is over 50%. According to the series of studies by Yonekawa, modern young people's language refers to that after the 1970s. There are three social factors in the background of its establishment.

First, there was a collapse of "earnestness". Japanese society in the high economic growth period that lasted into the mid-1970s made "earnestness" the appraisal standard. However, the high economic growth ended with the oil shock and as Japan became materially rich in the latter half of the 1970s, it lost its goals and made an about-face, changing into a consumer, amusement society that enjoyed its wealth. In the midst of this, young people came to play with language as a means of consumption and amusement. As a way of enjoying conversation, more young people's language came into being in great quantities.

Second, a borderless society developed, and values became more varied. The increased variety of values, in actuality, accelerated the legitimization of individual values, and a society tolerant of egoism came into being. With this, emphasis came to be placed on a standard of values around how "comfortable and pleasant" it is for each individual.

Third, a society with an overabundance of communication appeared. Television programming in recent years has been composed of variety shows and talk shows, all focusing on speaking. Most recently mobile phones have become necessary items for young people, and they are always talking or texting, trying to live each situation pleasantly.

It is into such an egoistic society, such a "comfortable and pleasant" society, that today's young people were born. In today's young people's language, "comfortable" is a keyword. In other words, today's young people's language exists as language in which the speak "comfortably" and "pleasantly".

5.2 An explanation from the psychology of adolescence

Young people's language exists in every age. That fact can be explained by the psychology of adolescence.

First, since adolescence is a period when, because of remarkable physical development, they worry about how others see them and are sensitive to how they are judged, language related to one's body, language related to how they are seen become young people's language and, through its use, they pleasantly and laughingly talk about themselves and others.

Second, since adolescence is a period they are searching for an identity, finding themselves, they tend to compare themselves with others and develop feelings of inferiority and superiority. Because of this, there many words that evaluate people either critically or with a laugh.

Third, in adolescence self-assertion becomes stronger, and the adolescent becomes rebellious, disliking restrictions and seeking freedom. They seek not just freedom from norms on actions, but also freedom from norms on language, so new words and new usages appear in young people's language one after another.

Fourth, adolescents feel ill at ease when alone and seek friends and companions. From this develops young people's language as insiders' language.

5.3 Characteristics of young people's language

The following three characteristics of today's young people's language can be pointed out.

First, young people's language is a language used within a narrow range of comrades and has the nature of a language that insiders can speak in a carefree way. Since it is uncomfortable and tiring to speak with outsiders, they do not make a positive effort to interact with them.

Second, it is obvious that young people's language is used to promote conversation and make it amusing. This means that they place emphasis on the spirit of a conversation as they try to get through each situation enjoyably. Here, language is more a means for amusement than a means for conveying information.

Third, their language is free from the norms of language. This is a modern product of the pursuit of individual freedom. Young people insist on freedom most acutely. They behave free of conventional norms in terms of their clothing, way of thinking, actions, and possessions. It is the same with their language. They enjoy making up new words as they please and using them in new meanings and usages.

5.4 Changes in young people's language today

There have been changes in today's young people's language compared to that of the past.

First, users of young people's language have grown younger with a concomitant infantilization. The methods of word formation and the ways of expression have become simpler and more direct.

Second, even more than before, the language has become even more of a language used within a narrow range of comrades. There are many words that seem right from the beginning to deny comprehensibility to others. This could also be called encryption or argot formation.

Third, through the spread of mobile phones, electronic mail, and the internet, Young people's language, which has hitherto been a spoken language, has added email language and internet language, and those are now used as spoken language.

5.5 Functions of young people's language

The following seven functions can be identified considering young people's language from the viewpoint of communicative function.

(A) Amusement function
This is the function of young people's language that brings laughter and pleasure to conversation through its use. There are two facets: one is the amusement of creating new words, and the other is the entertainment of using it. The tendency of young people today to engage in conversation for pleasure is strong. In order to accomplish this, not only do they choose amusing topics, they enjoy themselves by creating and using new words.

(B) Conversation-promoting function
This takes the amusement function a step further and is the function of enlivening conversation through the use of entertaining young people's language and improving the tempo through the use of contractions. It is to promote conversation that contractions are so common in young people's language.

(C) Solidarity function
This is the function that causes the speakers to have a feeling of affinity and strengthens a consciousness of comradeship (solidarity) through the use of informal language, insider language.

(D) Image-conveying function
This is the function of conveying instantaneously the image of something through the use of the visual or audio expressions in young people's language.

(E) Concealing function
This is the function of concealing something that would be disadvantageous if said and overheard in already existing general speech, by restating it in other words.

(F) Buffering function
This the function of avoiding hurting the other's feelings or of wounding them by softening the impression presented to the other and, thus, mitigating the violence of language.

(G) Purifying function
This is the function of purifying one's feelings by diffusing them through the utterance of those words.

In young people's language, among the seven functions, the first, the amusement function, and the second, the conversation-promoting function considered to be especially striking.

5.6 The origin and spread of young people's language

There is a study on this topic by Jirō Nagase.

Nagase (1992) analyzed the functions of the members of a university common interest group in the process of propagating student language (campus words) used by members by dividing them into such categories as number of propagations, number of propagators, range of propagation, and number of words propagated. His results showed that a certain tendency can be seen and that in the propagation of words there are two types: the *utiage-hanabi* 'skyrocket' type and the *senkoo-hanabi* 'sparkler' type. It is clear that there is a relation between these types of propagation of words and social position within a common interest group that has a language leader. The term *utiage-hanabi* was coined by Nagase and refers to the case in which there is one person who is the information provider at the core of the propagation process. The term *senkoo-hanabi* was coined by Takesi Sibata and refers to the case in which there are multiple providers of information.

5.7 The lifespan of young people's language

What is the lifespan of words in young people's language? There are both words like *tyoberiba* 'super very bad' that were only used for a short period and those like *oikon* 'farewell party' that continued to be used for more than twenty years. The first stems from *tyoo* 'super' *berii* 'very' *baddo* 'bad' and the second from *oidasi* 'sending off, eviction' *konpa* 'party' (originally from *companion)* . Generally speaking, campus words have a longer lifespan than young people's language.

Concerning the lifespan of words in young people's language, Yonekawa (2009) investigated the lifespan of young people's language words appearing in *Gendai Yōgo no Kiso Chishiki*, an annual collection of newly coined words published by Jiyuu Kokuminsha, over the period 1980 through 2008. Taking only words beginning with "s", he counted 488 different words. When he looked at how many years each word continued to appear, he found the results presented in Table 5.1.

As shown in Table 5.1, words that did not last more than one year are the majority, accounting for more than 50%. The next highest were two years and three years with the number of words remaining decreasing with each year. Words lasting two years or

Table 5.1: Number of years appearing in *Gendai Yōgo no Kiso Chishiki* rank ordered (Yonekawa 2009: 580).

ranking	The number of years	The number of words (%)
1	23 years	1 word (0.2%)
2	17 years	1 word (0.2%)
3	15 years	2 words (0.4%)
4	14 years	1 word (0.2%)
5	13 years	2 words (0.4%)
6	12 years	5 words (1.0%)
7	10 years	4 words (0.8%)
8	9 years	8 words (1.6%)
9	8 years	9 words (1.8%)
10	7 years	5 words (1.0%)
11	6 years	20 words (4.1%)
12	5 years	20 words (4.1%)
13	4 years	22 words (4.5%)
14	3 years	46 words (9.4%)
15	2 years	70 words (14.3%)
16	1 year	273 words (55.9%)

less account for about 70%, and those lasting three years or less for about 80%. The average length of years remaining for the whole set is 2.6 years. Accordingly, most words disappear in three years or less. In contrast, 77 words lasted for five years or longer, no more than 15.8%.

From this, Yonekawa concludes that words in young people's language have a lifespan of two to three years. Among them, there are words like *samui* 'take all the fun out' (literally 'cold') that have been used for more than ten years and have passed over into general speech, but most end up only being used temporarily by a limited number of people.

6 The dynamism of the group language study: A study of the use range expansion of a greeting expression

Nakanishi (2008) introduces expansion of the time of day when the greeting *ohayoo* is used. I introduce it as an example of group language.

I show that there are some words spreading out outside a group of group language. Through this, I point out the continuity of group language research and general linguistics and show that there is a principle common to both.

The use as the group language in which *ohayoo* is used regardless of whether it is night or day began in the dressing room of the professional storytellers' hall (Mayama 1960). And the use spread out to young people's language.

We can see from several recent reports that there have been changes in the way greetings are used, especially among young people. Among the studies on greetings for meeting are Jinnouchi (1998), Tsuzome (1999), and Ra (2010), which study the use of the *ohayoo*-type greeting in the afternoon. Toda (2004), Kuramochi (2008a, 2008b), and Ra (2010) discuss the use of the *otukare*-type when meeting someone. The use of the *otukare*-type (*tukareru* = become tired) when parting is studied in Toda (2004) and Shiohara (2006).

Toda (2004) provides an easy-to-understand overview of these changes. Originally the *otukare*-type was not an expression used when meeting someone, but rather an expression to appreciate someone's effort, as seen in (1).

(1) *Sore* *yori* *Rituko-san,* *konna* *jikan ni*
DEM CONJCT Ristuko-POL DEM time.DAT
doosi-ta-n-desu?
do-PST-NMLZ-POL
'But Ritsuko-san, what have you been doing until now?'

Yakin *ake* *na-no.*
night shift finishing COP-NMLZ
'I was finishing the night shift.'

Soo-ka, <u>*otukare-san.*</u>
DEM-Q otsukare-POL
'I see, tiring-san!'

(Sano 1996: 149)

However, the *otukare*-type has come to be used in all situations when meeting in the morning, meeting in the afternoon, and while parting, as in Table 5.2.

Kuramochi (2008a, 2008b) observes the growing use of the *otukare*-type in various situations and attempts to explain such expansion of the use from the perspective of politeness, suggesting that modern people's desire to leave a good impression – in other words, their positive politeness – is responsible for the expanded use of *otukare*-type expressions. There is much room for further discussion regarding the viability of the positive politeness account. However, it should also be considered that the substantive meaning of the expression *otukare*, which creates a good impression by thanking others for their work, is itself weakened.

Table 5.2: Rise of *Otukare*-type among young people (Toda 2004).

	Standard	Youth (several years ago)	Youth (contemporary)
AM greeting	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Otukare(sama (desu))
PM greeting	Konnitiwa	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Otukare(sama (desu))
Parting	Sayonara	Sayonara	Otukare(sama (desu))

Furthermore, Nakanishi (2008) collected various expressions used when meeting people through the journal survey method. When these expressions were placed along an axis representing time, it turned out that various expressions were used especially in the afternoon. Among the greetings used were many examples of the *ohayoo*-type used in the afternoon and the *otukare*-type used when meeting someone.

I applied to these examples numeric rating based on the Ogino's quantification method by the degree of intimacy on the hierarchical scale. Then I analyzed the data obtained in terms of social relationships. As a result, it became clear that the typical greetings in afternoon and night, *konnitiwa* and *konbanwa*, have a high degree of politeness, akin to the polite form of *ohayoo*. However, *konnitiwa* and *konbanwa* do not have opposing polite and casual forms.

Now let's look at Table 5.3. The abbreviation "MIX" indicates that many different expressions may appear in the same situation. According to Table 5.3, the speaker uses the casual form of *ohayoo* when meeting someone of the same or lower status in the morning. If the speaker used *konnitiwa* when meeting the above type of person in the afternoon, he/she would give an impression of distance. Then when I examined the frequency of expressions used with a familiar listener, it turned out that the speaker made fairly frequent use of expressions or action of a relatively low degree of politeness, such as *ossu*, *oo*, "a smile", or "waving a hand". Among them, the casual form of *ohayoo* was the most in number, while a certain number of the casual form of *otukare* was also seen.

Table 5.3: Asymmetrical distribution of greeting expressions.

Relationship with Listener	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Superior, unfamiliar	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Konnitiwa	Konbanwa
Same age, subordinate, familiar	Ohayoo	MIX	MIX

I define the use of the morning greeting *ohayoo* in the afternoon as extended use of existing expressions, and the afternoon use of *otukare*, an expression indicating the equal social relationship as borrowing.

Incidentally, expressions with low levels of politeness whose afternoon usage has increased, such as *ohayoo* and *otukare*, have opposing polite and casual forms.

Next take a look at Table 5.4. It shows the optimized distribution of greeting expressions.

Table 5.4: Optimized distribution of greeting expressions.

Relationship with Listener	Morning	Afternoon–Night	
Superior, unfamiliar	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Ohayoo gozaimasu	Otukaresama desu
Same age, subordinate, familiar	Ohayoo	Ohayoo	Otukare(sama)

Expressions with low levels of politeness whose afternoon and night usage has increased, such as *ohayoo* and *otukare* have opposing polite and casual forms; the use of the former can clearly express a distant social relationship, and the use of the latter can express a close psychological distance. The use of *ohayoo* and *otukare* has the advantage of optimizing the paradigm of greetings, ensuring that different social relationships are clearly and easily understood.

It can be considered that the rise of *ohayoo*-type and *otukare*-type expressions in recent years stems from the imbalance of the system of showing social relationships, and the convenience of the expressions contributed to a certain degree of propagation of their use. Shiohara (2006) and Ra (2010) also indicate the convenience of clearly expressing a social relationship as an important motive for these changes in greeting expressions.

Here it should be noted, however, that the adoption of *ohayoo* and *otukare* does not necessarily result in the elimination of *konnitiwa*. The rejection of *konnitiwa* depends on whether the speaker wants to distinguish different social relationships by using *ohayoo* and *otukare*.

For example, if the speaker lumps all "superior" listeners together, he/she can show respect to them by using *otukaresamadesu*, the polite form of the *otukare*-type, and *konnitiwa* will be unnecessary. However, among "superiors", if the speaker needs to distinguish between "most superior" and "slightly superior", *konnitiwa* will still be useful because he can use it with the most superior and *otukaresamadesu* with the "slightly superior". This implies that if the speaker's awareness of their relationships is diversified, then it is possible that corresponding expressions will be necessary.

This change seems to be a process in which the use of *ohayoo* as group language broadens its range of use in conformity with a motive demanded from "greetings". This study captured the changes from group language to a word in general use. It is possible to observe the general principle of the change of the language phenomena by observing the changes from group language to the general spoken language.

The possibility of elucidating the motive for language change and the way in which language change takes place is shown in the data of the many youth words analyzed by Yonekawa. This is an example of the big significance of group language research.

7 Conclusion: The prospects of group language research

As shown above, group language research has achieved distinctive developments within Japanese language research. It can be thought that in the future, together with changes in groups in Japanese society, such research will continue to grow.

For example, in recent years, due to developments in the media, Computer Mediated Communication has become widespread. Together with this, a new form of social group known as an online community has come into being, and a new kind of group language has arisen, known as "*netto shūdango*". Among the web sites often used in Japan is the giant anonymous bulletin board *2channel*; also SNS applications like *mixi* and *Facebook* and communications tools like *Twitter* and *LINE* lead to the formation of groups mediated by the internet.

Matsuda (2006) takes up the group language of several web communities and examines the state of group language in internet society. Matsuda looked at whether and to what degree the characteristics of group language described by Sibata (1958) and Yonekawa (2009) are found in internet group language.

Matsuda found that many of the characteristics of earlier group language are also found in internet group language. However, he also found that there are also characteristics extending to written expression of internet group language that upset the characteristics found in earlier group language.

It can easily be thought that through such media development new groups arise, and the state of group language changes. Also, it has come about that the group language of the internet, which is fundamentally written language, has spread to young people and has come to be used as spoken language. Yonekawa (2016) introduces the newest information on young people's language and it is clear that, in response to changes in the media, young people's language continues to change. Research on young people's language will probably not die out.

In addition, group language research is the study of the generation and spread of language in society and can transfer its results to linguistic research other than group language.

Furthermore, looking at each of the functions of group language, it would be desirable to have research that select the expressions each of them have, that is, that reanalyzes group language from the perspective of their grouping function. In other words, a development toward "group expression".

Concretely, conduct a categorization according to the various functions of the group language. Conceivably, there could be solidarity group language, purifying group language, amusement group language, and so on. Of course, since the various functions are not mutually exclusive, it is not necessarily the case that each word can be cleanly categorized. Research to determine how meanings and word formation methods vary according to each function is a topic for the future. This is a starting point for Japanese group language research, providing a research perspective to pursue the relation between groups and language.

The members of modern Japanese society are changing. For example, in recent years, the number of foreigners coming to Japan is increasing. Together with the increase in foreigners living in Japan, things are coming up as challenges like the generation of new group language and group language education for non-native speakers (caregiving language, EPA, etc.). Group language research in the future will continue to occupy an important place in Japanese language research.

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Yoshimitsu Ozaki

6 Male-female differences in Japanese

1 Introduction

This chapter deals with a rather classic sociolinguistic topic concerning male-female differences. In Japanese, the male-female differences are manifested in linguistic forms as well as in the speaker's consciousness. After reviewing major works in the previous literature, this chapter will present an analytic framework and survey design, which will be implemented in an analysis of two sets of data: (A) spontaneous speech data of 154 adults, and (B) questionnaire-based data of 1,000 residents in Tokyo. The analysis will target such items as the first-person pronouns (*watasi*/*ore*/*boku*, etc.) in Section 4.1 and final particles (-*wa*, etc.) in Section 4.2. This chapter will present some future perspectives on the study of male-female differences in the language structure and in the speakers' consciousness in Section 6. Since other chapters in this volume deal with gender in Japanese in detail, this chapter will primarily focus on the current state of male-female differences in Modern Japanese.

2 Research on male-female differences

2.1 Male-female difference in Japanese

This chapter deals with male-female differences in Modern Japanese. Reynolds (1997) raised the two kinds of male-female differences in language and claimed that (1) in particular is characteristics in Japanese.

(1) Male-female differences based on the sex of the speaker (i.e. "men's language" and "women's language").

(2) Male-female differences based on the sex of the referent

Of these two, (2) will be raised first. In the last some decades, it was not uncommon for men to be referred to with unmarked terms, and for women to be referred to by marked terms. For instance, a male *untensyu* (*doraibaa*) 'driver' was simply

Acknowledgements: The research reported here was supported in part by project funds from the National Institute for Japanese Language, by a JSPS grant (grant number 07NP1001) and by a research grant from Notre Dame Seishin University. I would like thank John Haig for his translation, comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-007

a *doraibaa*, but if it was a woman, she would be a *zyosei doraibaa* ‘female driver’. Similarly, a male teacher was simply a *kyoosi*, but a woman was an *zyokyoosi* ‘woman teacher’, a male actor was a *haiyuu* ‘actor’, but a woman was a *zyoyuu* ‘actress’, a male author was a *sakka*, but a woman author was a *zyoryuu sakka* ‘authoress’, a male company employee is simply a *syain*, but a female employee was a *zyosi syain* ‘female employee’. Suzuki (1993) pointed out the fact that these are sometimes called *josei kansi* ‘feminine prefixes’ since the feminine versions had prefixes such as *zyosei-*, *zyo-*, *zyoryuu-* or *zyosi-*. Her point is along the same lines as the movement concerning gender discrimination in the West (Chapter 7 (Endo and Abe, this volume), Chapter 8 (Reynolds, this volume), and Chapter 9 (Nakamura, this volume)).

The use of this kind of feminine prefix has decreased these days when women have progressed socially into a variety of areas, and their progress enabled them to obtain the same occupational opportunities with men. In fact, female drivers are called *doraibaa* and they are not called *zyosei doraibaa* anymore.

However, even today, feminine prefixes are still used in the area where women are in the minority. For example, in the world of *shogi* ‘Japanese chess’, the population of competitors is disproportionately male, and female competitors are often referred to as *zyoryuu kisi* ‘female competitors.’ In addition, a feminine prefix, *zyoryuu,* is used in the titles for female competitors, as in *zyoryuu meizin* ‘female chess master’, *zyoryuu kisei* ‘female saint’, *zyoryuu hon’inboo*, ‘female go master’ whereas-male competitors are not called in their title such as *danryuu XX* ‘male XX’. Even in areas where women have advanced equally with men, feminine prefixes have been used today. This reflects a certain kind of “value” of being women in the Japanese society. In fact, the word *zyoyuu* ‘actress’ is still widely used even now, and a female announcer are often called a *zyosi ana* (*ana* is a contraction from *anaunsaa,* ‘announcer’) in which cases, a feminine prefix, *zyo-* is used. Male announcer are, however, seldom referred to as a *dansi ana* ‘male announcer’.

Even though the use of feminine prefixes partially continues even today, it is clear that it is diminishing; male-female differences in language based on the sex of the referent are getting smaller these days.

On the contrary, language differences based on the sex of the speaker in (1) do not appear in written language or in spoken language on formal occasions. However, in spoken language on casual occasions such as talking with one’s family or with close friends, they still frequently appear. In a number of situations, one can determine whether the speaker is male or female just by listening to the expressions.

This chapter will primarily consider the type of male-female differences in (1), the differences between “women’s language” and “men’s language” based on the large-scale survey results. On the other hand, male-female differences in (2) are argued from the perspective of “language problems” wherein the male-female language differences based on the sex of the referent, reinforce and reproduce the traditional sex differences, which constrain women’s freedom of action. This topic is also covered in depth in other chapters of this volume, but this chapter will first review representative research on the male-female differences in Japanese.

2.2 Research in women studies

Reynolds (1997) points out that, different from language and gender studies in the U.S., women's language research in Japan did not establish any connections with feminist ideology, feminism, or the women's movement. In the same way, the women's language research did made any criticisms of the Japanese language nor analyses of "women's language" from a feminist perspectives. However, it does not necessarily mean that research in Japan have never been conducted. Kotoba to Onna o Kangaeru Kai (ed.) (1985) is one of such studies and points out the existence of gender roles in Japan as a social problem through their analyses of the definitions in Japanese dictionaries. This studies extracted phrases concerning men and women in the entries, definitions, and examples from five compact Japanese dictionaries published in the early 1980s, and claimed the biased description in the items related with gender. In *otokozakari* and *onnazakari*, *sakari* 'be at one's prime' for both men and women should mean one's physical and mental prime. However, in the dictionary definitions, men were described as at their peak in terms of physical strength, and women in terms of their beauty. The study pointed out the one-dimensionality of the definitions as a problem.

This kind of imbalance in words between men and women is found in the address forms as well. In Japanese, a husband is called *syuzin* '(lit) master, husband', but Jugaku (1995) reported that women in a certain farming village felt that *syuzin* was inappropriate as it indicated hierarchical relationship. The women instead coined a new address form, *otto-san* '(lit) husband-suffix', referring to another's husband, and it was widespread in the village.

2.3 Women's language and social norms

Some gender studies have been carried out to exhibit language problems based on the "social norms" in the studies of the male-female differences. Since the great details of this approach are discussed in other chapters of this volume, this section reviews some literature on social norms with regard to women's language.

Nakamura (2006) pointed out that there are two approaches in research on "women's language". One approach is the "essentialism-evolutionary approach". This approach holds that "women's language" evolved from language which reflects an essential characteristics of women. The other is the "constructionism-ideological approach". This approach holds that "women's language" became established by a language ideology that has been founded in the course of history. In the Meiji period, the "schoolgirl speech" among female students was constructed through novels that collected various speeches from their varied linguistic practices, and through critical commentary by intellectuals. Nakamura (2005) insists that "women's language" is constructed along with changes in language ideology between the Meiji period and the middle of World War II. She claims that the women's language in actual situations is highly varied, and in fact, not all women use "women's language". Whereas the women at that time used the women's language as an autonomous choice without being conscious of a linguistic ideology, the ideology gave a varying degree of impact on their language.

Satake (2005) inquired into the state of gender norms in Japan. She analyzed 607 articles published between the 1950s and the 1990s in leading national newspapers on "women's/men's language". She investigated the primary discourses on the "women's/men's language" in Japanese society. Her classification of the articles either those on men's language and on women's language made it clear that most of them focused on women's language and way of speaking. In addition, the articles emphasized criticism of norm-based women's language changes as well as defense of such norms. She claimed that such discourses maintained or reproduced the "women's/men's language".

Satake (2012) looked into *Kokutei Tokuhon* 'National Readers', Japanese language textbooks for elementary schools, and investigated the gender norms in language. Her results showed that the gender difference in conversation called for men to use plain forms and women to use polite forms. It indicated that teaching of politeness as a norm for women's language was considered important in language education at that time. On the other hand, in National Readers after the war, this kind of male-female difference disappeared. Instead, in the plain forms, women used the varied women's language sentence-final forms established in the Meiji era Tokyo speech, and the teaching of these gendered forms continues to the present day. However, since criticism of roughness in language use is even today overwhelmingly of women rather than men, Satake claims that the norm of politeness for women's language has not yet weakened to be in decline.

Satake (2008) studied the honorific speech as a norm for women in conversational material in radio dramas. She claimed that, with regard to today's male-female differences in language, the position of Tokyo's "Yamanote speech" as a standard model in informal speech was firmed up through the broad dissemination through the print media and radio of male and female language based on that speech. Since the late 1930s, the "Yamanote speech" has been described as a general characteristic of Japanese in grammar, establishing the concepts of women's language and men's language that lead to the present. She also analyzed the language (especially sentence-final expressions) of the scripts of two radio drama broadcasts around 1940 when this establishment took place: the "Sōseki dramas", which took the novels of Natsume Sōseki written in the late Meiji period as their origin, and the "Shōwa dramas", which portrayed the daily lives of the people at the time of the broadcasts. She examined what kind of language the people listened to. Her result showed that no such a great male-female differences between them and that women's and men's language in the late Meiji period were widely disseminated in daily conversations through the radio. In "Shōwa dramas", the husband did not use honorifics to his wife while the wife used honorifics to her husband. In “Sōseki dramas,” the sentence-final particle *kasira* is used widely by men, and therefore, this expression cannot be a form characteristic of women. The image of *kasira* as one of the typical expressions in women’s language is strong among Japanese, but that is not necessarily so even today is argued in Section 4.2.3.

As Satake (2008) points out, today, women are not more polite than men in casual conversations, and wives do not use honorifics to their husbands. Still, the former male-female differences remain. For instance, both male and female younger generation use the expression without polite form *-desu* with *atui* (i.e. *atui-desu*) in *Tookyoo wa totemo atui yo!* ‘Tokyo is very hot!’ while the female older generations would end the sentence with *atui <u>wa</u> yo*. *Wa* is not a polite form, but rather a feminine sentence-final particle. Another example is that to confirm with another, a male would say *Tookyoo wa totemo atui <u>daro</u>*? ‘Tokyo is very hot, isn’t it?’, without no polite forms. However, if a woman were to use this expression, it is possible for her to be criticized as using rough, uncouth language. Many women would instead use such an expression as a conjugated form of the polite copula *desu* in *Tookyoo wa totemo atui desyo?* ‘Tokyo is very hot, isn’t it?’. In this way, male-female differences in the use of polite language partially remain even today. The detail will be raised in Section 4.2.1.

3 The history of male-female differences in Japanese

Previous sections looked into major works dealing with (2) male-female differences based on the sex of the referent and (1) male-female differences based on the sex of the speaker from the perspective of social norms. Next sections will raise (1) as a main topic of this chapter. This section, before moving onto the main topic, shall give an overview of women’s language history. The details of the history should be referred to Chapter 8 (Reynolds, this volume).

Oishi (1996) outlined changes in women’s language from the Nara period (710–794 CE) through the Edo period (1603–1867 CE). Written historical materials still exist in Japan, and it is possible to surmise the spoken language of the times and the changes that the spoken language has undergone.

Even in the Nara period of the *Kojiki* (712 CE) and the *Man’yōshū* (759–780 CE), when male-female language differences are thought not to exist, women language was emerging. While Second-person pronouns in the Heian period onwards are used by both men and women, in the *Man’yōshū*, *kimi*, a second-person pronoun, was hardly ever used by a man to another man in the *Man’yōshū* but was overwhelmingly used by women towards men. When men addressed women, the pronoun *imo* was usually used. Unlike *kimi*, *imo* lacks the respectful meaning, and it is used to address one’s wife or lover. *Se* is used in the same way as *imo* but from women to men. In the Nara period, *kimi* and *se* were women’s language and *imo* was men’s language.

However, it should also be noted that the sex difference of the referent should be consider to explain usages of these pronouns (Takei 1982).

In the Heian period (794–1185 CE), although pitch differences seems to exist between males and females, Oishi held that there was not such evidence to support women's language. However, writing difference was the case. Men used *kanji* and Sino-Japanese vocabulary, which had an austere nuance, and wrote *kanshi* 'Chinese poetry' while women used *kana* and native vocabulary, which had a gentle nuance, and wrote *waka* 'Japanese poetry'. *Hahakigi* in a volume of *Genji Monogatari*, a famous novel in Heian period, includes a story, called *amayo no sinasadame* 'appraisal on a rainy night' where Hikaru Genji, a major character conversed with his friends. When one of them visited to see a young lady, the lady refused to see him by using a lot of Sino-Japanese word. This reflects that women at that time were not supposed to express themselves with Sino-Japanese words and formal expressions.

Another difference from men is that women did not use last names, but some female authors were merely listed as *XX no haha* 'XX's mother' or *XX no onna* 'XX's woman'. Other authors did not write their name in their work. At the time, *nyōbōmei* 'court ladies' names' such as *Seishōnagon* or *Murasaki Shikibu* were used. However, these are not really names but their title at the palace or residence. It was high-ranking court ladies who served in and were assigned rooms in the palace or residence. The practice of not giving names of women is also seen in the family tree diagrams of samurai families in which the actual names of males are given but women are all simply indicated by *onna* 'woman'.

In the Muromachi period, *nyōbō-kotoba* appeared, and it was the most striking development in the history of women's language. Originally, *nyōbō-kotoba* was an insiders' jargon used by women serving in the palace or residence. However, *nyōbō-kotoba* came to also be known as *gosho-kotoba* 'imperial residence language', *jochū-kotoba* 'maids' language', or *onna-kotoba* 'women's language'. Since end of the Muromachi period, it came to be used not only at the palace or residence but also by the female servants of the Ashikaga Shogunate as elegant women's speech. Furthermore, it later spread to the ladies' chambers of the Edo Shogunate and the female servants of the *daimyo*. By the Genroku and Hōei eras of the Edo period (around the beginning of the eighteenth century), it had spread to the women of the common class. In this way, it came to form in the Edo period the general women's language as a refined way of speaking. There were several patterns of word formation: creation of new special words, such as calling *sake* 'rice wine' *kukon*; elision of the ends of words, such as *nasu* for *nasubi* 'eggplant' or, together with the addition of the polite prefix *o-*, *okowa* for *kowamesi* 'mochi rice with red beans'; retention of only the first mora of a word and suffixing *mozi* 'letter' as in *sumozi* for *susi* 'sushi' or *syamozi* for *syakusi* 'bamboo ladle'; and elision of the ends of a word together with reduplication of the retained portion as in *kookoo* for *koonomono* 'pickled vegetables'. Some of these, such as *okowa* and *syamozi* have survived to this day and have become common vocabulary words used by men as well. Textbooks were published in the Genroku era to encourage the use of such expressions, and they had quite an influence on the cultured upper-class women of the Edo period. However, this tendency applied only to the upper class. It indicates that there were not always gendered differences in the language of the common people. In the comic novel *Ukiyoburo* by Shikitei Sanba, which was published near the end of the Edo period (at the beginning of the nineteenth century), one can find both the refined language of the women working in the Edo castle and the extremely coarse language used between women.

In the Meiji and Taishō periods, there have been forces that criticized the changes of women's language and even stop women using the women language. In an episode by one male commentator, around the time of the end of the Taishō period and the beginning of the Shōwa period (mid-1920s), his mother often cautioned his older sisters who said *ii wa yo* 'that's fine' for *ii koto yo* or *dame yo* 'that's no good' for *dame desu koto yo* (where the expressions with *koto* were women's language). The waning tendency for women's language continues strongly today with female high school students saying *oi, Yuriko mate yo* for *nee, Yuriko-tyan matte yo* 'Hey, Yuriko, wait up' or *kore de ii yo* or *mada dame da yo* for *kore de ii wa yo* 'this will be fine' or *mada dame yo* 'it's still no good', respectively. However, when one hears a female high school student say, speaking to a male, *nee, oisikatta desyo?* 'it was good-tasting, wasn't it' (instead of *naa, oisikatta daro?*), one cannot simply consider women's language to have disappeared.

4 Male-female differences that are strikingly apparent in present-day Japanese

Based on the historical changes above, this section looks into some large-scale survey results to examine where and to what extent male-female differences in language are found in modern Japanese.

What should be noted here first and foremost is that in Modern Japanese, male-female differences are almost absent in written Japanese (especially formal written Japanese such as theses and official documents). In the same way, male-female differences in spoken Japanese are not easily observed in formal situations. In contrast, in family situations or in situations where people converse informally without using polite language, male-female differences are striking.

The language elements in question are self-reference terms (i.e. first-person pronouns) in Section 4.1 and sentence-final expressions in Section 4.2. Male-female differences in the younger generation are getting smaller; it is normally women who regularly use *atasi* 'I' and *kirei da wa yo* 'it's pretty', on the other hand, it is normally men who regularly use *ore* 'I' and *kirei da ze* 'it's pretty'. However, this sort of male-female differences can be categorial and at the same time merely be a matter of tendencies.

In order to capture the actual language use, Western sociolinguists appear to usually gather data from spontaneous speech. Some studies adopt such methodology. For example, daily conversations were recorded, carefully transcribed, and the transcripts analyzed to clarify one aspect of male-female differences in language.

In Japan, a number of studies capture an aspect of language use through questionnaire surveys (Section 4.2.1.2). This is based on an assumption that respondents in general would be able to reflect on their language use with a considerable accuracy if the situation in the question is carefully described. This is similar to the judgement of the respondent about "consciousness" or "opinions" concerning various matters. Such studies are based on the expectation of "accuracy of linguistic intuition".

In addition, the degree to which language use indicates one's social standing is low in Japan. It indicates that if the questionnaire is of a form that guarantees anonymity, respondents ought to answer with a high degree of honesty, so that such studies are based on an expectation of "sincerity of the response". Ide (1982) introduced a study in England concerning pronunciation in which the number of women insisting they used the standard version was higher than those who actually did. However, for the reasons given above, the possibility of such happening in Japan is low. Rather, a large number of people in Japan accurately reflect on their language use and honestly report to the researcher. It may be because a majority of Japanese are meticulous and dislike a sloppily-done job and because they respond accurately and sincerely with good will even to a stranger like a researcher. This maybe a reason why this research methodology is established in Japan. Granted, the data obtained by this method is not strictly speaking "language that is actually used" but is "language that the respondents would use if they wanted to", that is, "language in the respondents' register". In this sense, questionnaire surveys data in the following sections indicate tendencies of answers in designated conversational situations. In other words, it is the "percent for which the usage is possible". Below, "percent for which the usage is possible" will be simply expressed as "percent of users".

4.1 Self-reference words

Let us look at research results from questionnaire surveys concerning male-female differences in self-reference words.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute) has conducted a variety of studies concerning honorifics usage, and around the 1990s Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Institute for Japanese Language) conducted surveys of the use of honorifics in school by junior and senior high school students, who have not yet become full members of society. There are many self-reference terms in Japanese, such as *watasi*, *atasi*, *boku*, and *ore*. However, since their use is conditioned to a certain degree by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer and by the formality of the speech situation, their usage includes honorifics. This is why they were included in the survey. Male-female differences clearly appear in the self-reference terms. This section, therefore, examine these forms from the perspective of male-female differences rather than that of honorifics.

This section shows the results of a survey conducted in 1990 at junior high school students in Tokyo (1,285 male and 1,171 female students) (Ozaki 1999, 2000, 2001b. 2002, 2005; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2002).

The respondents were asked to consider six categories of people as conversational interlocutors at school. Respondents considered each of the self-reference terms listed on the survey questionnaire and answered whether they would or would not use each form with the specified interlocutor. Figure 6.1 shows the results of a situation in which one is speaking to a friend of the same sex in which male-female differences appear strikingly. The numbers in the graph are the percent of students who use the self-reference form (percent of users).

It is clear that male students primarily use *boku* or *ore*, and female students primarily use *atasi* and *watasi* to refer to themselves when speaking to a friend of the same sex. It is said that the male-female differences in language are getting smaller, and with regard to the sentence-final expressions in Section 4.2, such a tendency can be observed in the younger generation. But even for them, a male-female difference can be clearly observed in the self-reference terms used in a close relationship. The numeric values are small, but the use of one's first name, like *Fuzio* or *Sakura*, for self-reference is almost entirely limited to girls, and here, a male-female difference appears.

Of these, if one has grown up and become a member of society, *watasi* can be used by men as well as women. It is taught as a gender-neutral self-reference term in Japanese language education. However in junior high school, it is almost a self-reference term used only by females (girls). Men come to use *watasi* after they move up into society, and at that point the male-female difference disappears.

Furthermore, since *boku* includes boyishness or neutrality, young women sometimes use it deliberately to some degree. Recently such women are sometimes called *bokukko* 'boku girls'. The Japanese female idol group *AKB48* has a song titled *Bokutati wa Tatakawanai* 'We don't fight' and this title phrase appears in the lyrics of the song.

In some areas of Japan, the older generation use *ore* regardless of sex (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2003). According to Komatsu (1988), in the Edo period women used *ore* even in Edo (Tokyo), but the women of the upper classes came to dislike *ore*, and that attitude eventually spread broadly among the women of Edo, so that in the Tokyo of the Meiji period, *ore* had become exclusive to males. In addition, while few in number, some middle-aged and older men today use *atasi*. In particular, there are quite a few such people among *rakugoka* 'traditional comic story-teller'. However, with such exceptions as described here, in general, a male-female difference can clearly be found in modern Japanese self-reference terms.

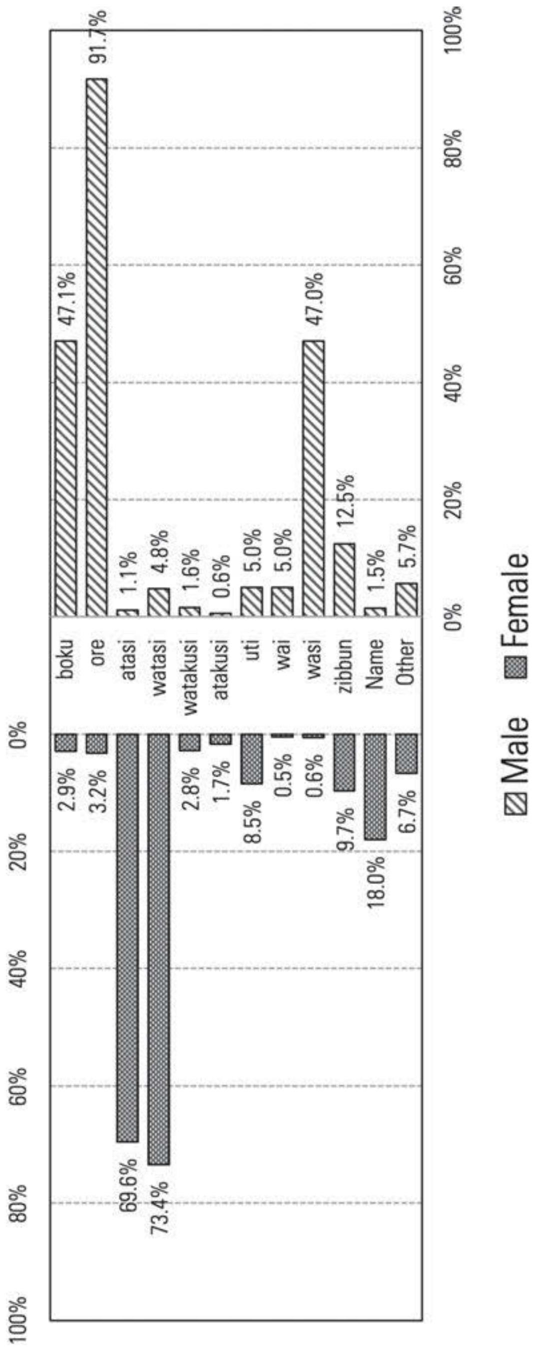

Figure 6.1: Percent of users of each self-reference term when speaking to a friend of the same sex (Tokyo junior high school students).

4.2 Sentence-final expressions

Together with self-reference terms, sentence-final expressions are another example to present male-female differences. The differences are primarily in sentence-final particles, but male-female differences are also clear in the elision or non-elision of the affirmative auxiliary verb *da* in sentences such as *Mukoo ni mieru no wa Huzisan* <u>*da*</u> *yo* 'What you can see over there is Mount Fuji,' and in the choice between an imperative form like *Hitto o ute* 'Make a hit!' and a request form like *Hitto o utte* '(Please) make a hit.' Here they will be grouped together and termed "sentence-final expressions". Ide and Kawanari (1984) say that there are not a few languages in which a male-female difference can be seen in sentence-final particles, and Japanese is one such language.

There are a variety of sentence-final expressions that are considered to be unique to women, including the following:

> *Iku* <u>*wa yo.*</u> 'I'm going.' / *Soo* <u>*ne*</u>. 'That's right, isn't it.' / *Soo* <u>*yo ne*</u>. 'That's right, I agree.' / *Soo* <u>*da wa yo*</u>. 'That's right, you know.' / *Sizuka* <u>*da wa ne*</u>. 'It's quiet, isn't it.' / *Ii* <u>*no yo*</u>. 'That's fine.'

On the surface, there appear to be a variety of expressions, but, leaving aside expressions like *kasira* 'I wonder', which belong to a different set, the major characteristics can be summed up as follows:

(1) Addition of the sentence-final particle *wa*. (E.g. *(ame ga) huru yo*. → *(ame ga) huru* <u>*wa*</u> *yo*. '(Rain) falls [It's going to rain.]'

(2) Elision of the auxiliary verb *da*. (E.g. *(Asita wa) ame* <u>*da*</u> *yo*. → *(Asita wa) ame yo*. '(Tomorrow) it will rain.' / *(Koko wa) sizuka* <u>*da*</u> *yo*. → *(Koko wa) sizuka yo*. 'It's quiet (here).' / *(Enryo sinakute) ii n (=no)* <u>*da*</u> *yo*. → *(Enryo sinakute) ii no yo*. 'It's okay (not to hold back).'

However, even if the auxiliary verb *da* is not elided, when it is immediately followed by *wa* with a rising intonation (*Ame da wa*↑ 'It's raining.') or when the *wa* is immediately followed by *yo* or *ne* (*Ame da wa yo.* 'It's raining, you know.' / *Ame da wa ne.* 'It's raining, isn't it.' / *Ame da wa yo ne.* ''It's raining, I agree.'), it becomes a uniquely feminine expression. Putting (1) and (2) together, it would seem that *Ame wa yo, Ame wa ne,* or *Ame wa yo ne* would be doubly feminine, but in fact, these expressions do not exist in Japanese; *da* cannot be elided before *wa*.

Since, compared to the sentence-final particles *zo*, *ze*, or *na*, the meaning of *yo* and *ne* is more gentle, they are sometimes said to be a part of women's language, but considering the fact that men normally say such things as *(Issyo ni) iku ne*. 'We're going (together), right?' / *Iku yo.* 'I'm going.' / *Iku yo ne*. 'You are going, right?' / *Soo da yo.* 'That's right, you know.' / *Soo da ne*. 'That's right, isn't it.' / *Soo da yo ne*. 'That's right, I agree.', the particles *yo* and *ne* themselves cannot be said to be women's language. They seem feminine because, besides from having a gentler tenor, they appear in patterns like *Soo yo*, *Soo ne*, and *Soo yo ne*. These are expressions from which the *da* appearing in *Soo da yo*, *Soo da ne*, and *Soo da yo ne* has been elided, and the reason they are felt of be more feminine is rather the elision of *da*.

Related to this, the *no* appearing sentence-finally in *no yo*, *no ne* and *no* is also often considered to be a feminine sentence-final particle, but, as McGloin (1997) points out, leaving aside the *no* that follows the polite form *desu* 'COPULA' as *desu no* or *desu no yo*, it is more appropriate to consider these forms to be the result of elision of *da* from the *no da* 'it is a matter of' construction with *yo* and *ne* as in *no da yo*, *no da ne* rather than the use of *no* as a sentence final particle (Note that, in natural conversational speech, it is normal for this *no* to contract to *n* forming *n da yo, n da ne,* and *n da*.). The *Un, ii no*. 'Yes, it's okay.' affirmative response to *Hontoo ni ii no?* 'Is it really okay?' is actually *Un, ii n da* from which the *da* has been elided. In the same way, the question *Hontoo ni ii no?* can be thought of as being a form from *Hontoo ni ii no ka?* from which the question particle *ka* has been elided and *Itu dattara ii no?* 'When would be good?' to be *Itu dattara ii n (=no) da?* with the *da* elided. That is, the essence of the matter is not the use of *no* but is the elision of *da* or *ka*. The elision of *ka* will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.2.

On the other hand, representative masculine sentence-final particles are *zo* and *ze*.

(3) Use of the sentence-final particle *zo*. (E.g. *Ame da yo.* → *Ame da <u>zo</u>.* 'It's raining.' / *Huru yo*. → *Huru <u>zo</u>*. 'It's going to rain.'

(4) Use of the sentence-final particle *ze*. (E.g. *Ame da yo.* → *Ame da <u>ze</u>*. 'It's raining.' / *Huru yo*. → *Huru <u>ze</u>*. 'It's going to rain.'

Sentence-final male-female expressions have been considered to be those described above, but when listening to natural conversations, not every woman uses *(Ame ga) huru wa yo. / (Asita wa) ame yo. / (Asita wa) ame da wa yo.* and not every man uses *(Asita wa) ame da zo. / (Asita wa) ame da ze*. How are they actually used? Let us look at the results from some large-scale surveys.

4.2.1 Use of the sentence-final particle *wa* and elision of the affirmative auxiliary verb *da*

4.2.1.1 Spontaneous speech studies

Peng (1981) is a pioneering study to look at male-female differences in the Japanese language. This study collected data not from natural conversations between people but from utterances in response to questions from the interviewer at two locations: downtown Tokyo and a Tokyo suburb. The study was conducted in the late 1970s. Adult respondents were randomly chosen with ages ranging from the 20s to the 50s. They comprised of 40 women and 80 men in total. The 110 elementary school and junior high school respondents were pupils at schools in Musashino City, Tokyo

Prefecture. It was an ambitious study in which the speech from a large number of respondents was recorded and transcribed, and the language of males and females was compared and analyzed quantitatively. Result showed that sequences like *wa yo* and *wa yo ne* including the sentence-final particle *wa* were only found in the speech of women. However, since about 50 years have passed since this study, and quite a few things have changed in the meantime. This chapter looks into the results of a study done some 20 years later that analyzed natural conversations.

In 1993, *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyūkai*, 'Modern Japanese Research Group' in Tokyo recorded nine hours of natural conversations at workplaces in the metropolitan Tokyo area, transcribed them, and analyzed them to clarify comprehensively what differences are found between 62 men's and 74 women's spoken language. The recorded conversations included both formal conversation like conferences and casual conversations during breaks from work. The results of the analysis were published as Gendai Nihongo Kenkyūkai (ed.) (1997) and were republished along with related studies conducted later (Gendai Nihongo Kenkyūkai (ed.) 2011). Included in these are transcription of the conversational materials and electronic media (in CD-ROM) that can be reanalyzed from a variety of perspectives.

Among these, Ozaki (1997) analyzed the use of sentence-final expressions, and his primary results are introduced below. Figures 6.2 through 6.5 show analyses of to what extent women of different age groups actually use or do not use the sentence-final particle *wa* (not with a falling but with a rising intonation). Because of constraints arising from the search function of the spreadsheet software like Excel, the use of the sentence-final particle *wa* are searches for *wa* immediately followed by *yo* or *ne* (i.e. *wa yo*, *wa ne*, or *wa yo ne*). These are labeled "Use" of *wa* in the graphs. On the other hand, cases of non-use of the sentence-final particle *wa* are counted by searching for the expressions *yo*, *ne*, and *yo ne* not preceded by *wa*. In the graphs, these are labeled "Do no use" of *wa*. In both cases, after the searches, data cleaning was conducted in which the entire data set was examined and data not applicable to this analysis was removed.

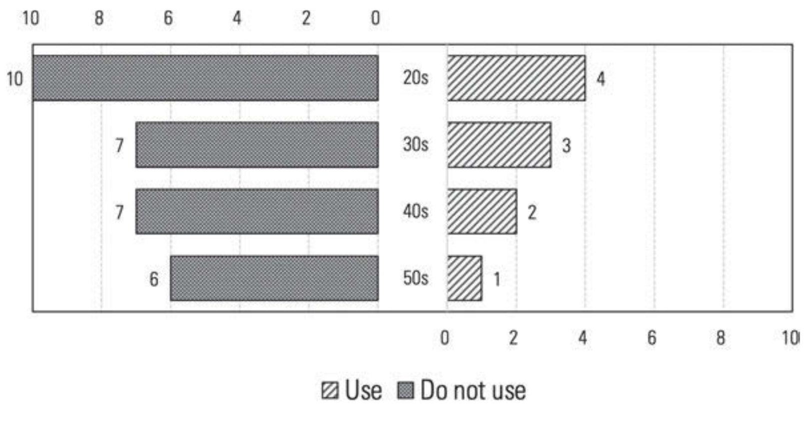

Figure 6.2: Use of the sentence-final particle *wa* by age group (Women: Number of individuals).

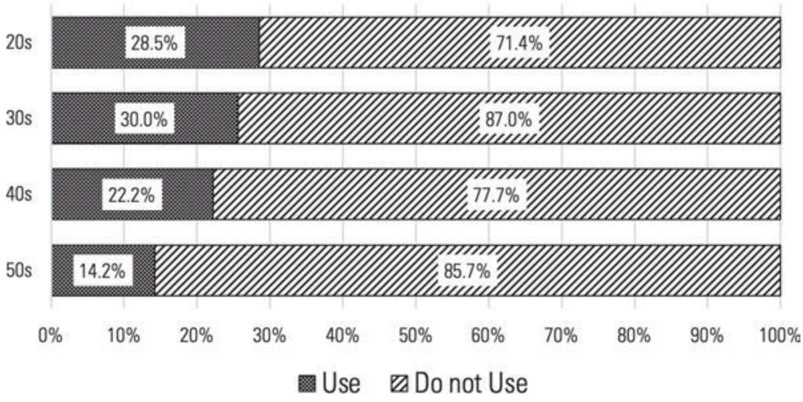

Figure 6.3: Use of the sentence-final particle *wa* by age group (Women: Percent of total).

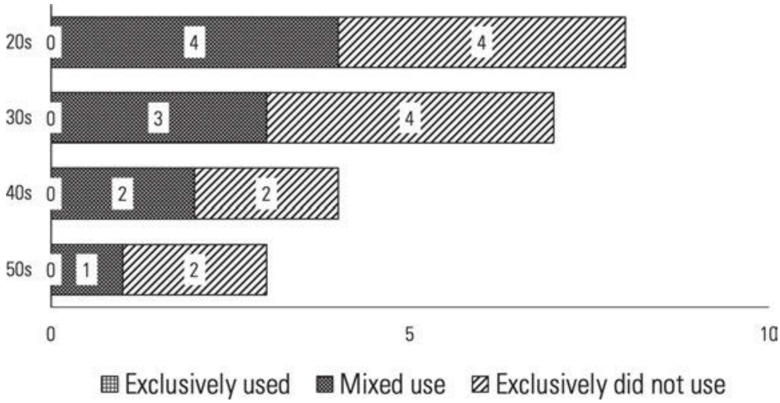

Figure 6.4: Patterns of use of *wa* [Two or more] (Women Number of users).

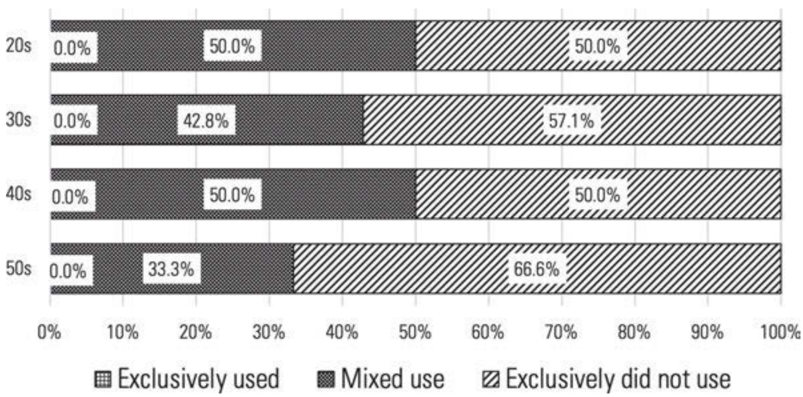

Figure 6.5: Patterns of use of *wa* [Two or more] (Women: Percentages).

Figure 6.2 shows the number of female speakers who used (labeled "Use" in graph) or did not use (labeled "Do not use" in graph) *wa* divided by age group. If the same speaker used *wa* in one instance and did not use *wa* in another instance, she was counted twice, once as "Use" and the other once as "Do not use". Figure 6.3 shows the percent of women using and not using *wa*. According to this, over all approximately one in four women used *wa*, and the number of women who did not use *wa* even where they could have are in the majority today. The number in the sample is small and it is difficult to make a clear judgement about differences in use across age groups, but the fact that users are in the minority at one in four can probably be considered to reflect a decline in the use of *wa* in the present times.

Focusing on those women who used *wa* two time or more, Figure 6.4 shows the number of women who consistently used *wa* ("Exclusively used"), who used *wa* in some instances and did not use it in other instances ("Mixed use"), and who consistently did not use *wa* ("Exclusively did not use") divided by age group. Figure 6.5 shows the percentages of each pattern. It is notable that, according to these figures, there were no age groups for which *wa* was exclusively used. Even for women who used *wa*, they did not use it consistently but rather used it in the "Mixed use" pattern. It can be surmised that even among individuals, *wa* is declining. Also it is notable that about half of every age group consistently did not use *wa*. Looking at this pattern, it is clear that expressions without *wa* are currently predominant.

Ogawa (1997, 2006) supports these conclusions. She looked at sentence-final male-female differences in natural conversations among young people. A total of 51 groups of college students in the metropolitan Tokyo area (129 participants) conversed for about three minutes. She recorded, transcribed, and analyzed the conversation (comprising of 666 utterances). There was no male-female differences in the use of patterns like *iku yo*, that is, patterns without *wa*. In other words, almost no college-age women in the sample from the metropolitan Tokyo area used *wa*, and it shows decline of *wa* among women of the younger generation.

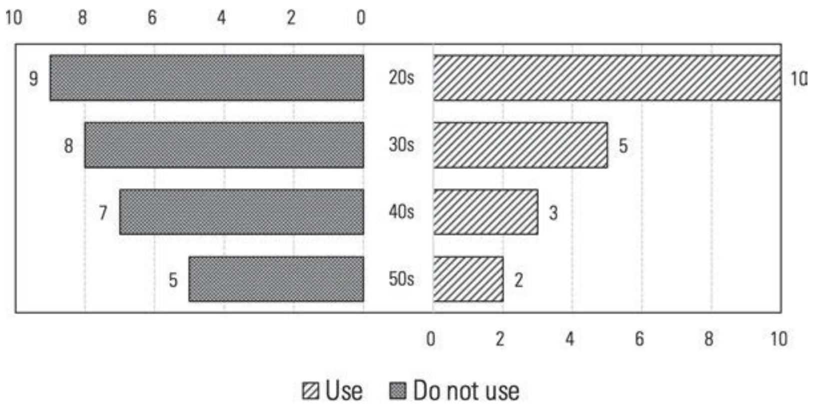

Figure 6.6: Elision of *da* by age group (Women: number of individuals).

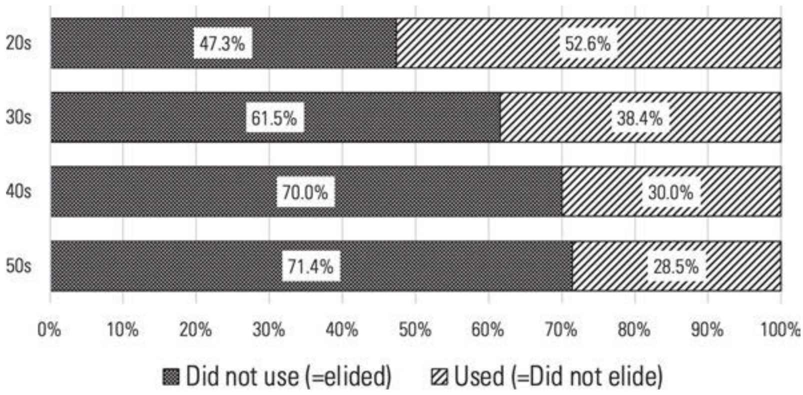

Figure 6.7: Elision of *da* by age group (Women: percentages).

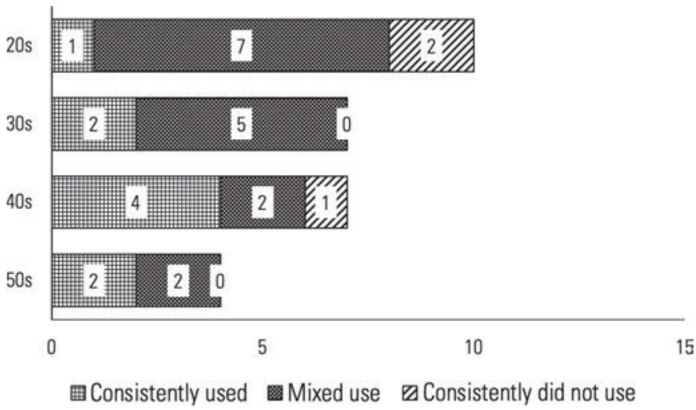

Figure 6.8: Patterns of elision of *da* by age group [Two or more] (Women: number of individuals).

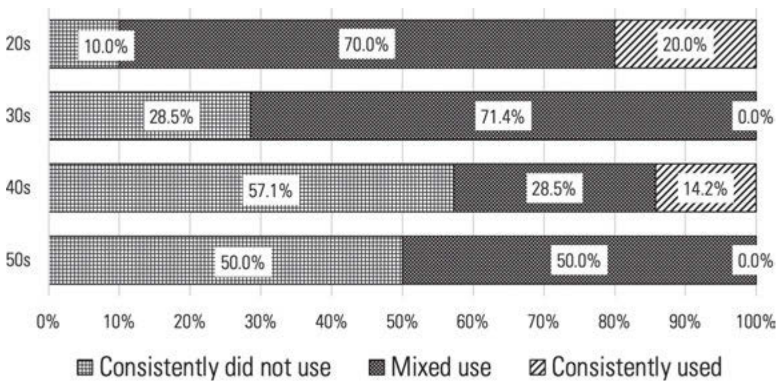

Figure 6.9: Patterns of elision of *da* by age group [Two or more] (Women: percentages).

Figures 6.6 and 6.7 show, respectively, the number of and the percent of women who elided *da* ("Did not use") or did not ("Used"). The label "Did not use" reflects the pattern traditionally held to be feminine. The search parameters for *da* were limited in practice. Namely, *da* appearing in the patterns *n da yo (ne)* and *n da ne* were counted as "Used" and the equivalent elided patterns *no yo (ne)* and *no ne* were counted as "Did not use". Note that in conversational Japanese *no* appearing before *da* is reduced to *n*.

According to these graphs, on the average roughly three out of five women elide *da* in this pattern, showing that even today a comparative majority of women use *da*. The situation is different from the use of *wa* considered earlier. This is still a pattern used by women today. However, the percentage of women eliding *da* falls as the age group gets younger. This can be a reflection of the *da* elision in decline.

Focusing on those women who used *wa* two time or more, Figure 6.8 shows the number of women who consistently elided *da* ("Did not use"), who elided in some instances but not in other instances ("Mixed use"), and who did not elide *da* at all ("Consistently used"). Figure 6.9 shows the percentage of each pattern. The "Mixed use" pattern is the most common overall, but the "Consistently did not use" pattern occupies a certain proportion, which becomes smaller as the age group gets younger. The "Consistently used" pattern, while in the minority, is seen primarily in the younger generation. As the age group gets younger, the usage pattern shifts from "Consistently did not use" to "Mixed use" to "Consistently used", and it can be surmised that the elision of *da* is declining among women today.

4.2.1.2 Questionnaire survey

Let us now examine the results of a questionnaire survey. In 1997, NINJAL conducted a survey of language use and language consciousness with 1,013 respondents who were residents of Tokyo with ages from the 20s to the 60s. The survey items were comprehensive, including questions about honorific usage, age grading, and speech acts. One of them was about male-female language differences.

The objective of the survey was to capture as accurately as possible the linguistic situation in Tokyo, and to do so it was necessary to randomly select a large number of respondents. The respondents were selected following the procedure.

Tokyo includes a great many cities, wards, precincts, towns, and villages. They were divided into six geographically contiguous blocks linked by railroad lines that formed social and economic units. Next, within each block, a city or ward more or less average in terms of population and area was selected (four wards and two cities). Basic Resident Register which contains the name, birthdate, and address of every resident in that city or ward was consulted; 3,000 residents evenly distributed across the age range of 20s through 60s were selected. Nowadays, because of privacy concerns, it would be extremely difficult to inspect the Basic Resident Register even for the purpose of academic research, but at the time, it was possible to do so. By selecting a large number of respondents (or, more accurately, intended respondents), the responses would more or less faithfully reflect the language situation of Tokyo as a whole.

Questionnaires were mailed to all 3,000 respondents, and they were asked to return the completed questionnaires using an enclosed prepaid envelope. A total of 1,013 responses was obtained (427 men, 586 women) for a response rate of 33.8%. It is impossible to compare the responses received from the 1,013 people with those of the rest of the 3,000 who did not return the questionnaire. However, since questions concerning daily language use did not greatly impinge on the respondents' privacy, it can be surmised that there is no great difference between the two groups. That is to say, the responses of the 1,013 can be considered to reflect the linguistic situation of Tokyo fairly accurately.

Results for questions concerning male-female differences in sentence-final expressions are shown in Figure 6.10 (Endo and Ozaki 1998; Ozaki 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2002 2004, 2005). In this question respondents were asked, for each of the expressions shown in the graph, which they would or would not use to convey to a close friend the meaning 'It is going to rain tomorrow'. The graph shows the results for the response "would use", reflecting male-female differences in the responses for the expressions in question.

Male respondents who use the forms at the top of the graph, *ame yo* and *ame ne* with *da* elided and the next forms *huru wa yo* and *ame da wa yo* with the sentence-final particle *wa* added are extremely few, and their use is almost entirely limited to females. Considering this, it can be said that even today these are exclusively feminine forms.

However, not all female respondents use these forms. It can be surmised that there is a large age-related difference in their use. Figure 6.11 shows the results of women's use by age group. In addition, for reference, the results for women of another survey of the same kind conducted with college students (282 women, 82 men) between 1999 and 2001 are added at the left side of the graphs, labeled "College students".

A clear tendency can be obtained for these forms traditionally considered as feminine to decrease with lower age groups. For the younger generation, these forms are replaced by forms without elision of *da* (*ame da yo*, *ame da ne*) and without the addition of the sentence-final particle *wa* (*huru yo*), as shown in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.13 shows the difference by age group to show how male and female speakers used *ame da yo* and Figure 6.14 shows the same for *huru yo*. It is clear that for speakers over 40 or 50, these are primarily masculine forms. However, for female speakers, as their ages decline, their use of these forms increases, and for speakers under 30, these expressions are used by both men and women. This age-related difference among women can be considered to a great extent to reflect a linguistic change. Namely, among women of today, use of expressions with *wa* added and with *da* elided is declining and in their place use of expressions without *wa* added (*huru yo*) and without *da* elided (*ame da yo*) is spreading. As a result, male-female differences in sentence-final expressions are disappearing.

Reynolds (1997) distinguished between "sex-exclusive differences", in which a form is used exclusively by men or by women, and "sex-preferential differences", in which a form is used by both men and women, but the contexts and frequency of use

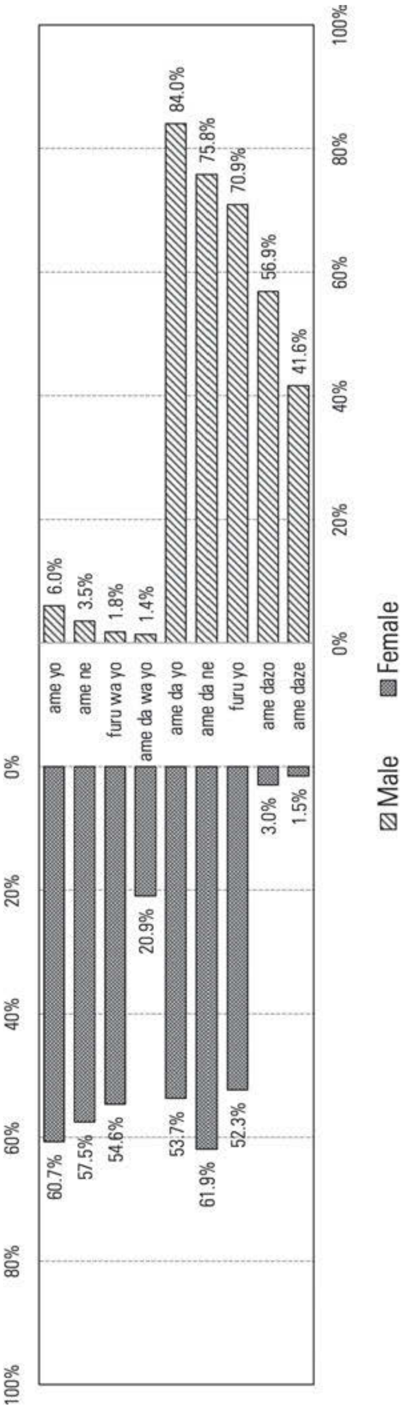

Figure 6.10: Percent of users for each sentence-final expression.

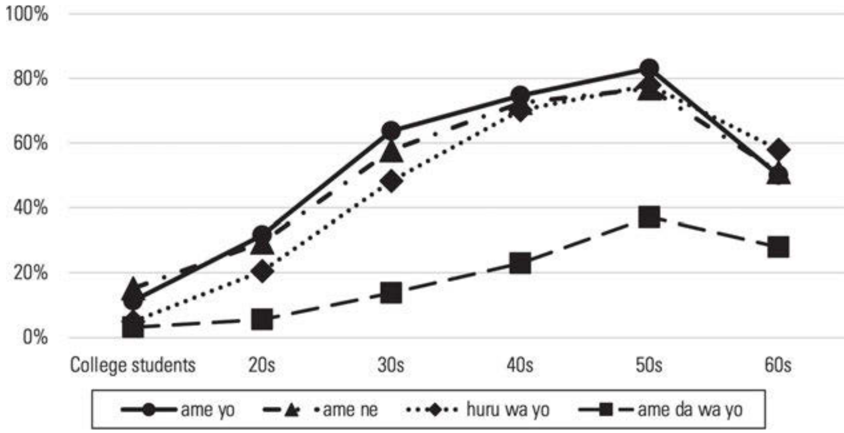

Figure 6.11: Use of “feminine forms” by women.

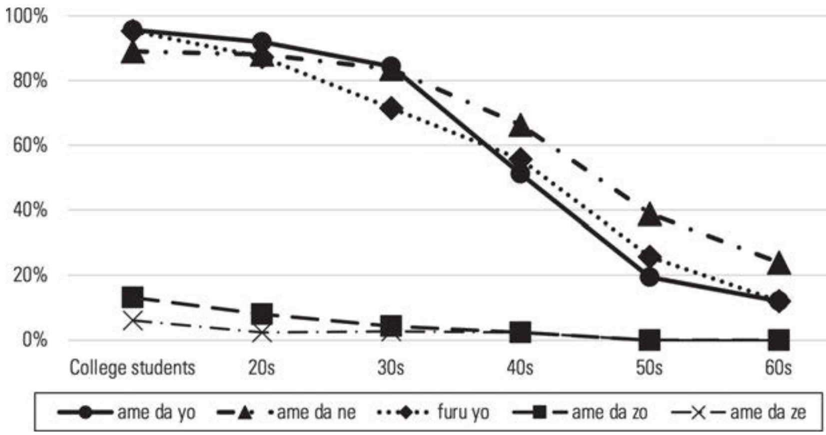

Figure 6.12: Use of “masculine forms” by women.

are higher for men or for women. In Japanese, sex-exclusive differences are actually few and the forms that have been called “women’s language” and “men’s language” are actually sex-preferential differences. According to Reynolds (1997), since expressions such as *ame da yo* and *huru yo* are primarily used by men of 50s and 60s, they can be originally part of men’s language, and they are getting gender-neutral after passing through a sex-preferential men’s language stage.

So, are there no male-female differences in sentence-final expressions in the younger generation? No, the use of the sentence-final particles *zo* and *ze* is still pretty much restricted to men (Figure 6.10), and even for younger women, the rate of use remains low (Figure 6.12).

In addition, although it was not included as a survey item, in the metropolitan Tokyo area use of *na* in place of the sentence-final particle *ne* is limited to men (however,

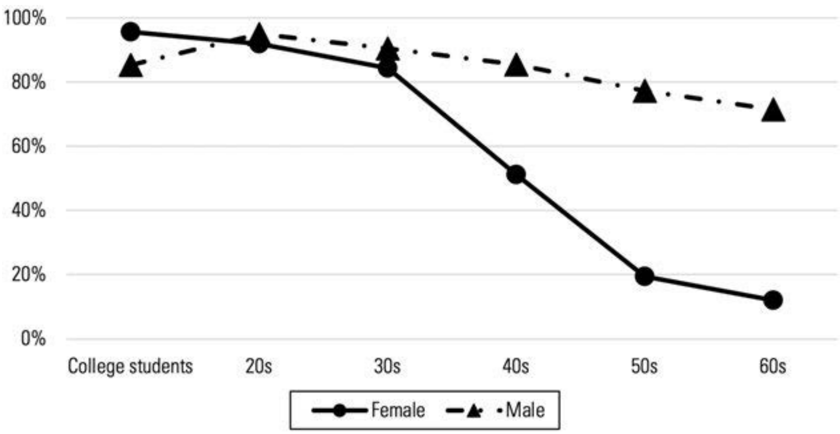

Figure 6.13: Use of *ame da yo.*

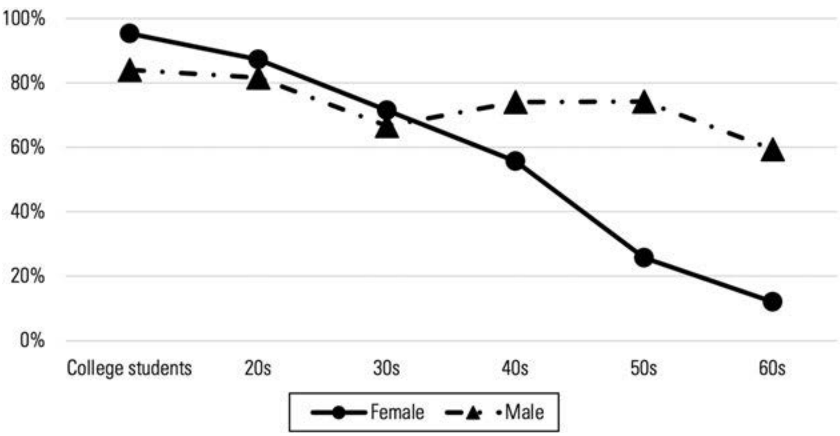

Figure 6.14: Use of *huru yo.*

in western Japan, women also use *na*). Nakano (1991) points out that a tendency toward this male-female difference can be observed from the end of the Edo period and the tendency has become stronger since the Meiji period.

The actual usage of a number of expressions have been introduced in this section; let us consider them from the perspective of their function in communication.

Masuoka and Takubo (1989) holds that the sentence-final particle *wa* expresses the speaker's emotion or thoughts without consciousness of a listener. That is, the core function of the sentence-final particle *wa* is "exclamation". In other words, saying *(ame ga) huru wa yo* instead of *(ame ga) huru yo* 'It's going to rain' or *(asita wa) ame da wa yo* instead of *(asita wa) ame da yo* is a way of indirectly expressing an assertion by putting it in the form of exposing one's own thoughts through internalizing the assertion as an exclamation not directly involving the hearer instead of expressing the assertion or judgement (=*(ame ga) huru*, *(asita wa) ame da*) directly to the hearer. Through directing the assertion at oneself instead of to the hearer, one softens the degree of assertion with regard to the hearer. In other words, it can be a form of speech act that does not make a direct assertion to the hearer.

The expressions with *da* elided, *(asita wa) ame yo* instead of *(asita wa) ame da yo* also avoid an assertive statement, and can also soften one's assertion. The essence of the interpersonal function of expressions traditionally considered to be feminine, like the addition of the sentence-final particle *wa* and the elision of *da*, can be the "softening of one's assertion".

The age-group graphs show that such softened, indirect ways of speaking are no longer accepted by younger women. Put it in another way, it is now acceptable for women to express themselves clearly. Now is time when saying *ame da yo* instead of *ame yo* or *ame da wa yo* or saying *huru yo* instead of *huru wa yo* have become entirely commonplace among those in their 20s or younger in Tokyo. In terms of speech act theory, it can probably be said that softening of one's assertion is being abandoned.

Even among young women, however, expressions that carry some rudeness, like *ame da zo* or *ame da ze* have not become widespread. That is, even though it is acceptable to speak clearly, it should be done without using rude expressions.

McGloin (1997) discusses the reason of why few women who use *zo* and *ze* is that the position of women in Japanese society is lower than that of men, and thus women cannot use expressions that strongly push their assertions like *zo* or *ze*. It may be related to such "strength of assertion", but at the same time, the rudeness associated with forms like *zo* and *ze* would also cause women to hesitate to use them.

Komatsu (1988) analyzed conversational passages in the comic novel *Ukiyoburo* by Shikitei Sanba from the late Edo period, and said that these male-female differences in sentence-final expressions were lacking in the Edo period. That situation continued through the fall of the shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji period, but by Meiji 20 (in 1887) or so, forms like *da wa* appeared as female student language and it was probably around Meiji that such forms became established as women's language. In other words, a number of male-female differences in sentence-final particle in Tokyo cannot be found in Edo Japanese although the male-female difference emerged since the Meiji period onwards. In the Edo period, women in a upper class in Edo and men came not to use some sentence-final particles, which became a basis to establish male-female differences in Meiji period. The trend continued to Showa period (1926–1989), but the differences are now going to be smaller again.

As for the sentence-final particle *zo*, even today it is limited almost entirely to men. However, as Nakanura (2000) points out, if it is self-directed as a kind of encouragement to oneself, women also use it quite naturally. In a television commercial some time ago, a young woman, having just finished eating the product, uses *zo* saying *Yosi, asita mo ganbaru zo* 'All right! I'll do my best again tomorrow.'

Concerning the particle *ze* also, if she wishes to project an image of bravery or vitality, a woman may deliberately use *ze*. The female music group *Momoiro Kurōbā* (Now renamed as *Momoiro Kurōbā Z*) had a song *Iku ze! Kaitoo Syoozyo* 'Go! Mysterious Thief Girl' that included *ze* in the title, and the lyrics also used *iku ze* 'go!'.

4.2.2 Elision of the sentence-final question particle *ka*

Another male-female difference can be found in the elision of the sentence-final question particle *ka*. As discussed earlier, the pattern *Un, ii no* is formed from *Un, ii n da* 'Yes, it's fine.' with the *da* elided, and the reason the former sounds gentler and feminine is not because of the use of *no* itself but is because of the elision of the *da*. Similarly, the reason the yes-no question *Hontoo ni ii no?* 'Is it really okay?' share the same nuance is not because of the use of *no,* but because of the elision of the sentence-final particle *ka* from *Hontoo ni ii no ka?* Both the elision of *da* and the elision of *ka* allow the avoidance of making an affirmative statement and cause the sentence to sound softer.

In this section, let us look at a large-scale survey in Tokyo to compare men's and women's speech for contrasting expressions in which *ka* has been elided with expressions and in which *ka* has not been elided. Respondents were presented with the expressions *(Gogo mo ame ga) huru no?* and *(Gogo mo ame ga) huru no ka?* 'Will it rain (in the afternoon also)?' and were asked whether or not they would use both expressions. The results are shown in Figure 6.15.

A male-female difference can clearly be seen for the retained *ka* form, *huru no ka?*; its use was almost completely limited to men. However, only about half of the men used this form, and it cannot be said to be a general expression among men. In contrast, the elided *ka* form increases among women, and nearly all women used it. However, a number of men use it as well. In fact, the percent of elided *ka* was higher than the percent of the retained *ka*. Accordingly, the retained *ka* form is almost entirely limited to men, and is a categorical male-female difference. Expressions with the elided *ka* are not to women but is a sex-preferential gender difference.

Figure 6.16 shows the percent of male users of each form divided by age group. The percent using *huru no ka?* decreases as the speakers get younger while the percent using the pattern with the elided *ka, huru no?* increases. Figure 6.17 shows the percent of men and women who use the elided pattern, *Huru no?* divided by age group. In these results, the values for men and women in their 20s are approximately equal. The differences by age group observed with the men are thought to reflect a language change. In other words, with regard to the phenomenon of elision of *ka*, the shrinking of the male-female difference is due to the men's speech approaching women's speech. In general, the shrinking of the male-female differences is due to the women's speech approaching men's speech, but there are also cases in the opposite direction. Since the change in men's speech is in progress at the present time, use of forms with the elided *ka* would have changed from a categorical sex difference (i.e. sex-exclusive difference)

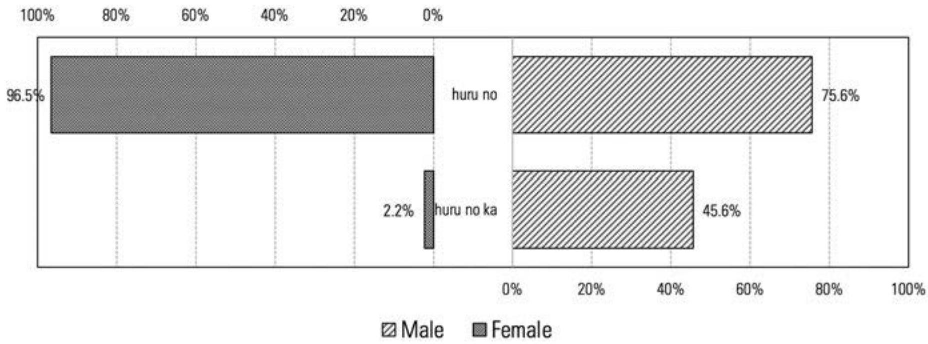

Figure 6.15: Percentage of people using each sentence-final form.

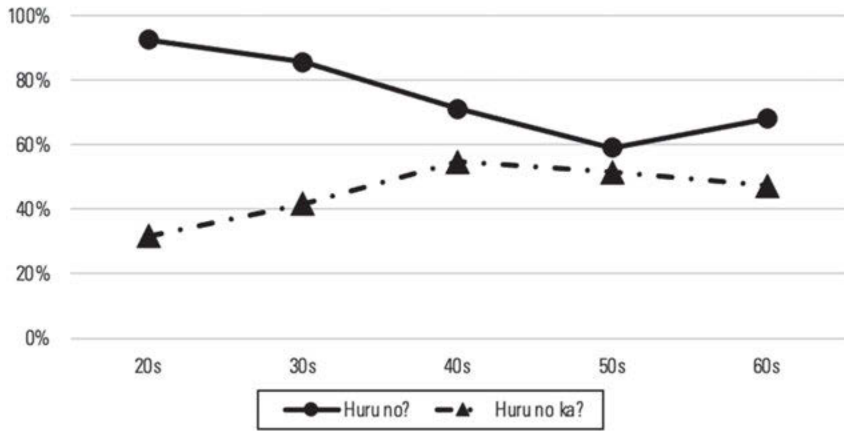

Figure 6.16: Use and non-use of the sentence-final particle *ka* by men.

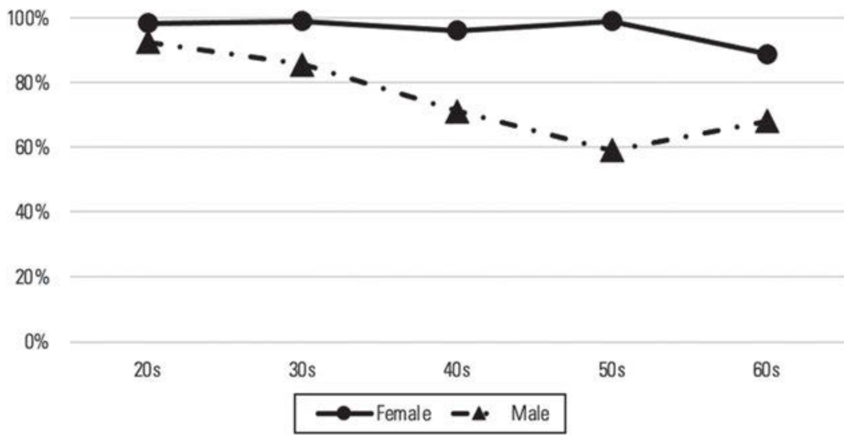

Figure 6.17: Use of the form *Huru no?*

to being a relative sex difference (i.e. sex-preferential difference). However what should be noted here is that the form with retained *ka* is categorically men's language.

The tendency for women to use expressions with elided *ka* is not limited to the Tokyo but is also found in dialect-speaking regions. Kasai (1993) conducted a questionnaire survey of 45 junior college students from Aomori or Hokkaidō and found that nearly all preferred *Iya na no?* to *Iya na no ka* 'Is it a matter of it being dislike?'.

This male-female difference in the use or non-use of *ka* is actually linked with the use or non-use of polite forms. Nakamura (2000) found that, while an informal form like *yomu ka* 'Will you read it?' was used only by men, a form including the polite suffix *-masu* as in *yomimasu ka* was used by both men and women.

4.2.3 Use of the sentence-final question particle *kasira*

The sentence-final particle *kasira* appears in sentences such as *Hontoo ni soo kasira?* 'I wonder if that's really true.' in place of *Hontoo ni soo daroo ka?* 'Might that really be true?' or *Asita wa ame kasira?* 'I wonder if it will rain tomorrow.' in place of *Asita wa ame kana?* 'I wonder if it will rain tomorrow.' Rather than asking something of others, this *kasira* is a self-direct question form. Originally, the form was *Soo ka sira-nu*, 'I do not know whether or not that is true.', but the meaning changed to become a self-directed question meaning 'Might that be true.' and later the form changed to *kasira*, after passing through a *kasira-n* stage.

Satake (2008) points out that in the novels of Natsume Sōseki, several men use *kasira*, so it cannot be said to have originally been characteristic of women's language. Nin (2006, 2009) analyzed *kasira* in conversations in novels, conversation portions of scripts for modern movies and television dramas, and transcriptions of natural conversations as data from the Meiji period to the present. She found that in the late Meiji period and the Taishō period, men also used *kasira* (and *kasira-n*). In those days, it was not an expression strong in femininity, but in the early Shōwa period, *kasira* was heavily skewed toward female speakers, and it has become an exclusively feminine form today. On the other hand, another sentence-final particle *kana*, expressing the same meaning, was used solely by men from the early Meiji period through the Taishō period, but it later came to be used by women as well. Today, it is used by both men and women; what was formerly an exclusively masculine form has come to be a sex-preferential difference.

Ozaki (2017) conducted a questionnaire survey in Okayama city with 81 randomly selected Okayama city residents with the ages from 20 to 79. Respondents were presented with the expression *Hontoo ni ame kasira?* 'I wonder if it's really going to rain.' and asked whether or not they would use the expression. The results are shown in Figure 6.18. The percent of users was not high for either men or women, but those who did use it were primarily women. In Okayama city, it has become an expression limited to women as well.

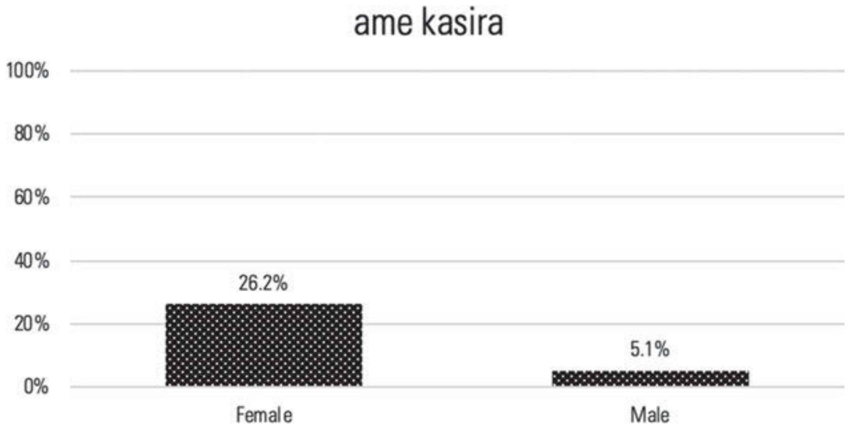

Figure 6.18: Percent using *kasira?* (Okayama City).

In Figure 6.19, the women responding are divided into three age groups (60s–70s, 40s–50s, and 20s–30s). No respondents in the youngest group used *kasira*, and its use is observed primarily by middle-aged and older women. One possibility is that this shows a decline in the use of *kasira*, but another possibility is that women begin using *kasira* when they become middle-aged. A longitudinal study is necessary to examine this hypothesis.

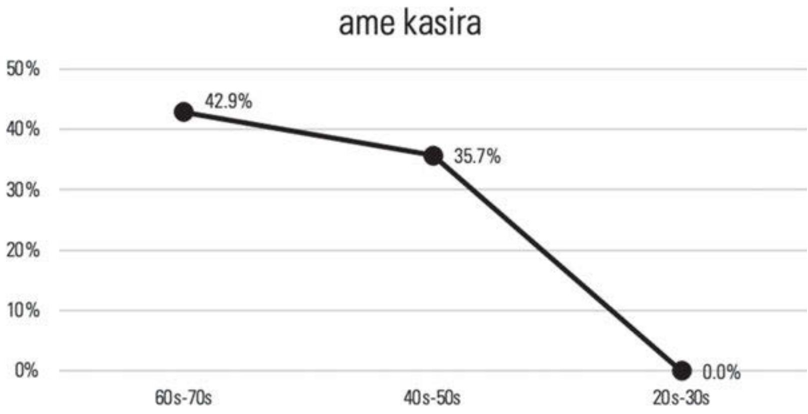

Figure 6.19: Female users of *kasira?* (Okayama City).

Goto (1996), in order to evaluate the pros and cons of using newspaper article for Japanese language research, investigated *kasira* as a test case and analyzed how it appeared in utterances in newspaper articles. No males used *kasira* or its variants in scripts for television dramas and questionnaire surveys. On the other hand, although few in number, men in their 50s or above used *kasira* in newspaper articles. It follows that *kasira* is not in fact as exclusively feminine as suggested by sociolinguistic research.

Even today, there are some, albeit few, men who use *kasira* although it carries a somewhat old-fashioned nuance. A Sankei Shinbun correspondent, Kuroda Katsuhiro, who is in his 70s, uses *kasira* along with *kana* in his column *Seoul kara Yoboseyo* 'Hello from Seoul', as shown below.

> *Kanzyoo no sai ni "ore" ni harawasero! to itte arasou bihuu (?) mo naku naru no kana,* (30 July 2016)
>
> 'I wonder if the beautiful custom (?) of battling over the check saying, "Let me pay!" will also disappear.'
>
> *Gaikokuzin kisya mo taisyoo na no kasira.* (14 May 2016)
>
> 'I wonder if it also applies to foreign correspondents.'

Kasira was not originally exclusive to women and there are circumstances where that remains true even today, but on the whole, of users today, most are women.

4.2.4 Expressions calling for an action: Imperative or request forms

There appears to be a male-female difference when choosing to use an imperative form or a request form when calling on another to take some action. A survey was conducted over the period 1999–2001 with Tokyo metropolitan area college students (521 women and 172 men, all from the Kantō area) as respondents (Ozaki 2005). They were presented with a scenario in which the weather has suddenly improved and they are able to go on a previously scheduled hiking trip. Imagining that they are urging a close friend over the telephone to hurry and get ready to leave, they were presented with the expressions *(Hayaku) zyunbi siro!* '(Hurry up and) get ready! (imperative)' and *(Hayaku) zyunbi site* '(request form)' and asked for each whether or not they would use them. Since *(Hayaku) zyunbi site* is a form from which *kudasai* 'please (polite)', *kure* 'please (less polite). or *tyoodai* 'please (fairly polite)' has been dropped from *(Hayaku) zyunbi site kudasai*, *(Hayaku) zyunbi site kure*, or *(Hayaku) zyunbi site tyoodai*, respectively, it is a variety of request form.

In Figure 6.20, the results show a clear male-female difference for the imperative form *zyunbi siro*, for which users are primarily limited to males. However, the proportion of men is only about half of them, so it is not a general expression for men. In contrast, use of the request form *zyunbi site* skews rather to women. However, the percentage of men using the form is quite high, and that value is higher than the percentage using the imperative. Accordingly, the imperative form is limited to men to a great extent, and it can be said to be a categorical male-female difference. This does not mean that the request form is limited to women, and it is a sex-preferential difference with women using it more. This result showed a similar male-female difference pattern to the elision of *ka*.

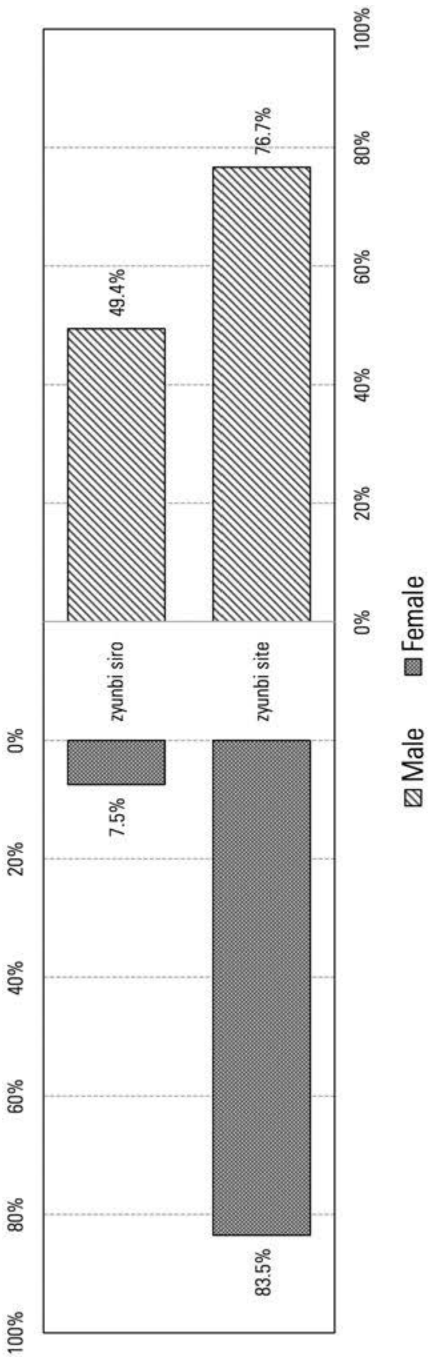

Figure 6.20: Percentage choosing imperative or request forms (Metropolitan Tokyo area college students).

4.3 Use of the beautifying prefix *o-*

Japanese has many types of honorific expressions. Although they are called "honorific expression", rather than being used with regard to persons the speaker "respects" or honors, they are used as a courtesy, so to speak, to describe the actions or possessions of someone older or socially higher than the speaker or someone the speakers judges he/she should distance himself/herself from. One honorific form is the prefix *o-* (or *go-*). For example. *kaban* 'briefcase' becomes *o-kaban* and *syokugyoo* 'occupation' becomes *go-syokugyoo*. A briefcase belonging to the speaker would never be called *o-kaban* and the speaker's occupation would never be expressed as *go-syokugyoo*. Such forms are used only with regard to a briefcase or occupation of someone older than the speaker or someone from whom the speaker should distance himself/herself. Within the system of honorific expression, such forms are used as "respectful form".

However, the prefix *o-* can be also attached to one's own things and also to general topics (Inoue 2011). For instance, one's *heya* 'room' may become *o-heya*, one's *sigoto* 'work' may become *o-sigoto*, a *sibai* 'play' may become *o-sibai*, and a *yasumi* 'vacation' may become *o-yasumi*. In addition, among general topics, *toohu* 'bead curd' may become *o-toohu* and *syooyu* 'soy sauce' may become *o-syooyu*. Since these *o-* are not being used as "respectful forms" and since they can be considered as make one's speech sound more refined. These kind of use can be called "beautifying form". It may be clearer if it were called "Refined (elegant) form". In some cases, the same effect is accomplished by changing the word entirely rather than adding *o-*, such as saying *onaka* for *hara* 'stomach' or *oisii* for *umai* 'delicious'. A sex-preferential gender difference can be seen in such "beautifying form" such that the percentage of users and the frequency are greater for women than for men.

However, an age-related difference can be seen among women. Nagase (2006) conducted a questionnaire survey concerning such things as the use of *onaka* for *hara* 'stomach', *gohan* for *mesi* 'rice', and *taberu* for *kuu* 'eat', all differences similar to the addition of the prefix *o-*, and found that there was a male-female difference in the parents' generation, but in the younger generation women showed no statistical difference from men when speaking with a close friend. Nagase found that differences in the use of beautifying form by women in a conversation with a close friend and by men are shrinking. He predicted that this tendency would continue in the future.

As a part of polite expression, a sex-preferential difference can also be observed in the polite copula *desu*. According to a questionnaire survey towards Tokyo college students in Ozaki (1999), use of a conjectural form without a polite form, such as *Mieru daro?* 'It's probably visible, isn't it?' is almost entirely limited to males, while users of a conjectural form including a polite form, such as *Mieru desyo?* 'It's probably visible, isn't it?' are more likely to be preferred by females. Young women who use *da yo* to close friends or family members find it difficult to use a form like *daro?* as they felt to be rude, and to use a form including the polite *desyo?*, as they consider to be more refined.

4.4 Pronunciation: Use of fused vowel forms

There is also a sex-preferential difference in the area of pronunciation of Japanese. Japanese was originally a language having only a CVCV . . . syllable structure, but Sino-Japanese pronunciations accompanied the introduction of Chinese characters from Chinese, and the conjugation of native Japanese predicates underwent the loss of some consonants; one of such change is the formation of CVV sequences. An example of the former is the *kai* of the Sino-Japanese word *kaisya* 'company', and an example of the latter change is the *kai* of *akai* 'red'. Since the *ai* together with *oi* and *ui* is a sequence of vowels, the sequence is called *renboin* 'sequential vowels' in Japanese.

Depending on the region, these sequential vowels have changed with *ai* and *oi* becoming *e:* and *ui* becoming *i:*. This is a phenomenon called "vowel fusion". *Futoi* 'fat' is pronounced as *fute:* and *samui* 'cold' as *sami:*.

In Standard Japanese, although it is rare for anyone to fuse sequential vowels in Sino-Japanese words, the conjugational endings of adjectives do undergo vowel fusion so *nai*, a negative marker, is pronounced as *ne:*, *futoi* as *fute:*, and *samui* as *sami:*. In standard Japanese, the later pronunciations carry a nuance of brusqueness, and users are more likely to be men than women. That is, a tendency toward a male-female difference can be recognized.

Figure 6.21 shows a result of a questionnaire survey toward 299 college-student respondents from Tokyo and Saitama prefectures in 2005 (Nie 2006). Respondents were asked to imagine that they were speaking with a close friend of the same sex, with whom it would be easy to use fused sequential vowels; results are ranked in descending frequency of "Often Use" responses from male respondents for each word including fused sequential vowels divided into male and female responses. When studying pronunciation, observing actual pronunciations is the primary method, but when studying whether or not one uses fused sequential vowels when speaking, since it is easy for Japanese to reflect on their speech with good accuracy, a questionnaire format was adopted.

With regard to expressions with a certain percent of uses, in all cases, male respondents use fused vowel forms more than female respondents, and it is clear that this is a pronunciation adopted more by men. In the area of pronunciation, a male-female difference is observed as well.

5 Attitudes regarding male-female differences in language

As discussed in Section 4.2, the tendency of diminishing male-female differences in sentence-final expressions is strongly connected with changes in normative attitudes on what male-female differences in speech are desirable. Figure 6.22 shows the

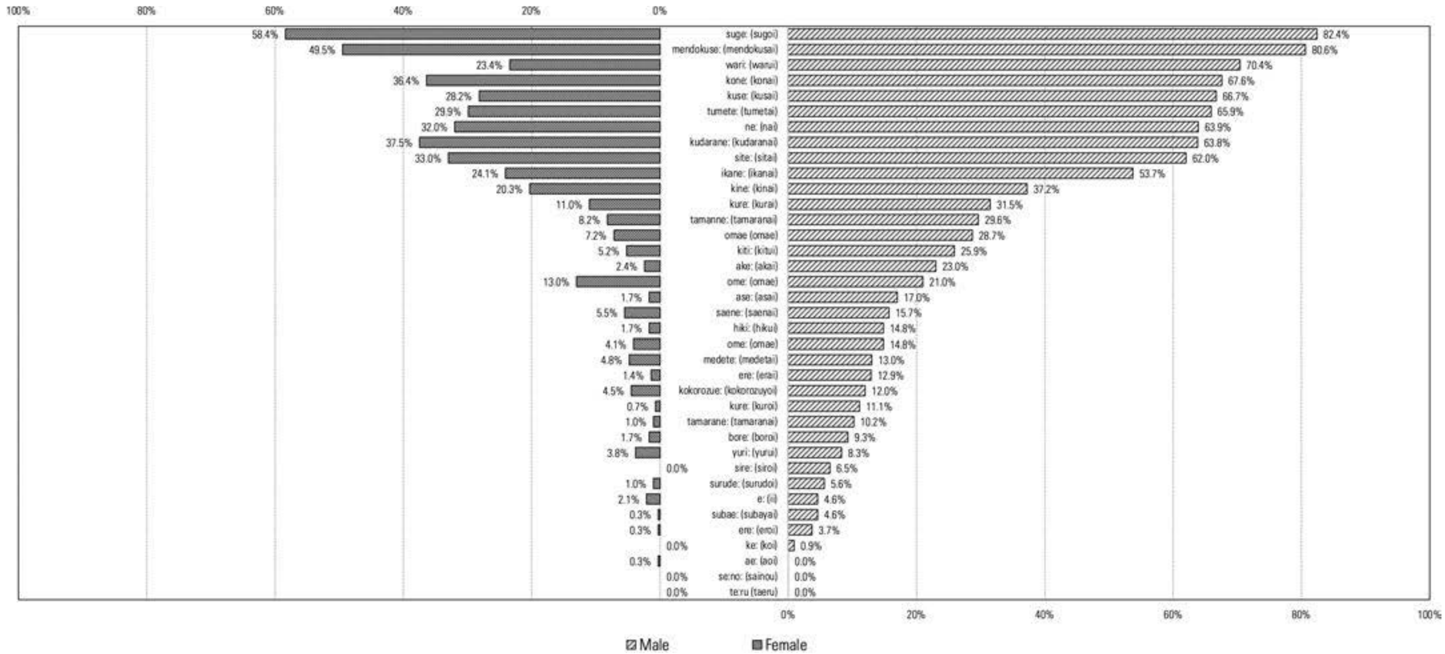

Figure 6.21: Percent using forms with fusion of sequential vowels. (college students in the metropolitan Tokyo area)

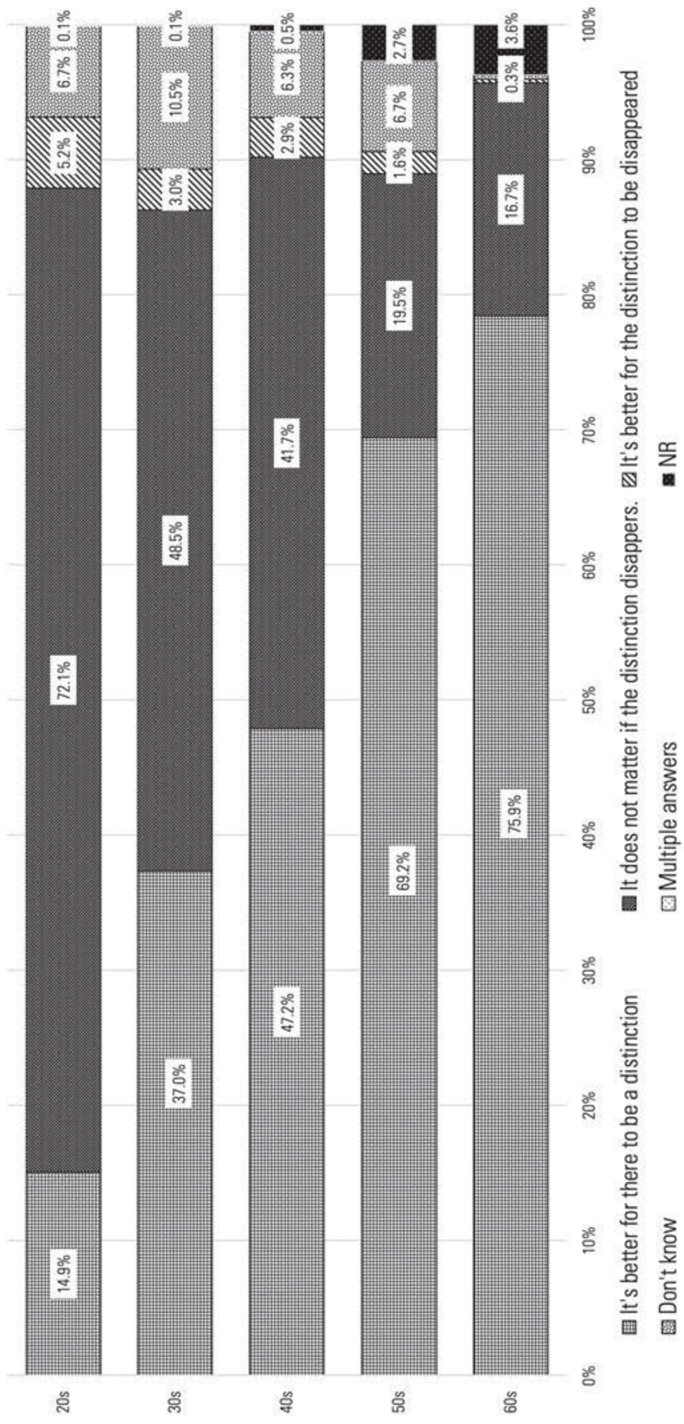

Figure 6.22: Attitudes regarding the shrinking of male-female differences in Japanese.

results of a survey with 1,013 Tokyo resident respondents on how they assessed on the decrease in the degree of male-female differences in sentence-final forms (Ozaki 2004, 2005).

Figure 6.22 clearly shows that "It's better for there to be a distinction" responses decreases, and instead, "It does not matter if distinctions disappear" responses increases as the age decreases. These results indicates that one's attitude concerning "It's better for there to be a distinction" changes as one ages. At the same time, the fact that the normative attitude in Japanese society concerning "It's better for there to be a distinction" is weakening to its large extent. To the contrary, the "It does not matter if the distinction disappears" is spreading as an age-related difference. Therefore, the male-female differences in sentence-final forms are generally shrinking in connection with changes in normative attitudes towards male-female differences.

6 Future research perspectives

When Western sociolinguists discuss male-female differences in language, they often approach the question from the perspective of what social background contributed to the rise of such differences and what kinds of problems in modern society such differences cause. Since such concerns regarding male-female differences in Japanese are addressed in other chapters, this chapter has introduced representative large-scale studies (both studies of natural conversations and questionnaire surveys) with the idea of describing what male-female differences actually exist, which information could provide a basis for consideration of such concerns. More detailed studies based on this foundation are expected in the future. However, the data introduced in this chapter are for the most part from 20 to 30 years in the past. Considering changes in male-female differences in language were on-going at that time, it is possible that further changes are taking place and will continue to take place in the future. Concerning such changes, a large-scale study on a par with those of the past was conducted over the period 2011 to 2014 and the analysis and results were reported as Gendai Nihongo Kenkyūkai et al (eds.) (2016). Transcripts of the data analyzed are appended, making it a valuable resource for studies on the most recent male-female differences in language. No such comparable large-scale questionnaire follow-up study has yet been conducted. Planning and execution of such a study to grasp the latest male-female differences in Japanese, is awaited.

Since it will take time to obtain results and to capture such changes in real time, one can also consider using transcribed material gathered for other purposes for comparison over time. Nagaoka (1999) analyzed transcribed conversational materials in the *Rokuonki* 'Recorder' column of the journal *Gengo Seikatsu* between the years 1951 and 1988 as well as transcriptions of conversations between female college students recorded in 1996 and 1997, and found that use of *daro* by men was decreasing and use of *desyo* increasing, that use of *no ne* and *wa ne* by women had almost entirely disappeared and use of *da ne* and *da yo ne* was increasing, but there continued to be almost no use of *zo* and *ze* by women. Further applications of existing data would be desirable.

When there is a decrease in male-female differences in language from the older generation to the younger, it can be considered to reflect linguistic change, but it can also be thought that, as people grow up, enter society, get married, and become parents, they begin to use expression that includes male-female differences when speaking informally with friends and family. It is not necessary to conduct a study targeting a large number of people; study of the same individual over the years would clarify whether a linguistic change is taking place or whether the individual changes his or her language as they grow older. However, considering that, if the starting point for such a study is the present, the problem is that we would have to wait tens of years to obtain results, a study using past audio and video recordings to follow an individual may be an effective alternative. It might be effective to study individuals for whom there is ample informal conversational material, where male-female differences are likely to appear, and who have continued to appear in documentary-type television and radio programs.

When looking at male-female differences appearing in speech, there may be times when one uses "created" conversational materials, but since there are cases where the male-female differences are emphasized, caution is needed. Mizumoto and Fukumori (2006) compared the speech of 25 women who appeared in television dramas and that of 22 women (20–40 years old) from the metropolitan Tokyo area and found, regardless of the age of the speakers, use of feminine sentence-final expressions was overwhelmingly more frequent with those appearing in the dramas, showing a great difference from reality. The difference was especially great for the use of the sentence-final particle *wa*, for which the frequency of use was high both for actors playing housewives and those playing career women.

Related to this, when Yabe (1996) analyzed the Japanese translations of responses by foreign athletes to questions from newspaper reporters, she found that the translations of the foreign athletes' utterances used more forms without polite forms than Japanese athletes' utterances. Also she found that male-female differences in such a style, especially sentence-final particles, were striking in the translations of foreign athletes' responses. The same tendency can be observed in translated responses from foreigners interviewed on television programs (Ota 2017). Endo and Ozaki (1998) analyzed conversation passages in Japanese textbooks for the lower elementary grades (1997 editions). They found that, while use of the sentence-final particle *wa* was more-or-less the same as reality, elision of *da* was high even by characters appearing as modern-day girls. In this respect, it differed from reality. On the other hand, "created" conversational materials in recent years demonstrate a decrease in male-female differences. Aizawa (2003) analyzed the utterances of characters appearing in "girls' comics", which female junior and senior high school students are protagonists. She cited one work from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and found that the frequency of sentence-final particles regarded feminine became smaller as the publication dates approached the present. Even though they may still have some differences from reality, it seems that changes can be observed even in "created" conversational materials.

Matsumoto (2007) points out that male-female sentence-final differences are not fixed for each speaker, and that women employ their conversational styles. That is, women's language is not fixed by sex but is used selectively to create one's own persona. As discussed in Section 4.2, Yabe (2006) found that even though use of the sentence-final particle *wa* is declining overall, it appears more frequently in relaxed situations to close acquaintances of the same age or the younger. She indicated the possibility that the use is a deliberate choice by young women. Similarly, Ide (1982) pointed out a desire for self-expression such that a woman presents herself as a dignified woman as an important aspect of women's honorific use. Male-female differences in language also have an aspect involving how one wants to present oneself, and further studies in this respect is also be desirable.

As a conclusion to this chapter, I will introduce some indices to the literature on research on women's language. Terada (1993) and Abe and Komuro (1993) are indices to research on women's language until the end of 1991. Endo (ed.) (2001) includes an index to research on women's language appearing between 1945 and 2001. The data in all of these is now somewhat old, but even today they are valuable sources of information on research on male-female differences in Japanese.

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Ozaki, Yoshimitsu. 2000. Toi 15 "ame da wa" wa joseiteki na iikata, "ame da ze" wa danseiteki na iikata no yō ni kanjimasu. *Kono yō na kotoba to seisa no kankei niwa dono yō na mono ga arimasu ka. / kotoba no danjosa no shukushō* [Question 15 One feels that ame da wa is a feminine way of speaking and that ame da ze is a masculine way of speaking. What kinds of things are there in this kind of relation between language and gender differences? / The shrinking of male-female differences in language]. *Kotoba ni kansuru mondōshū: Kotoba no tsukaiwake* [Collection of questions and answers regarding language: Language distinctions] (Shin "kotoba shirīzu 12). 36–37 / 78–79. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.

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Part III: **Language and gender**

Orie Endo and Hideko Abe

7 Historical overview of language and gender studies: From past to future

1 Introduction

The study of language and gender under the academic label of "sociolinguistics" is relatively a young field with different research goals and methodologies. Some research relies on quantitative data while others adopt qualitative analysis utilizing various approaches including sociological, anthropological, and interactional approaches. In the studies of *language and gender* for Japanese, we can divide the field into four phases: (1) *language and sex* (1920s through 1960s), (2) *language and gender* (1970s to present), (3) *language and sexuality* (1990s to present), and (4) *language and trans* (1990s to present) (Abe 2020). The first phase treats *sex* as a fact based on biology, thus *natural* whereas the second sees *gender* as social and thus learned. Yet, both are binary based. During the first phase of *language and sex* studies for the Japanese language, the major works include those by Kikuzawa, Kunida, and Mashimo whereas the ones for the second phase represent studies by Jugaku, Ide, and Endo. When Jugaku started her pioneer works on *language and gender* in the 1970s, her findings were not recognized as a potential academic field of linguistics. Working with Jugaku in the pursue of language and gender studies, Endo was often reminded by Jugaku that she needed a *proper* linguistic field of study in order to be recognized as a researcher. Studies related to gender were considered as secondary and/or supplementary to major linguistic studies. We had to wait two decades for the field of language and gender studies to be recognized as a respectable field of study.

We needed to wait until the 1990s when the well-accepted understandings of sex (as biology) and gender (as social) were challenged by various researchers (notably Judith Butler). The initial studies of *language and sexuality* mainly analyzed speech of gays and lesbians with theoretical interest in queer theory. Their approach is based on the critique of heteronormativity as well as deconstruction of the gender binary (see the details in Chapter 9 (Nakamura, this volume)), but more recently it has been criticized for the tendency of universalizing arguments about entire sexual minority groups (LGBTQ). In other words, the notion of "homonormativity" (Milani 2018: 4)

Acknowledgements: We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. We would also like to express our gratitude to Yoshiyuki Asahi and Mayumi Usami for their constructive comments and recommendations. Orie Endo originally wrote her part of the chapter in Japanese which was translated by Hideko Abe (co-author). Endo is grateful to Isao Matsumoto, the president of Hituzi Syobo who has supported her and her members in *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai* through several publications of their works on language and gender issues.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-008

is as guilty as ones of "heteronormativity." We tend to group the LGBTQ community as one sharing similar desires and identities, but the studies of *language and trans* have proven that is not the case. They not only reject the essentialist view of gender, but also challenge a post-structuralist view of understanding gender only as a social construct (Abe 2020). These studies examine "a fluid self-embodiment and a self-construction of identity in the context of social expectations and lived experiences" (Nagoshi and Brzury 2010: 435).

The first part of this chapter discusses three areas of language and gender studies: (1) the linguistic areas of sex differences (how women and men say things); (2) the cultural and linguistic evaluation of *nyōbō-kotoba* (speech of court ladies in Muromachi); and (3) the linguistic portrayal of women (and men) in media and dictionaries (how women and men are represented in written documents). We see the process of methodological changes through these three phases, from written documents to spoken language, especially naturally occurring speech, the core of sociolinguistic study. The latter part of this chapter examines how the most recent field of language and trans has been developed and how we need to reexamine the socially accepted terms such as *woman* and/or *man* which have been unconsciously used as a *natural* term.

2 The study of language and sex for Japanese: Brief history

As the term *joseigo* or *onna kotoba* implies, majority of Japanese people are able to recognize the specific characteristics of *women's language* in contrast with *men's language* even though Japanese lacks grammatical gender. The famous claim that Japanese has *true women's language* (Kindaichi 1957) has been continuously repeated in studies of Japanese language (see the details of the history in Chapter 6 (Ozaki, this volume)).

Endo (1997, 2006) argues that there is no sign of sex differences in historical Japanese documents in the Nara period (710–784), but in the Heian era (794–1192), the distinctive use of Japanese was recognized where women used *hiragana* (Japanese syllabary), the Japanese language of the days as seen in *The Tale of Genji* written by Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 1010); and men (upper class) used *kanji* (Chinese characters). As the Kamakura era (1192–1333), the samurai period, began, it became evident that language found in family precepts and disciplinary education for boys was different from those for girls (Endo 1997, 2006). For example, boys were expected to speak with confidence whereas girls were expected to talk ambiguously and vaguely (meaning indirectly). The differences between the two sexes in the use of vocabulary were also found in person pronouns and sentence-final particles.

At the beginning of Muromachi era (1333–1573), *nyōbō-kotoba* was beginning to form. *Nyōbō*, women who served the emperor and his family in the imperial court, created new sets of words mainly for food and kitchen utensils in order to distinguish the terms for the emperor and his family. For example, *sake* (rice wine) became *kukon*; *tōhu* became *kabe*; *matutake* (mushroom) became *matu*; *hazukasii* (embarrassing) became *ohamozi*. *Nyōbō* did not find calling objects and food by their actual names aesthetically elegant. *Nyōbō-kotoba* came to be recognized as a sample of elegance and grace because it was the style of speech among high status court ladies (Endo 1997, 2006).

In the Edo era (1603–1868), *nyōbō-kotoba* moved from the world of the imperial court into the world of samurais and merchants as a result of *nyōbō* marrying court nobles, samurais, and wealthy merchants. Linguistic genres such as *jochū-kotoba*[1] and *yamato-kotoba*[2] were formed and recognized and became the ideal model for *women's speech* and were useful components of the domestic training for merchants' daughters. However, the daughters of the commoners in the Edo era were not as influenced by the *nyōbō-kotoba* as the merchants' daughters. They spoke in the same authoritative style as men, which was described vividly in novels such as *Ukiyoburo* 'public bath' written between 1809 and 1813 by Sanba Shikitei. In addition, in the last years of the Edo era, women from various parts of Japan moved to red light districts in Edo (current Tokyo) and created *yūjo-kotoba* 'prostitutes' language'. A portion of this linguistic style then was believed to influence the speech of the upper-class women in the Meiji era (Endo 1997, 2006).

When Japan shifted to the Meiji era (1868–1912), we saw the rise of *ryōsai kenbo* 'good wife and wise mother' education based on the government policy of *fukoku-kyōhei* 'enrich the country, strengthen the military'. Textbooks began to distinguish between the two conversational styles of boys and girls. The application of higher degree honorifics was taught more in female education than in male's. As *joseigo* '*women's language*', the style of speech that came from the tradition of *nyōbō-kotoba*, was implemented in the field of education, it expanded throughout the country. Therefore, the sex differences in the Japanese language continued to widen the already fixed societal sex differences based on their roles (Endo 1997, 2006).

1 The notion of discernment is associated with specific linguistic genres such as honorifics, pronouns, address/reference terms, and speech level whereas volition is associated with verbal strategies such as seeking agreement, making jokes, and minimizing the imposition.

2 It is interesting to note that the term, wakimaeru, has received a lot of attention regards to Mori's sexist comment on women. See Asahi newspaper digital. Viewed in March 5, 2021.

3 Language and sex: The research and evaluation of *nyōbō-kotoba* (Kikuzawa, Kunida, Mashimo, Takakura)

It was only after 1920 that scholars in Japan began to research sex differences in language. *Nyōbō-kotoba* was the first area of study within that field, and Sueo Kikuzawa (1900–1985) was the pioneering scholar who published *Fujin no kotoba no tokuchō ni tsuite* 'About characteristics of women's language' in 1929. Here, *nyōbō-kotoba* was assigned as the representative of *fujin-go* 'female speech'. Kikuzawa concluded that *nyōbō-kotoba* "displays femininity well and is very graceful" (Kikuzawa 1929: 67). The notion of *femininity* includes the use of: (1) polite, graceful and elegant words; (2) indirect speech; and (3) no firm and formal *kango*, Sino-Japanese words (e.g. *omohi no tama* instead of *zyuzu* 'beads used by the Buddhists'; and *irahe* instead of *henzi* 'response'). These three characteristics are what Kikuzawa has defined as *nyōbō-kotoba*, a conclusion repeatedly found in his following publications in 1933, 1936, and 1940 (Kikuzawa 1933, 1936, 1940). Kikuzawa, a well-known scholar in the field of *kokugo isō-ron* 'Japanese phaselogy', argues that *nyōbō-kotoba* is one of the *isō-go* 'phase language' which includes other linguistic genres (or registers) such as *imi-kotoba* 'taboo words', *sōryo-go* 'monk speech', *gakusha-go* 'scholars' speech', *shōnin-go* 'merchants' speech', *tsūjin-go* 'language of well-informed people',[3] *yūjo-go* 'prostitutes' speech', *bushi-kotoba* '*samurai* speech', and *tōzoku-go* 'thieves' speech'. He claims that *nyōbō-kotoba* is fundamentally a different and unique language compared to the standard and normative Japanese (Kikuzawa 1929).

Saburō Mashimo (1907–2007) also began researching *nyōbō-kotoba* during the war time. He uses the term, *moji-kotoba* 'character language' to describe some of the *nyōbō-kotoba*'s examples (Mashimo 1948). For instance, *i-moji* is the combination of *i* in *ika* 'squid' and *moji* 'words' and *iso-moji* is the combination of *iso* in *isogashii* 'busy' and *moji* 'words'. He argues that these newly created words reflect "women's true mentality and that the reason women prefer an indirect and roundabout manner could be understood as a dominant psychological phenomenon of language use among women in general" (Mashimo 1948: 179). Mashimo further argues that "women instinctively avoid vulgar expressions and choose elegant words, and in some instances try to use indirect phrasing" (Mashimo 1948: 186). He uses terms such as "psychological" and "instinctive" to explain and evaluate *women's language*, which has no scientific base.

3 Josei no kotoba shokuba-hen 'Women's speech: Workplace' in 1997 (Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai (ed.) 1997), Dansei no kotoba shokuba-hen 'Men's speech: Workplace' in 2002 (Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai (ed.) 2001), and Gappon josei no kotoba dansei no kotoba shokuba-hen 'Collection of women's and men's speech: Workplace' in 2011 (Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai (ed.) 2011).

Mashimo (1948) discusses the eleven distinctive ways of creating *nyōbō-kotoba*. In the section of the eleventh type, he provides some examples of word substitutions; *iwasi* 'sardines' first became *murasaki* 'purple' and then *omura* whereas *huna* 'crucian carp' became *yamabuki* 'kerria, Japanese yellow rose' in *nyōbō-kotoba*. He describes the substitution of *murasaki* 'purple' for sardines more specifically in terms of *value judgments*. He explains:

> To call *iwasi* 'sardine' *murasaki* 'purple' is meant to express that *iwasi wa sono azi ayu* (鮎) *ni masaru – ai* (藍) *ni masaru* 'sardines are more delicious than sweet fish; purple is superior to indigo'. Then again, *yamabuki* 'Japanese yellow rose' for *huna* 'crucian carp' is to express that there is little meat/fruit in crucian carp. In examining their naming process, we can say that these *nyōbō* had linguistic consciousness and a sense of language and that they have *yutori* 'elbowroom' in their life as well as a playful sense of language. They should not be underestimated (*sumi ni okenai*). (Mashimo 1948: 64)

Mashimo comments on *nyōbō* as a creator of *nyōbō-kotoba* and states, "*gokan ga sikkari siteite, sumi ni okenai* 'A sense of language is so sharp that they cannot be put in the corner'" (Mashimo 1948: 64). *Sumi ni okenai* 'cannot be put in the corner/cannot be underestimated' means that *unexpectedly nyōbō* are talented with rich knowledge and sense of affluence and humor. However, at the same time, Mashimo regards court ladies as domestic workers with no intellectual knowledge about language. After research on *nyōbō-kotoba*, Mashimo published several works including, *Fujin-go no kenkyū* 'Research on women's language' (Mashimo 1948) and *Fujin-go jiten* 'Dictionary of women's language' (Mashimo 1967), and was considered the prominent researcher of *women's language* at that time, but his attitude toward women and their language use reflects the very traditional approach of a male researcher.

Another researcher of *nyōbō-kotoba,* Yuriko Kunida (1921–1985) published *Nyōbō-kotoba no kenkyū* 'Research of *nyōbō-kotoba*' in 1964. She conducted a full-scale study on *nyōbō-kotoba* as the very first female researcher. She examined many documents such as diaries from the imperial court that lasted several hundred years since the Muromachi era and analyzed many examples of *nyōbō-kotoba* in depth. Like Mashimo, she takes the stance that *nyōbō-kotoba* is a beautiful language, and that she is researching it in order to create (or recreate) that beautiful language. In the same book, Kunida states:

> What I want to bear in mind is the formation of a truly elegant language. In order to create the most beautiful language, we have to examine the language that was once used by women in the past. To pursue this goal, I believe that it is meaningful to study the history of *nyōbō-kotoba*. . . . It would be the most ideal situation in which we could create a *rippa na josei-go* 'magnificent *women's language*' for present and future times. This language, like *nyōbō-kotoba*, would become an ideal language not only for female speakers, but also for male speakers; and thus, can be treated as a language for a general use. (Kunida 1964: 48)

Kunida expresses her great admiration for *nyōbō-kotoba* for its elegance and beauty as well as for the creators (*nyōbō*) of the language. She does not even mention the extent to which *nyōbō-kotoba* could have restrained and controlled women's way of speaking. The total separation of her research goal from actual language use in everyday life reflects her limited understanding of how or why language could influence how people might think and/or act. The understanding of the significance that language can play the role of shaping one's mind was not shared by scholars such as Kikuzawa, Mashimo, and Kunida.

Whereas we find several scholars who admire *nyōbō-kotoba*, there are a few people who have made opposite claims, such as Bunshirō Suzuki (1890–1951) and Teru Takakura (1891–1986). Suzuki, a journalist, suggested that women should stop using *women's language* claiming that *women's language* represents Japan's feudal society (Suzuki 1948: 57–61). Suzuki's claim later was attacked by Taiko Hirabayashi (1905–1972), a writer who encouraged women to create and use more *onna rashii kotoba* 'feminine language' (Hirabayashi 1948: 31). Teru Takakura, a literature scholar and a member of The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party critically evaluates *nyōbō-kotoba*:

> In the seventeenth century France, the ladies claimed that the ordinary language was too vulgar for them to use. They decided to speak a more elegant language designated only for ladies. Thus, they created a special language of their own. . . . The exact same thing occurred in Japan. The noble women in the Muromachi era thought lowly of normal diction, so they thought of new, unique sets of vocabulary of their own. That is what is called *nyōbō-kotoba*. *Moti* 'rice cake' became *okatin, susi* became *osu-mozi*, *negi* 'scallion' became *hito-mozi*, etc. Furthermore, they had an excessive use of honorifics, and added *o* or *mi* or *go* to create *kokkei-na* 'ridiculous' words like *omiotuke* 'miso soup' and *omiobi* 'belt for kimono' and *omikosi* 'lower back'.
> (Takakura 1947: 5)

Takakura also comments on sex differences in the Japanese language:

> Now under the new constitution, women hold the same social status as men and have the exact same privilege legally, socially, and politically. Why then, with just vocabulary, do women have to use different words from men? . . . . The societal position as a woman is, politically, socially, and within the family, still subjected to the same feudal-like discrimination. The diction between men and women always had to be different. (Takakura 1947: 3)

The defeat of World War II brought women (who under the patriarchy were deprived of their freedom and privilege) the same legal rights as men with the introduction of democracy. For the first Congressional elections, women were allowed to run for office and thirty-nine female members were elected in the National Assembly. We witnessed many changes in the lives of ordinary people; co-ed education was established; equal education opportunity was provided; and the democratic society was implemented. However, during that time, female activists and educators were not conscious about gender differences in the Japanese language. For example, female political and social leaders maintained the use of honorifics, a typical characteristic of *joseigo* or *women's language*. It is clear that Takakura's harsh critique of *women's speech* was not shared by Japanese people, even those who were involved in the women's movement. The fact that we must take *language* seriously in any feminist project was basically ignored by female politicians and literary critics even though they emphasized the importance of improving the status of women. They did not see that *language* could play a significant role for changing the patriarchal value system. The issue of *language*, which reproduces patriarchal society was hardly mentioned in the course of women's liberation. In other words, the political and ideological argument about *women's language* was missing in the agenda of women's liberation. For instance, Raichō Hiratsuka (1886–1971) who published the magazine, *Seitō* (Blue stockings), and Fusae Ichikawa (1893–1981) who guided the Women's Suffrage Movement did not recognize the correlation between the gender differences in language and women's lower social status. In other words, linguistic practice was not seen as a political act. This fact still remains the same for most people in current Japan.

In 1957, NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) created a television program called *Joshi kyōiku-shi* 'History of girls' education'. In this program, viewers were able to hear the actual statements of those who were active before the war, including Raichō Hiratsuka, Waka Yamada (1879–1957), and Byakuren Yanagihara (1885–1967). During the re-runs of the program in 1996, Endo researched their actual recorded utterances of these women in the Meiji period. Let us quote some spoken by Raichō Hiratsuka on the program: "*Naruse kōtyō no ne, kakaremasita 'Joshi kyōiku' tte hon yonda n desu. Kōtyō mo sijū sono mittsu o o-tokini natte inasutta n desu kedomo. . . . .*'I read the book written by Principle Naruse, titled *Women's Education*. The principle constantly explained the three things.' (Endo 1996: 20)"

In Hiratsuka's statements, Endo finds: (1) the frequent use of honorifics such as *kakaremasita* 'wrote', and *o-tokini natte inasutta* 'was explaining'; (2) no trace of a first-person pronoun of *watasi* (I); but (3) plenty use of more polite first-person pronouns such as *watakusi* and *atakusi*. Hiratsuka supported and promoted a socially and politically gender-equal society, but her linguistic practice heard on the radio exhibited her indifferent attitude toward language use as women. Social expectations for women in regard to language use are clearly exhibited in her utterances. However, it is also true that socially appropriate linguistic practice is expected not only for women, but also for men (e.g. men should be assertive and direct whereas women should be indirect and polite), and it is crucial to recognize that such social expectations are ideologically constructed discourse. This powerful hegemonic construct of *women's language* as being soft, beautiful, elegant, and traditional has been maintained and perpetuated for so long that women themselves did not question and/or challenge such norms and values. In other words, the notion of *women's language* has been historically treated as *homogenous* and *natural*, and we tend to ignore the ideological aspect of gendered speech for both genders (Usami 2010).

4 Beginning of language and gender studies in Japan: Akiko Jugaku

Akiko Jugaku (1924–2005) graduated from Tōhoku Imperial University, one of the only two national universities that accepted women at that time and started her life as a researcher after entering a graduate school at Kyoto University, followed by her first job at Kyoto Prefectural University. She specialized in the field of *shōmono* ‘the interpretation of *kanseki*, Chinese classics, by monks and Confucian scholars’ such as *Mōshishō* and *Shikishō*, from Muromachi through Edo. Along with her research on *shōmono*, she started another research project, which later came to be called the field of language and gender studies for Japanese.

Jugaku, who is considered as the leading force for the language and gender studies, published a book, *Nihongo to Onna* ’Japanese language and women’ in 1979 (Jugaku 1979). This book is comparable to Robin Lakoff’s *Language and Woman’s Place* (Lakoff 1975) for English in terms of the influence the book has generated for future researchers in the field. It is not exaggerating to say that the study of language and gender literally started with Jugaku in Japan.

In the first section of the book, *Onna-rashisa to kotoba* ‘femininity and language’, Jugaku argues that femininity (*onna-rashisa*) in *women’s language* has been historically coerced and restrained by various kinds of literature and documents, including such classic works as *Genji Monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1021) and *Makura no Sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, 1012) (Jugaku 1979: 6–102). She further demonstrates that the use of sentence-final particles as well as address/reference terms at the present time (in the 70s) is context dependent. In other words, the use of these grammatical categories is not fixed, but fluid and context sensitive, a very different analysis from Ide’s earlier works (e.g. Ide 1979).

In the second section, *Nihongo to onna no kurashi to no kakawari* ‘The relationship between Japanese language and women’s lives’, she examines the linguistic representation of women in popular songs. It is the analysis of how women have been described, viewed, or portrayed in music (Jugaku 1979: 103–205). She finds the frequent use of terms such as *wakasa* ‘youth’ and *nagai kami* ‘long hair’ to describe women’s physical appearances as well as phrases including *shutai sōshitsu* ‘loss of self’, *retteru hari* ‘labeling’ and *onna no negai* ‘women’s hope’ for women’s behaviors. In the following chapter, *Hamide-onna* ‘unfit women’, she examines the terms and expressions which mark female gender (e.g. *zyoryū gaka* ‘female painter’, and *onna bengosi* ‘female lawyer’ (Jugaku 1979: 137–156). Because of the emphasis of female gender in words, Jugaku argues that these types of words naturally led to the creation of phrases like *desyabari onna* ‘intrusive woman’, *onna no kuseni* ‘you are just a woman’, and *onna daterani* ‘despite being a woman’. It is true that there are equivalent phrases in regards to men’s behavior such as *otoko no kuseni mesomeso suru* ‘weepy men’. However, the number of negative phrases for men is much smaller whereas we see abundant expressions with regard to women's expected social behavior. It is true that phrases for both genders emphasize the virtue of culturally idealized womanhood (e.g. feminine, gentle, reserved) and manhood (e.g. assertive, independent), but terms for women are more restrictive whereas for men, they are used to encourage men to be fully active and strong.

The most interesting part of Jugaku's book is the description of her fieldwork where she interacted with the rural women in an empowerment movement. These local women were trying to find a way to improve their lives in the mountains of the outskirts of Kyoto where there was no running water. She analyzes the process in which these female farmers have acquired their own way of expressing themselves in language, which eventually led to their (psychological) liberation. Jugaku's study clearly demonstrated how language can influence the way women think and behave, thus it shows the strong correlation between the conditions of women's lives (reality) and the, *ariyō* 'state' of the language. Jugaku comes to conclude that language is a reflection of society and that language can limit women's potential and capability as humans.

5 Issues of women's language and politeness: Sachiko Ide's work

Around the same time (in the 70s), Sachiko Ide, who is a scholar of English, started research on Japanese sociolinguistics. Ide initially focused on women's use of honorifics, person pronouns, and sentence-final particles and claimed that *women's language* reflects the reality that women are: (1) inferior; (2) weaker than men; and (3) marginalized in society, but that they are: (4) elegant; and (5) graceful compared to men (Ide 1979: 61–62). Her contradictory claims (*women's language* is inferior and weaker than men's, but it has elegance and grace) are based on her belief that it is a privilege to have *women's language* in Japanese and that Japanese language is unique:

> *Joseiteki na mono* 'feminine thing' is *shuppatsuten* 'a starting point' rather than *danseiteki na mono* 'masculine thing'. We should see the world from the women's point of view. If we go along with this idea, women find it unnecessary to get involved with world affairs, but instead can focus their interest on areas like art, music, literature, nature, and love. Women are fulfilled with culturally superior ideals. Women who are not involved in *busshitsu no seisan* 'material production' are enjoying their own position as women, and they are the ones who have maintained and reinforced the use of *women's language*. (Ide 1979: 61–62)

Ide argues that women would be happier and content if they do not pay attention to world affairs and that they can enjoy their social position as women when they preserve *women's language*. She further states:

> For those people who think that women have been discriminated against and pushed to a lower status and herded into a disadvantaged position, my argument would probably be taken negatively. . . . On the other hand, for those people who believe that women are privileged people who

> enjoy and lead a life apart from *zokuseken* 'material society', the characteristics of *women's language* are understood as positive, and this type of language protects their way of life as women. (Ide 1979: 64)

She does not deny that there exists a double standard demanded of women when they have to speak using a higher level of honorifics than men. But she argues that the assumingly contradictory claims (*women's speech* is inferior and weak, but elegant and graceful) can co-exist and thus compliment each other, and that *women's language* preserves and protects the way of women (*josei no arikata*). She further claims that *women's language* reassures women's elegance and dignified manner as well as good upbringing and the highest cultural ideal being.

Compared to her early study, which was based on her intuition and assumption, Ide's later study (Ide 1985) examines interactional conversations of housewives in Tokyo. Methodologically this study is quite different from the previous studies on *women's language*. She collects naturally occurring speech data by recording them for the length of one week. The successful technique of recording the conversations and transcribing the data over a long period of time has had a positive impact among young researchers in the field as a new methodology. The results from Ide's study show that the range of honorifics that housewives use varies and that the kind and the level of honorifics differ depending on the interlocutor(s) in the conversation. However, she maintains her argument that the use of *women's language* should be seen as a positive sign for women. She claims that women use *bika-go* 'beautification of language' to show their femininity and self-identification as women. Ide discusses women's use of honorifics:

> It is the upper-middle class women who are the most frequent user of honorifics. It is true that they sometimes tend to overuse them due to their desire to be regarded as respectful women. However, the fact that they overuse honorifics came from the fact that they are displaying their good upbringing as well their sophistication. . . . I argue that there are two reasons for the use of honorifics. The first reason is to be polite and to show respect to the other. The other reason is to show good upbringing through their choice of word. (Ide 1985: 55–56)

Ide's argument on the use of honorifics is based on the notion of *wakimae* 'discernment', a claim Ide has strongly advocated in opposition to the concept of *volition* in Brown and Levinson's polite theory (Brown and Levinson 1987; See Chapter 12 (Usami, this volume) for more detailed discussion). She argues that Japanese are more sensitive to expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the specific situation than English speakers and that they tend to understand the notion of politeness in language as *etiquette*. And it is women, not men who apply the notion of *wakimae* more strongly. Ide's claims on *wakimae* have received various criticisms, many of which argue that the notion of *wakimae* is not culture specific and that it is a language behavior which tries to conforms to the societal norms (Usami 2001, 2002; Fukuda and Asato 2004; Takiura 2005; Pizziconi 2011).

Ide further argues that the reason women use honorifics more than men comes from the fact that women and men have different social roles, which are complimentary in her view. Thus, the power relations of both genders have little to do with the use of polite speech in Ide's studies (Ide 1997: 6). She claims that women and men are different due to their social roles, but equal and/or complementary in society apparently indicates her denial of the aspect of power in gender relations in terms of women's linguistic practices.

Ide's reasoning regarding gender difference in the use of honorifics fits in the theory of 'difference approach'. There are three theoretical frameworks introduced for the English language: deficit, dominance, and difference to explain the difference between women's and men's linguistic behavior. Lakoff's original work, *Language and Woman's Place* (Lakoff 1975) is interpreted under the deficit framework and Dale Spender's work, *Man Made Language* (Spender 1985) under the dominance framework. The deficit framework sees women as disadvantaged language users whose speech behavior shows signs of uncertainty, self-denial, and subordination in contrast to men whose speech behavior shows signs of prestige and power. The deficit theory is later replaced by the dominance approach which examines the role power plays in linguistic behavior between two genders. It is also a more context-sensitive approach. The third one, difference framework, emphasizes the significance of gender socialization. It argues that girls and boys tend to spend more time in the same-sex peer groups and that they acquire different verbal and nonverbal skills, which remain relevant for adult speakers (Maltz and Borker 1982; Wodak 1984; Tannen 1991). The difference approach is often criticized for neglecting the aspect of power, and thus more recently, the social constructivist approach has been introduced. The social constructivist approach sees gender as a social construct and argues that gender cannot exist independently of other social factors including race, religious belief, class, age, sexuality, and region. Thus, gender should be treated "as a holistic and dynamic concept regarding language use" (Uchida 1992: 564). In this approach, gender as an identity category, is incorporated into the development of other identity categories, whose focus is shared by scholars in language and sexuality as well as language and trans-gender studies.

6 *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai* (Modern Japanese Research Group): Orie Endo

Around the same time as Ide's work on the speech of housewives in Tokyo, Endo founded a research group, *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai* 'Modern Japanese Research Group' in 1977. The members meet a few times a year to present their current research related to Japanese language and gender (Akiko Jugaku often participated in their workshops) (Jugaku 1981). It is a place where young scholars, including graduate students, are given opportunities to present their work with a lot of feedback from senior scholars. With some of the original members of the group, Endo first published her findings on Japanese dictionaries.

Endo (1980, 1981) started her investigation on various kinds of Japanese language dictionaries in terms of linguistic treatment of women and men. First, she looked up words such as *onna* 'woman', *zyosei* 'woman, female sex', and *huzin* 'woman, female person' and found extensive associations of *onna* 'women' with portrayal such as 'gentle', 'indecisive', and 'not intense', and of *otoko* 'men' with 'strong', 'admirable', and 'honor'. Endo's work on gendered lexicons was an eye-opening for many people since we generally believe that dictionaries would treat two genders as equal. But her work has challenged the long-standing history that these dictionaries were written by male scholars and that stereotypical pervasive descriptions of women and men have been accepted, maintained, repeated, and never questioned before. *The Kōjien 3rd Edition* (Iwanami Shoten), which is often called *the desk-side dictionary of Japanese intellectuals*, is no exception. Endo extended her research on dictionaries with some members of her research group, and they examined words with lexical gender and their definitions and descriptions found in five dictionaries. They find that no dictionary is ideal in terms of treating two genders; and published their findings in Kotoba to Onna o Kangaeru Kai (ed.) (1985). Endo and her group continue their research on gender difference in language and publish three more books.

Endo and her group of members came to realize that there are discrepancies between what is written about women's use of language in dictionaries and literature, and their actual use of language. This realization becomes the source of their passion and energy toward the new research methodology, collecting only naturally occurring speech data and sharing the data with other scholars. The group started new research, different from Ide's previous study that target only the mothers of female college students who are housewives of the upper-middle class. The informants in their study are women ranging in age from their 20s to their 50s with different social backgrounds. Their study also looks at the different contexts (e.g. at a restaurant, store, company, college campus, etc.). They explore questions about: (1) how much the speaker knows about the detail of the topic of the conversation; (2) the relationship among speech participants; (3) the degree of intimacy of speech participants; and (4) the situation behind the conversation. As a result, their findings are quite different from Ide's claims, and they conclude: (1) women use honorifics not because they are women, but it has to do with the difference of power relations among speech participants; and (2) women hardly use sentence-final particles at their workplace. When the group was ready to publish their findings, they decided to share their transcription of speech data, which was never done before. They came to understand the significance of sharing data with other researchers. Their publication of these naturally occurring speech data has been welcomed by many graduate students and researchers who have been working on areas such as discourse analysis, language change, language choice, and grammatical change. Endo with her group later published a Japanese textbook using the same data collected over the years (Endo et al. 2020).

7 Marked terms in media: Kazuko Tanaka

After the 1980s, Kazuko Tanaka, sociologist, vigorously researched discriminatory expressions such as *onna daterani* 'unwomanly' or *onna no kuseni* 'in spite of being a woman' which are found in Jugaku's earlier work. She also examines other expressions found in newspaper articles that treat women as lower than men or emphasize the female gender (e.g. *zyoryū gaka*, 'female painter'; *zyosei sityō*, 'female mayor'). Tanaka coined the term, *josei kanshi* 'female article' to refer to terms that start with *zyoryū* in *zyoryū sakka* 'female writer' and *zyosei* in *zyosei gakusei* 'female student' to mark the female gender (Tanaka 1984: 195). In addition, Tanaka claims that those who often use *josei-kanshi* are implying that men are the center of society. The issue of marked vs. unmarked terms has been discussed very intensely in the English language since the 1970s, and Tanaka's research on marked terms for women points out that the Japanese language has the exact same problem as the English language (Tanaka 1990: 94–95). Tanaka's work has become influential in terms of changing words in media. Media now is very careful not to use this type of marked expressions as well as discriminatory words. The major organizations (such as the United Nations) or events (to celebrate the International Women's Year) have been successful in raising awareness of human rights. With this awareness, discriminatory and unpleasant language against women has decreased in the media. For example, the Kyodo News Service published *Kisha Handobukku* 'reporters' handbook' which includes the section on *sabetsu-go* 'discriminatory language' and *fukai-go* 'unpleasant language' (Kyōdō Tsūshinsha (ed.) 2013: 519–524). The handbook lists terms which are considered discriminatory for women, and states that "journalists should not use phrases that emphasize the female gender or phrases that pertain only to women and not men" (Kyōdō Tsūshinsha (ed.) 2013: 522), and examples such as *zyoryū* 'female', *zyoshi* 'female', *hukei* 'female police officer', *mibōzin* 'widow', *huzyosi* 'women and child' are given. The handbook provides more advice:

> Do not use expressions that especially emphasize women as well as female gender such as *zyoketsu* 'heroine', emphasis of women's force, *zyozyōhu* 'brave woman', emphasis on women's strength, *otoko masari* 'women stronger than men', *onna daterani* 'women who show more than socially expected women's roles and behaviors', *onna no tatakai* 'women's fight,' men making fun of fights among women, *syokuba no hana* 'company flower', treating women only as a decoration, *syojo kōkai* 'virgin journey', the first journey, *syojo sakuhin* 'virgin work', first work, *syojo syōsetsu* 'virgin novel', first novel, *syozyohō* 'untrodden peak', *saien* 'talented woman', *saizyo* 'intelligent woman', *saisyoku kenbi* 'woman being gifted in both intelligence and beauty'. Do not use expressions that illustrate discrimination and prejudice toward a specific gender; *husyōhuzui* 'wife should do her husband's bidding', *onna no asazie* 'women's shallow thinking', *onna*

> *no kuseni* 'you are just a woman'. Avoid expressions that only illustrate one's mere curiosity like *bizin sensyu* 'beautiful athlete', and *bizin ana* 'beautiful announcer', as well as expressions that address physical appearance like *busu* 'ugly' and *debu* 'fat'.
>
> (Kyōdō Tsūshinsha (ed.) 2013: 522–523)

There are some examples to describe men's behavior which should be avoided as well: *memesii* 'like women', *onna no kusatta yoona* 'like a rotten woman', and *otoko no kuseni* 'you are just a man'. After the publication of this handbook, the awareness toward sexist expressions has increased not only among journalists, but also with the general public. However, it does not mean that all discriminatory lexicons that refer to both genders have completely disappeared, and we expect a more thorough participation from a wider range of media, including TVs.

8 Transformation of gendered language and research: Expanding the field

Speakers do language differently depending on specific attributes and contexts (e.g. age, gender, social status, occupation, class, region, power relations, etc.), and we assume that the younger generation of speakers see gendered language quite differently from the older generation. In 1995, the Agency of Cultural Affairs surveyed 2,212 female and male speakers aging from 16 to 60 to investigate the perception of gender difference in language (Bunkachō Bunkabu Kokugoka 1995). The survey asks two questions: (1) do gender differences in Japanese still exist? and (2) should gender differences be maintained? Respondents are given four choices in Table 7.1:

Table 7.1: Survey by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, 1995.

		Entire Survey Population	Men age 16–19	Women age 16–19
A	There are no gender differences in Japanese	9.8%	10.3%	15.9%
B	There are some gender differences in Japanese, which is natural and unavoidable	41.2%	63.2%	57.1%
C	It is better to have gender differences in Japanese	44.1%	25.0%	19.0%
D	Do not have a preference	4.0%	1.5%	6.3%

The survey concludes that the entire survey group and the ones between 16–19 years old show different results: (1) 70% of girls and boys don't see the gender differences in Japanese with positive attitudes; and (2) 52.1% of men over 60 years old believe that gender differences in Japanese should remain (not shown in the table). The more recent studies examine how so-called traditional *women's language* (e.g. use of honorifics; indirect way of speaking; avoidance of masculine sentence-final particles) is disappearing. Endo's study shows: (1) before 1950, wives used both referent and addressee honorifics when speaking with their husbands; (2) after the 1960s, wives used referent honorifics much less; (3) wives use no addressee honorifics; (4) by 2010s, wives use direct style with no referent honorifics; (5) the use of *da*, which was traditionally considered a masculine form, is now used by women; (6) the use of *da wa* has disappeared; and (7) there are no gender differences between girls and boys for the use of sentence-final forms in conversations found in Japanese elementary textbooks (Endo 2017: 147–151).

Okamoto's research (2020) supports some of Endo's findings. She finds that: (1) there is basically no gender difference in the use of sentence-final particles; (2) women use more hedges; and (3) both genders stay in traditional use of first- and second-person pronouns. But she also finds substantial difference in the phonological reductions of diphthong *ai* (e.g. *nai* becomes *nee*) (men use more than women) as well as in paralinguistic areas, such as the amount of laughter (women laugh more), and their pitch level (women's pitch level is much higher), which might convey nuanced meanings and/or convey emotional feelings. As Okamoto's study shows, the paralinguistic areas of study for Japanese are an unexplored field and need to be included with actual spoken data for more detailed and precise analysis.

The field of language and gender for Japanese has generated much exciting research since the 1920s, and it is still expanding. More recently, the field has grown to include a new area of study, *language and trans-gender* which has received countless attention due to the visibility of trans issues politically and socially both inside and outside of Japan. Susan Stryker argues that the term *transgender* received increased acceptance and recognition around 1995 and that the field of transgender studies has produced interesting and exciting studies by the late 1990s (Stryker 2006). Stryker defines transgender studies:

> The field of transgender studies is concerned with anything that disrupts, denaturalizes, rearticulates, and makes visible the normative linkages we generally assume to exist between the biological specificity of the sexually differentiated human body, the social roles and statuses that a particular form of body is expected to occupy, the subjectively experienced relationship between gendered sense of self and social expectations of gender-role performance, and the cultural mechanism that work to sustain or thwart specific configurations of gendered personhood. (Stryker 2006: 3)

Outside of Japan, the term *transgender* has been treated as an umbrella term for all gender/sex variant people including butch lesbians, heterosexual cross-dressers, transsexuals, and drag queens and kings (Bettcher 2016). Valentine (2012: 201) calls it "a plastic category" when the term, transgender, is used as a euphemism for "transsexual", which traditionally refers to individuals who have sought medical treatment such as sex reassignment surgery (SRS).

In 2012, two major magazines, *Shūkan Daiamondo* '*Weekly Diamond*' and *Shūkan Tōyō Keizai* '*Weekly Tōyō Economics*' each published separately a special issue on LGBT in Japan. Since then, the acronym LGBT has become familiar in the media (Shūkan Daiamondo 2012; Shūkan Tōyō Keizai 2012). The *T* (transgender or trans) is a relatively new term for Japanese; instead, a more commonly known term, *sei-dōitsu-sei-shōgai* 'gender identity disorder' has been used among many medical professionals, researchers, and trans *tōjisha* 'the person involved'. The term implies the need for medical treatment and some trans *tōjisha* refuse to use this term whereas others put importance on the term.[4] For some trans individuals, the difference between *sei-dōitsusei-shōgai* (GID) and transgender is crucial in Japan, but the difference between transgender and transsexual is not, the latter is hardly mentioned or understood until 2018 when Japanese national medical insurance started covering sex reassignment surgery.

As transgender studies have enticed interesting research, the field of *language and transgender* has started producing a rich literature for various languages: Hebrew (Bershtling 2014); Hindi (Hall 2002, 2005); English (Edelman 2014; Speer and Parsons 2006; Zimman 2009, 2014; Davis 2014); French (Livia 1997, 2014); Indonesian (Blackwood 2014); Thai (Siewierska 2004); Portuguese (Kulick 1998; Borba and Ostermann 2007); and Japanese (Abe 2004, 2010, 2017, 2018, 2020). These studies encompass diverse discursive research sites, from online dating sites to personal letters, to literary texts. Earlier studies for Japanese research include the linguistic practices of *danshō* 'male to female prostitutes' during the 1940s and 50s, and of *nyūhāfu* '*new-half*' (male to female entertainers) in the 1990s and 2000s (Abe 2010, 2018). More recent studies focus on individual speakers (not as a group) and their negotiation of gendered speech through interviews in which many aspects of linguistic manipulation are identified (Abe 2017, 2020).

Queer theory has played a crucial importance in the field of *language and sexuality*. However, while the term *queer* represents the solidarity of gender and sexuality variant individuals as a group, some questions the validity and the application of the term. David Halperin calls it "an identity without an essence" (Halperin 1995: 62) and some are doubtful of queer theory whether it can "deconstruct the *individual* queer experience" (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010: 434). In other words, we see "the collective identity term, queer, on one hand, but that it is hard to see how individual queer people navigate non-monolithic identities within their actual lived experience" (Abe 2020). In addition to queer theory, some studies (Monro 2000; Tauchert 2002; Salamon 2010) question the adequacy of postmodernist theory as failing to articulate "the trans sense or the impact of social structures upon fluidity and plurality of

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4 Junko Mitsushashi (cultural historian) belongs to the former and Ran Yamamoto (the head of gid.j) to the latter.

gender expression" (Monro 2000: 34). Poststructuralist theory rejects all identity categories because such categories may silence or discount some individuals and argues instead for the idea of *subject* as a social construct by denaturalizing and deconstructing identity (Abe 2020). Poststructuralist feminists, such as Butler (1990a, 1990b, 1993, 2004), Irigaray (1991), and Sedgwick (1998), do not believe in the *true* and *real* identity of woman, found in biology, and instead argue that "woman is always already bound up in certain relations of power and forms of knowledge that have produced the very identity we call woman" (Ehlers 2016: 356). In other words, gender is understood as a construct of language, discourse, and cultural practices. But some of Abe's older interviewees argue that gender is not simply a social construct and claim they have had a sense of incongruity in their bodies since their childhood. However, there was no terminology to describe their feeling of incongruity in language. Because they could not linguistically articulate their clash of sexed body and mind, they were culturally and politically silenced. The fact that the term *sei-dōitsusei-shōgai* is still preferred among many trans people in Japan reflects the refusal to accept the notion of gender only as a social construction. Ashley Tauchert critiques both the essentialist view of gender and a poststructuralist view of understanding gender only as a social construct and argues: "My intention is to reach a position from which we might reclaim the corporeal as such as a factor resistant to discursive hyper-constructivism – resistant to theorization itself – without falling back into the too-familiar gestures of biological reductivism which otherwise delimit claims to embodied subjectivities" (Tauchert 2002: 30).

Gayle Salamon uses the term, "emerging genders" to describe trans people, who are beyond the two hegemonic categories of female and male, and who are not "fictive nor futural but are embodied and lived" (Salamon 2010: 95). Julia Nagoshi and Stephan/ie Brzuzy propose "transgender theory" by questioning the ability of queer theory which can't deconstruct the individual queer experience. The transgender theory strongly challenges "the conceptualization of gender as being solely a social construct which denies the sense of identity that comes from a body that continues to exist as a seeming self between the social performances of gendered behaviors" (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010: 435). It forces us to examine trans "negotiations of multiple intersectional identities through their lived experiences and understand how trans empower themselves in the dynamic interactions among embodied and constructed aspects of identity" (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010: 439). Thus, *language and transgender* studies need to emphasize aspects of *physical embodiment* in gender and sexual identity in order to analyze trans people's life experience in which language is a big part of (Abe 2020).

Abe's study demonstrates how diverse the trans community is in Japan. Her interviewees diverged widely in terms of their degree of firmness in the fluidity of gender identity; some identify themselves as either *woman* or *man*, within the traditional binary system and others call themselves *transgender* or *queer* or *ekkusu-jendā* (x-gender, or something like the English term, gender queer). The former group recognize gender fluidity only to the extent that they can switch from one to the other whereas the latter group position themselves outside of the gender boundaries, and/or "beyond the constructed oppositional nodes" (Stone 2006: 230). All the trans interviewees have found their own way of dealing with their linguistic lives of *past* and *present*. Their challenges vary depending on their idea of gender transitions; some spend an enormous amount of time and money on voice quality, especially the pitch level (e.g. production of so-called mixed voice or whisper voice or head mix or chest mix), but some are more concerned with communication strategies (e.g. control of speed and amount – don't speak too fast or too much; being a good listener; no interruption; put interval after each sentence to provide a chance for an interlocutor to respond; and use of hand movements, etc.) and indexicality of grammar (e.g. use of *keigo*, honorifics; frequent use of tag questions and hedges; and no deletion of particles). Abe's study reminds us that the notion of *women's language* is quite strong among some of the trans people. In one sense, these trans are searching for *onna rashisa* more than cisgender people in language. Some researchers have argued that *women's language* has been ideologically constructed, reinforced, and repeated in socio-political contexts (Inoue 2006; Nakamura 2014). It is important to argue that the norms and values associated with *women's language* are ideology based, but it is more crucial to examine how the ideology affects the specific use of linguistic and stylistic features according to gender. The approach which totally separates the ideologically constructed notion of *women's language* from the actual, embodied linguistic practices of Japanese women and men cannot explain how trans people use their language (Abe 2020). With the understanding that *women's language* has not evolved naturally, negotiation between ideology and practice needs to be examined as a set. Some of Abe's trans interviewees constantly negotiate gendered speech by contextualizing their subjectivity as a trans woman. Rather than understanding their linguistic practices as the imitation and obedience of the imagined and idealized models of linguistic womanhood (that is, their desire to be seen as a woman), it is more important to realize their conflicting desire and pride to be a trans woman, as a balancing act (Edelman 2014). They are not trying to stay within the binary system per se, or simply be outside of the binary, but they are reworking the binary system, by challenging and expanding such established, fixed truths about *standard* gendered speech (Abe 2020). They hold "the potentially subversive space between normative identity discourses and actual identity performances" (Motschenbacher 2010: 6). They give a space for flexibilities between *futsū* 'normal' and contested gender models. Abe's study examines and analyzes such untold and ignored portions of trans individuals' living history through their communication strategies.

While we may see some progress and/or change in gender equality for Japanese language, Japan as a country still a very male dominated/chauvinistic society where we see discrimination toward women in every aspect of life such as job opportunities and social justice. The most recent controversial issue with Japan's Olympic organizing chief, Yoshiro Mori's sexist remarks is a great example of how much we still have to work on the issue. According to Global Gender Gap Report in 2020, Japan was ranked the 144th for women's participation in politics and the 121st for their participation in business among 153 countries when compared to other countries for "gender equality".[5]

We sociolinguists who examine the relationship between language and gender are well aware of the fact that the neutral language (meaning no gender differences in our linguistic practices) would not directly guarantee the equal treatment of different genders in society. However, challenging and examining gendered speech would at least bring some awareness that language can influence the way people see the society. Jugaku's pioneer work on rural women in Kyoto (1979) is a great example. We are aware that the term, *shujin*,[6] as a sign, means 'husband', but that we cannot dismiss the indexicality of this sexist term which historically represents the patriarchal system where men were the center of the society (after all it means '*master*'). In order for us to change the social structure which promotes prejudice and discrimination toward one gender, we should treat *language* as one of the means to advocate equality and justice (Usami (ed.) 1997). The field of *language and gender* studies is at a turning point where the notion of *gender* (as well as the categories such as *women* and *men*) itself has changed and being challenged (from something you are born or given with to something you can change later in life, e.g. the case of transgender). We certainly have many challenges ahead of us, but we simply have to keep working at it.

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5 Asahi newspaper digital. Viewed on March 5, 2021. (https://www.asahi.com/articles/photo/AS2020 1225002008.html?iref=pc_photo_gallery_1) (accessed 1 April, 2021)

6 The term, shujin became popular only after the war due to the TV dramas. Before that, another term, otto was used more frequently than shujin.

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Katsue A. Reynolds

8 Genderization in Japanese: A typological view

1 Introduction

An interdisciplinary area of language and gender emerged in the early 70s in the United States in the heat of the "second-wave feminism". American feminists in the movement were keenly aware that language plays a crucial role in producing and reproducing the sexist worldview. An activist early in the movement reportedly wrote, "If feminism is the final cause, . . . then [attention to] language is the first necessity" (Kramarae 1981: 22). With this understanding of the connection between language and society – what had been known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the second-wave feminists were able to deal with gender differentiation in language as a socio-political problem rooted at a deep level of language users' consciousness. Accordingly, "Eliminate sex-discriminatory expressions from English!" became a major trend as a strategy for raising consciousness in the feminist movement. The study of language and gender was no longer a special area of linguistics. Many language researchers were obliged to return language to the socio-historical reality and look beyond the boundary of conventional studies of linguistics. To be interdisciplinary and inclusive was the major principle shared among the founders of this research area.

The year of 1975 is recognized as the beginning of the movement of language and gender studies. It was the year when three books on language and gender were published for the first time in the United States: *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* (Thorne and Henley (eds.) 1975), *Male/Female language* (Key 1975), and *Language and Woman's Place* (Lakoff 1975). It was also the year the General Assembly of the UN declared to be International Women's Year and organized the first World

Acknowledgements: My research on Japanese women's language began in 1978 inspired by Robin Lakoff (1975) and by the sisters of the Berkeley Women and Language Group. Without their empowerment, I would not have had opportunities to observe the unique type of genderization of Japanese, my own native language. With the generous support of the Social Research Council in New York (1986–70), I lived in Japan, joining many Japanese women's meetings, visiting junior high schools in Chiba-Prefecture, interviewing academic or non-academic female speakers, gathering questionnaire answers. I owe most of the examples used in this paper to the groups and individuals I had come into contact with during these years. It is practically impossible to list all their names. Some of them will be found in Reynolds (2011). My gratitude to all of them is unlimited. At the end, I must mention the late Prof. Teruko Inoue, the founder of Women's studies in Japan. Working with her and her students in connection with the grant from the Toyota Foundation has taught me to study Japanese from a point of view akin to that of a sociologist.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-009

Conference on Women, held in Mexico City. Approximately 3,000 delegates attended from 133 countries. This second-wave feminism thus spread worldwide and became a global phenomenon. The interest in gender and language was also spreading like "wild flowers" among grassroots feminists and in the academic field (Thorne and Henley (eds.) 1975: 30). Many researchers intuitively assumed almost from the outset of language and gender study that gender differentiation in language was universal in the sense that it is observed in most languages. It was natural that Japanese, a language that had long been reported as a language in which women's and men's speech were remarkably different, was immediately paid particular attention by theorists. Robin Lakoff (1975), for instance, used Japanese examples more than several times in her book *Language and Woman's Place*. She cites Roy Miller's (1967) description of Japanese women's talk including a lengthy conversation between two Japanese women (62–63). The study of gender and language has probably been the most prolific in Japanese among non-Western languages.

Anne Bodine (1975), who attempted to develop a universal understanding of gender and language, surveyed gender-related facts in 22 languages mostly taken from published resources. She tabulated the facts in terms of four types of genderization A, B, C, and D: A is the fact manifesting the gender of 'speaker', B of 'person spoken to', C of 'speaker plus person spoken to', and D of 'person/object spoken about'. The facts gathered were too few to draw general conclusions about each type. She concluded that "it would be a mistake to generalize on the basis of a single language, or a small number of related languages, about sociolinguistic processes and regularities which can only be discovered from a broad cross-cultural base" (Bodine 1975: 149).

In this study I examine Japanese in comparison with English and some other European languages and focus on two dimensions of genderization, "self-gendering" and "other-gendering" (Bodine's type A and type D). Japanese is not related to English at all, and it is quite unique in the way it differentiates men and women. The language might reveal some basic facts about linguistic genderization which are not manifested in English or other languages related to English. Lakoff (1975) also considered these two dimensions, "self-genderization" and "other-genderization" as major processes of linguistic genderization. She stated that women experience sex discrimination in two ways, in the way they are taught to use language (self-gendering), and in the way general language use treats them (object-gendering). It is the self-gendering semantic that leads men and women talk differently. When Japanese is systematically observed with these gender semantics in mind, especially, the self-gendering semantic, the very essential fact that Japanese is a strong self-gendering language comes out in bold relief. In what follows, I will first discuss the self-gendering semantic manifested in pronoun use in Japanese (Section 2). Next, I will describe other ways of self-genderization, adjusting the assertive force mainly by the use of interactional particles, which allows the self-gendering semantic to act intricately but ubiquitously (Section 3). Then, I will quickly tabulate the other-gendering forms (Section 4). In the final section (Section 5), I discuss some socio-historical background and conclude that Japanese has developed a strong self-gendering semantic through the history of androcentric feudalism, and that it may keep hold of old habits for some time in the future.

2 Pronouns and gendering

Monique Wittig (1985: 5) has said, "Gender takes place in a category of language that is totally unlike any other and which is called the personal pronoun. Personal pronouns are the only linguistic instances that, in discourse, designate their locutors and their different and successive situations in relationship to discourse. They are also pathways and the means of entrance into language." This is a very important insight into the relationship between language and language users, men and women. By comparing Japanese and English in terms of personal pronouns, the fact that Japanese is a self-gendering language and English is not becomes immediately clear.

2.1 Comparing Japanese and English pronouns

Japanese has quite a number of first-person pronouns, which are mostly for male speakers' use. English has no gender differentiation in the first-person pronoun. In the third-person pronoun, this contrast is reversed; Japanese third person pronouns have not fully developed yet while English has "he" and "she", which precisely indicate the gender of the person talked about. (In Table 18.1, gendered categories, of the two languages, Japanese first-person and English third-person, are shaded. The second-person and the third-person in Japanese are not gendered as extensively as the first-person, as will be discussed below.)

Table 8.1: Pronouns in Japanese and English.

	First	Second	Third
Japanese	M:*watakusi, watasi, boku, ore, zibun*, ... F: *watakusi, watasi, atasi*	M: *kimi, omae, anata* F: *anata, anta*	M: *(kare)* F: *(kanozyo)*
English	M/F: I	M/F: You	M: he F: she

Japanese has created its own pronouns at times, and it has borrowed Chinese pronouns at other times. The use of pronouns has never been stable. However, the self-gendering semantic has always been operating one way or another. Some knowledge of historical facts about each pronoun may be helpful in understanding the self-gendering nature of Japanese.

2.2 Some historical background of Japanese pronouns

First-person pronouns: One encyclopedic dictionary lists more than 100 forms equivalent to *watasi*. Many of them, especially those which had been borrowed from Chinese, were exclusively for male use (e.g. 拙者 *sessya*, 小生 *syoosei*, 僕 *boku* , 不佞*hunei*). Some of them have become completely obsolete in modern times, but many of them were still in use in the early modern period (cf. Reynolds 2018). Each form expressed certain substantively sociological meanings concerning the speaker's identity. It is possible in this sense to say that Japanese does not have real personal pronouns with grammatical functions as Kuroda (1979) has suggested.[1] For the purpose of facilitating our discussion on gender in Japanese, however, I use the term "pronouns" only in the sense of "words with pronoun-like functions".

How many first-person pronouns does contemporary standard/common Japanese have? The answer to this question all depends on how to define "standard" Japanese. There is no official definition of standard Japanese as far as I know. First-persons that can be commonly heard in public contexts are perhaps *watakusi*, *watasi*, *atakusi*, *atasi*, and *boku*. The first two, *watakusi* and *watasi*, are the most formal and available to both males and females. *Atakusi* and *atasi* used to be just phonological varieties of *watakusi* and *watasi*, but they are mostly used by female speakers today. *Ore*, a pronoun of the low culture, could be added as a male first-person pronoun. There are several others which can be considered to be regional or social dialects. 自分 (*zibun*), for instance, is used as a first person pronoun by younger males (e.g. college students) in somewhat formal situations. When I was on an entrance exam interview committee for a private university near Tokyo in 1998, almost all the male applicants (17–18 years old) responded to our questions with *zibun*. 小生 (*syoosei*) is still used by some male intellectuals of older generations in writing letters although to hear it in conversational Japanese is rare. I witnessed *syoosei* spoken by a male company executive (in his 60s) about 30 years ago. Is *syoosei* still a first-person pronoun of the contemporary Japanese? Or, is it an archaic form? What about *wasi*? It was a phonological variation of *watasi* and it used to be used by both males and females. It is used quite widely by male speakers in western regions including Osaka and Shikoku. But it is also used in other areas including Tokyo by middle-aged or older males with certain social status. Does it belong to standard/common Japanese? Or is it a regional dialect? *Boku, ore, zibun, syoosei* and *wasi* – They are all male pronouns today.

Second-person pronouns: Of the three pronouns meaning 'you', the oldest in the history is *omae* which was originally an honorific pronoun used toward a person with higher status than the speaker, and it was used by both males and females until

1 Kuroda (1979) did not consider so-called pronouns in Japanese (e.g. *watasi, kimi* and *kare*) to be real personal pronouns. He stated, "these are, instead, members of a major category, i.e. noun" (122–3). Takehiko Noguchi (1994) also implies that Japanese did not have a pronominal system similar to that in Western languages.

recently. My grandparents (mother's parents) used *omae-san* (*-san* is an honorific suffix attached to a name of the addressee or a third person) towards me (a school-girl granddaughter) and *omae-sama* (*-sama* is more formal than *–san*) towards an adult from outside their community. Nowadays, however, *omae* is typically used by males toward their equals or social inferiors.

In the beginning of the Edo period, many second-person pronouns were borrowed from Chinese (e.g. 足下 *sokka*, 貴公 *kikoo*, 貴様 *kisama*, 貴殿 *kiden*), which were used by members of the samurai class. *Anata*, which developed from a demonstrative meaning 'over there', became a second-person pronoun for the use of both males and females in modern Japanese. The status of *anata*, however, has not been completely settled: It causes a problem when used in addressing superiors. A student should not use *anata* towards his/her teacher. It is also interesting to note in passing that *anata* was used as an endearment by a married woman addressing her husband (like 'honey' in English) for some time. In contemporary Japanese, *anata* or *anta* are used by both male and female speakers. Many male speakers, however, use *omae* rather than *anata* in many situations.

Kimi, which used to be an honorific term referring to the Emperor centuries ago, became a second-person pronoun for male speakers of the upper class in the time of modernization. However, it is no longer common to hear young males mutually exchanging *kimi*. Half a century ago, I often heard school boys' conversations in the afternoon train. They were wearing the uniforms of an elite private school, talking about their classmates, addressing each other with *kimi*. Recent studies show that *kimi* is used by men and women of various age–only jokingly (cf. Kobayashi 2016; Kato 2019).

Third-person pronouns: Japanese third-person pronouns *kare* (彼) and *kanozyo* (彼女) developed in relatively recent times in the effort to translate Western literature into Japanese. In the publications of the early years of the Meiji, the character 彼 was read [kare] or [kanozyo], and 彼女 was sometimes instructed to be read as [kare]. It indicates that the gender distinction was not systematically made in the third person until recently although the gender was differentiated in Chinese characters. Even after the reading "kare=he, kanzyo=she" was established, it was used only by the intellectuals. The majority of Japanese speakers do not use these literary third person pronouns although they may understand them when reading novels. According to Takehiko Noguchi (1994, 2005), "The Edo Period had no third-person pronouns". Japanese is certainly a self-gendering language. In addition to the pronouns, there are many other differences between men's talk and women's talk. In the case of English and other European languages, as far as pronouns are concerned, there is no influence of the self-gendering semantic. The speaker enters discourse simply as the speaker 'I', regardless of gender, social status, or context. The contrast in the pronouns between Japanese and English shows that Japanese is a language dominated by the self-gendering semantic while English is not. In the following section, I will show the self-gendering semantic operating mainly through the use of interactional particles, altering the way of communication according to the speaker's gender.

3 Speech act and the maxim of women's language

It is now a truism in linguistics that one is *doing* something by *saying* something. Then, the gender differentiation in language is all about what men and women can do or cannot do with language.

The self-genderizing semantic goes back at least to the Neo-Confucianism of the late Edo period. Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), one of the Confucian educators in early Edo period, wrote in *Onna Daigaku* [Greatest Lessons for Women], "A woman has no master. She must consider her husband her master and serve him with respect. Generally, the way of being a good woman lies in obedience. Towards her husband, she must be polite, subservient, and humble in her expression and the use of the language; she must neither be impatient or disrespectful, nor proud or rude. This is the foremost obligation for woman." This dogmatic philosophy was very popular in Japan for almost two centuries until after the end of World War II. It still persists in the deep consciousness of Japanese speakers.

Before showing examples of men's and women's ways of expressing speech acts, it would be helpful to briefly review Roman Jakobson's (1960) six basic functions of language, which relate complimentarily to the notion of assertion.

3.1 Basic functions of language – Roman Jakobson

The six basic functions, referential, metalingual, poetic, conative, phatic, and expressive, may interact with the gender semantic one way or another, but I want to discuss the last three functions, since these functions are particularly relevant to the interactive phase between the speaker and the hearer. The "conative" function refers to the speaker's intention to involve the hearer in the interactive relationship and is best illustrated by imperatives. The conative utterance is said to be oriented towards the addressee. The "phatic" function expresses the speaker's desire to open and maintain contact with the hearer as in greetings and in small talk. That is, the phatic language is a friendlier and less assertive approach to the hearer than the conative. Many utterances in informal conversations are both conative and phatic. The "expressive" (sometimes called "emotive" or "affective") function relates to the expression of the speaker's internal state, and it typically operates in interjections ("oh" and "wow") and exclamatory words or sentences. Utterances with mainly the expressive function may convey no intent to involve the hearer, which makes the speaker virtually not assertive at all towards the hearer. It is speaker oriented.

As is obvious in various texts teaching women how to be appropriate in language use, Japanese women are expected to speak unassertively and/or politely. Women must stay away from the conative function in most types of communication and avoid expressions with strong phatic function according to this social rule. Women are expected to act within the functional area between the expressive and the phatic. Typical or stereotypical patterns of women's language can be best explained with this understanding.

3.2 Grammar for assertion reduction

The following set of descriptive sentences, conveying the same semantic content '(That) is Masao's dog', shows what linguistic rules female speakers apply to mark their gender identity. [M/F] indicates that the form is fine for both male and female speakers. [*M/F] female's use only, (*M means "not common for male speakers), and [M/*F] male use only. That is, patterns marked with [*M/F] and [M/*F] are based on sex-exclusive rules. [M/?F] means the sentence is for male use, but women may use depending on whom she is talking to. This is identified as sex-preferential. Examples represent spoken Japanese unless otherwise specified. (For untranslatable particles, capital letters, such as NE and SA are given. Short back channels (or *aizuchi*) in conversational examples, are given in < > instead of changing lines (e.g. <F1: un>).

(1)	a.	*Masao*	*no*	*inu*	*da*	*yo.*	[M/?F]
		Masao	GEN	dog	COP	YO	
	b.	*Masao*	*no*	*inu*	*desu*	*yo.*	[M/F]
		Masao	GEN	dog	COP.POL	YO	
	c.	*Masao*	*no*	*inu*	*yo.*		[*M/F]
		Masao	GEN	dog	YO		

Example (1a) is a copula sentence with *da* (the stylistically neutral copula 'to be'), which not only has the function of logically linking the subject nominal to the predicate nominal, but it also purports a strong assertive force in the speaker's attitude. In Japanese grammatical studies, it is called *dantei no jodōshi* 'auxiliary of conclusive affirmation'. It is typically used by male speakers. *Yo*, being an interactional particle conveying a conative-phatic meaning, might take off some of the aggressiveness intrinsic to the copula *da*. In the reality of social change towards gender equality, many women actually use (1a) in casual conversations. In (1b), the copula is replaced with the polite copula form *desu*, which makes the utterance appropriate for both male and female speakers. Example (1c) is one of the prima facie patterns of women's language: Particle *yo* is placed directly after the predicate nominal *inu* 'dog'. The English equivalent of this sentence may be a copula-less sentence "(That), Masao's dog". As the copular *da* disappears, the assertive force of the utterance is reduced to the minimum. Without the particle *yo*, the utterance is grammatically incomplete and defective. The addition of particle *yo* makes the utterance at least conversationally acceptable.

The act of giving orders or making requests is also strongly influenced by the self-genderizing semantic. The imperative form of the verb generated by a morphological process (活用形 *katsuyōkei* 'inflection') can never be used by female speakers. The following set, all meaning 'Open the door', shows the pattern of male, polite, and female sentences. The arrow symbol ↑ indicates a high rising intonation.

(2)	a.	*Mado*	*o*	*akero.*		[M/*F]
		window	ACC	open.IMP		
	b.	*Mado*	*o*	*akete*	*kudasai.*	[M/F]
		window	ACC	open.TE	POL.give.IMP	
	c.	*Mado*	*o*	*akete.*↑		[?M/F]
		window	ACC	open.TE		

Example (2a) is the most straightforward imperative to be typically heard in physical education or military training, where the content of the order must be communicated as efficiently as possible. It is not often heard in daily conversations in public.

When I once was in an NHK news production room, I had an opportunity to observe a news production scene. The evening news had already begun. Groups of men and women were quietly but intensely standing, getting ready to broadcast the news of the day to which they had been assigned. I heard the male director order one group still waiting for their turn on the show say, ". . .*irero*! 'insert. . .!'" in a whisper. The need arose for inserting a video picture, which had not been planned to be shown until the news story was developing a new phase. If the director had been female, how would she have given the order?

In example (2b) with the polite form of the benefactive auxiliary GIVE, politeness is explicit although the act of requesting is conative, and it can be used by either men or women. In (2c) the verb form is in what is known as the "te-form", which is to be coordinated with another verb or auxiliary verb as in *ake-te-kure* or *ake-te-kudasai*. Sentence (2c) ending with *te* is a grammatically incomplete sentence mostly used by female speakers especially when pronounced with a high rising intonation. Incomplete sentences like this have the same speech act effect as statement sentences with a tag question or those pronounced with a rising intonation in English (Lakoff 1975), which marks the feminine gender of the speaker. It may be sometimes used by males if it is not uttered with a conspicuously rising intonation. As will be pointed out later concerning particle *wa,* rising intonation is one of the features implying femininity. When I visited a junior high school history class in Chiba, the area next to Tokyo, the middle-aged male teacher often used the (2c) pattern with a falling intonation (e.g. *Kokuban ni kaite* 'Write it on the board' and *tugi no peeji o yonde* 'Read the next page'). It has almost the same assertive force as the (2a) pattern.

The next set of question sentences shows the same gender rules as applied to questions which mean 'Did Masao go?'

(3) a. *Masao* *wa* *itta* *ka?* [M/*F]
Masao TOP go.PST Q
b. *Masao* *wa* *ikimashi-ta* *ka?* [M/F]
Masao TOP go.POL-PST Q
c. *Masao* *no* *itta?* [M/F]
Masao TOP go.PST

Question formation in Japanese is grammatically simple. You just add particle *ka* at the end of a statement sentence as in (3a) or (3b). Female speakers, however, do not have access to (3a), in which the act of asking a question is explicit with *ka*. In order for female speakers to informally ask a question or make a request, they drop *ka* and pronounce the end of the informal verbal *itta* with a rising intonation as in (3c). Asking questions is in a way an act of giving an order: The speaker is coercing the hearer to respond by answering the question. Women are not encouraged to make such an act explicitly with the question particle *ka* unless they do so using the polite form of the verbal (*iki-masi-ta*). Weakening the assertive force of the speech act is the basic method for female speakers to suggest their feminine gender in their language. (Male speakers sometimes weaken the assertive force depending on who he is speaking to or what reaction he wants to receive from the hearer.) Women must either talk politely or suppress their assertive intention, whether they are making statements, giving orders, making requests, or asking questions. Remember, if you like, the cover of the book *Language and Women's Place* by Robin Lakoff (1975). It has a large photograph of a nervous looking female face with a bandage on her mouth. The picture has ingeniously captured the maxim of women's language: Do not talk.

3.3 Copula deletion, sentence fragments, and femininity

There is a peculiar woman's language sentence pattern that ends with *no*. Some researchers interpret the *no* as a sentence-final particle that female speakers like to use. A comparative look over the following three sentence patterns provides a completely different interpretation of *no*. The example sentences in (4) are simple sentence patterns which occur in various contexts, mostly in conversations.

(4) a. *Masao* *ga* *tabeta* *no* *da.* [M/?F]
Masao NOM eat.PST NMLZ COP
b. *Masao* *ga* *tabeta* *no.* [?M/F]
Masao NOM eat.PST NMLZ
c. *Masao* *ga* *tabeta* *no* *desu.* [M/F]
Masao NOM eat.PST NMLZ COP.POL

In Reynolds (1985) I proposed analyzing the *no* as a nominalizer in the "*no desu* construction" (Kuno 1973). It is comparable to English "It is that S", an emphatic construction that puts part or all of the embedded that-clause in focus as new information. This enables us to explain many related issues more reasonably. Sentences in (4) all convey the same information corresponding to "(It is that) Masao has eaten." However, they are all different in the degree of assertion. Example (4a), ending an utterance with a copula *da*, which has some assertive force towards the hearer as already mentioned above, is a pattern commonly used by male speakers in informal situations. There are, however, situations in which this pattern can be used by female speakers as well. The speaker may respond to what she has just learned from the addressee and say *yappari, Masao ga tabeta-n da* 'Masao ate it as I expected'. In this case *da* conveys some expressive or affective meaning (e.g. disappointment or surprise) overlapping the sense of conation. Example (4b), a nominal clause without the copula is a pattern commonly used by female speakers in informal conversations. (4c), ending with the polite copula *desu* is fine for females as well as males. Samuel Martin (1975: 945) observed "Women often use these nominalizations as full sentences – just as they often indulge in sentence fragments. . .left dangling for modesty or other reasons". It is true that women tend to end their conversational turn without grammatical completeness. However, it is not simply because they are concerned about their gender identity. In female-to-female conversations, a conversational phenomenon known as "co-construction" is remarkably common, which often results in exchanging sentence fragments. Since the mid-seventies, a number of researchers have empirically demonstrated that women and girls are typically more concerned than men and boys with maintaining the harmonious process of conversational interactions, co-constructing discourse for one thing.[2]

3.4 Interactional particles

One outstanding characteristic feature of the Japanese language is that it has several mono-syllabic particles (e.g. *ne*, *sa*, and *yo*) and their compounds (e.g. *yone*, *wayo*, *wane*, and *wayone*) occurring at various points of sentence/discourse units. I call them all "interactional particles" because they occur typically in conversational interactions. They are not commonly used in writing or in non-interactional speeches such as public lectures, TV news readings, etc. The functions and meanings of particles concern how the speaker intends to relate him/herself to the hearer and/or to the conversational context.

2 Co-construction refers to collaborative work between two speakers. For example, one speaker's thought is finished by another. In Japanese this happens frequently in intimate female conversations.

Robert E. Longacre (1976), who studied American Indian languages with "mystery particles and affixes", emphasized that the functions of these particles cannot be understood unless they are analyzed in relation to a larger unit than the sentence, i.e. to the paragraph or the discourse (468). The functions of Japanese particles are quite different from narrative discourse functions Longacre has studied (e.g. making "event line", "explanatory material", and "tension in reference to a discourse"). However, in the sense that the meanings/functions of each interactional particle remain opaque and "mysterious" unless they are observed in real contexts, they have aspects in common with American Indian narrative particles. They are so extenuating and equivocal in their semantic content and so malleable in phonological realization that they are able to express an amazingly wide range of interactive and/or sociolinguistic meanings depending on the grammatical and/or pragmatic context or by adjusting their intonation contours. Particles and other discourse-related forms are so resistant to English translation that examples of conversational Japanese are difficult or impossible to effectively present for readers who are not native speakers of Japanese. Understanding the functions and meanings of particles is, nevertheless, crucial for male and female speakers to use particles effectively and creatively. Also, the use of particles, like first-person pronouns, has been changing at very fundamental levels of their meaning potential since the Meiji Restoration, a revolutionary social change in the middle of the 19th century. Even though analyzing the historical background of each particle is not our immediate concern in this chapter, a brief description of the historical event in reference to interactional particles is indispensable.

During feudal times, Japan was divided into hundreds of domains under the control of feudal lords, who were all under the grip of the shogun. People of each domain were generally confined within the boundaries of the domain and so developed their own dialects with different sets of particles for different discourse functions and meanings. When the feudal system came to an end, unifying all the domains into one modern nation, there was a need to have a language common to all dialect speakers. Although how particles of different dialects have been re-organized into one new system is not totally clear, there are indications that a new interactional particle *ne* spread through various media as the most general particle for modern Japanese, and particles of some dialects were recycled as modern particles with some secondary roles.

How do we study the particles with such a potency of creating limitlessly rich distinctions of interactional meanings while reorganizing them towards a modern language? We need to listen to the voice of speakers in contemporary Japanese conversations as carefully as possible, and we search for clues to the past voice in the memory of the language. The evidence for the gender semantic is found in every turn of inquiry into the interactional particles.

In order to describe the gender differentiation in the use of particles, I use a set of conversational data as the point of departure. It consists of the conversations methodically gathered by a group of Japanese sociologists for the purpose of an ethnomethodological study of gender differentiation in Japanese conversations (Ehara, Yoshii and Yamazaki 1993). They hired 16 female students and 16 male students and had each participant talk with a different partner, forming 32 dyads (10 male-male, 10 female-female and 12 male-female dyads). Several pairs of students were seated separately in a large classroom and instructed by the researchers to talk about "women's issues" or "issues of student extra-curricular activities" for 30 minutes. The given task was deliberately vague and general to obtain as natural a conversation as possible. The researchers transcribed all the conversations in Japanese. I arbitrarily chose 21 conversations (7 from each of M-M, F-F and F-M pairs) from the 32 sets of transcription and Romanized the data base for my research, to which I sometimes refer as "our data" in this study. The participants in the conversations were all 3rd- or 4th-year students (20 or 21 in age) from three large universities in Tokyo, except one 23-year-old male student who was working towards his second bachelor's degree. Although they were originally from various regions, they all spoke standard Japanese after studying in universities in Tokyo. The participants had similar social backgrounds – attending prestigious universities in Tokyo, and they were meeting with their conversational partners for the first time. They used the polite form or the neutral form of the verbs (e.g. *ikimasu* or *iku* for 'to go') depending on the discourse content or some other contextual factors. Since they were basically strangers, they did not use conversational styles which are allowed only in intimate relationships. For the purpose of reference, I will characterize their style as "in/formal" in the sense that their style moves on the border between formal and informal, and they are definitely not intimate. Particles will be glossed with capital letters (e.g. WA for *wa*, YO for *yo*, and SA for *sa*) since their functions/meanings vary depending on their contexts. Also, I supplement "our data" with the examples that I collected in the past years as well as my knowledge about different styles as a native speaker researcher. My knowledge about my hometown dialects gives me invaluable insights in the changing aspects of particle functions.[3]

By examining our data in its entirety, I have identified seven monosyllabic interactional particles, *ne*, *sa*, *yo*, *na*, *wa*, *zo*, and *ze*. Complex particles such as *kana*(*a*) and *kasira* are excluded from the text counting to keep the data from becoming unmanageably complex.

Table 8.2 shows the total number of instances of each particle occurring in three different contexts: (i) sentence final, (ii) sentence internal, and (iii) sentence external. "Sentence external" refers to a particle that is not in construction with any sentential element and yet has some important discourse functions, as attention getters, topic shifters, etc. as will be exemplified below in this section.

3 I was born and raised in a rural area in which the tradition of feudal times in Japan was maintained to a considerable extent, and the language was very different from standard Japanese. The town and its culture did not change very much until recent urbanization although it is close to Tokyo.

Table 8.2: Distribution of interactional particles.

	ne	***sa***	***yo***	***na***	***wa***	***zo***	***ze***	**total**
(i) final	1,470	0	445	207	6	3	2	1,817
(ii) internal	1,737	647	2	0	0	0	0	2,384
(iii) external	74	0	0	0	0	0	0	74
total	3,281	647	447	207	6	3	2	4,289

I distinguish two types of interactional particles, "sentence-final particles" and "discourse particles". The first occur only in the final position of a sentence unit and the latter in other positions as well. There are important differences between the two groups, which might be overlooked if we followed the tradition of Japanese language studies and called both groups "sentence-final particles".

I also sorted the particles according to the user's gender and the position of use of each particle as in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: *ne*, *sa*, *yo*, *na* in men's and women's speech.

	ne **final**	***ne*** **external**	***ne*** **internal**	***sa*** **internal**	***na*** **final**	***yo*** **final**	***yo*** **internal**	***wa*** **final**	***zo*** **final**	***ze*** **final**
F	704	57	1,033	231	48	181	0	6	0	0
M	766	17	704	416	41	264	2	0	3	2
total	1,470	74	1,737	647	89	445	2	6	3	3

The division between the two categories, sentence-final particles and discourse particles, is not completely black and white. As I have already said, the sentence-final position is where sentence modality meets with discourse modality, which are conceptually distinct but pragmatically superimposed upon each other. Whichever they are, their meaning potential with the speech act functions in the core almost always interacts with the self-gendering semantic. In the following we will see how the use of each interactional particle is actually genderized in the conversations in our data.

***Yo* as the basic sentence-final particle:** As you can guess by quickly looking at the counting of particles in Tables 8.2 and 8.3, *yo* is the most commonly used sentence-final particle. It is used by both males and females. Examples in (1) show that *yo* can occur at the end of a formal or informal sentence indicating the speaker's conative intention. Example (1-c) shows that *yo* can occur at the end of a sentence without a verb informing the addressee of the end of the sentence. There are only 2 exceptional cases, which I will discuss below as a sentence-final particle functionally extended for a discourse purpose.

***Zo* and *ze* for masculinity:** There should be no problem in identifying *zo* and *ze* as masculine particles. Both of them occur only in male speakers' utterances. *Zo* has an outstanding conative function, and it is effective for such acts as threatening and intimidating. In male informal-intimate conversations, it can be used as a "solidarity" marker depending on how it is said. *Ze* is also very conative, but it is phatic to a certain extent. That is, *ze* is somewhat less aggressive than *zo*, but *zo* tends to be used by males.

Let us see some examples from our data. I have shaded all the interactional particles so that the readers will have some idea about how extensive they are in conversational discourse. The particles under discussion are shaded and boxed. In the examples taken from our data, the speaker's gender is identified with M1 for male and F1 for female. M1 in an example does not necessarily mean the same speaker as M1 in a different example set. M1 refers to the same male speaker only within the same conversation (e.g. conversation 2B, 6-5). M1 in a different conversational set is a different male subject. The same applies to M2, F1 and F2. All the particles can be prolonged for some variations of emotive meanings to various degrees. In the examples, if the prolongation is distinct, the vowel will be doubled (e.g. *na* vs. *naa*. If it is somewhat longer than one mora length but not as much as two syllable lengths, a vowel in parentheses will be used (e.g. *na(a)*). The serial number (e.g. 2B, 6-5) at the end of each example is the number of the conversations originally transcribed by the Ehara group.

(5)	M1:	*Hanasi*	*ga*	*togireta*	*zoo*.	*Saa*	*doo*	*siyoo*	*kanaa?*
		Talk	NOM	ran.out.PST	ZOO	SAA	what	do.FUT	KANAA

'[lit.] Topics have run out. Now what shall I do?' (2B. 6-5)

(6)	F1:	*zibun*	*ga*	*ne*	*sugoku*	*benkyoosi-tai*	*na*	*to*
		self	NOM	NE	seriously	study-DESI	NA	QUOT
		omotteru	*toki-ni*	*ne*				
		think	when	NE				
		otokonoko	*ga*	*ne*	*"Anmari*	*benkyoosuru*		
		boy	NOM	NE	too much	study		
		onnanoko	*wa*	*motenai*	*ze*"			
		girls	TOP	unpopular	ZE			
		toka *yuu*	*to*	*<F2:nn>*	*muutto-suru*	*n*	*desu.*	
		etc. say	when	<F2:Yah>	get-upset	NMLZ	COP.POL	

'[lit.] When I feel very much like studying, a boy says something like "Girls who study hard will not be popular," <F2:hum> it makes me upset.' (9A.6-5)

(7) M1: “*Koko wa shiken-ni deru zo*” *toka tte* <(*M2: ehehe*)>
here TOP exam-on appear ZO etc. QUOT <(*M2: giggles*)>
kanzi-de, are wa babakasikute yada ne.
like that TOP ridiculous.TE disgusting NE
‘[lit.] (The teacher) says something like, “This point is going to be asked on the exam!” <M2: giggle> That is ridiculous and disgusting, isn’t it?’
(5B.6-5)

Example (5) is a conversation between M1 and M2. M1 has tried to elicit some active responses from M2, but M2 doesn’t talk very much. This excerpt comes after a long silence (22 seconds), which occurred after M1’s long turn. Since these speakers were hired to provide conversation samples for the researchers, they were obliged to keep talking. M1 seems to be blaming M2 for his reticence. However, in this in/formal conversation, M1 hesitates to use *zo* in its normal threatening pronunciation (i.e. one-syllable length and falling intonation) because such an open accusation is allowed only in a very intimate conversation unless the speaker really intends to threaten the hearer. He pronounced *zo* with an unusual prolongation and a rising intonation, which sends a secondary attitudinal cue that he is not dead serious in saying the strong masculine particle *zo*.

In (6) *ze* is used in a female speaker’s speech. Notice, however, this *ze* in (6) occurs as a sentence-final particle of an embedded sentence marked with quotative morphology, a verb of saying –*yuu*. In (7), the male speaker uses *zo* in a quotation marked by a quotative particle -*tte*. *Ze* and *zo* in these examples express the attitude of the quoted person’s (*otokonoko* ‘boy’ in (6) and a teacher in (7)), not of the discourse subject, F2 in (6) and M1 in (7). F2 would not use *ze* to express her own attitude towards F1. *Zo* and *ze* are too conative and too informal even for male speakers of our data. They did not use *zo* and *ze* to express their own attitudes toward the hearer at all. Native speakers know, however, that male speakers around them use these masculine particles in intimate conversations, or in aggressive or quarrelsome interactions. Male teachers of high schools or even professors of colleges we attended often used *zo* in class. Male teachers of junior high schools I observed in Chiba Prefecture often switched their polite/formal style to intimate style to control their classes. Lines like “*koko wa siken ni deru zo*” (7) are very familiar to us.

***Wa* as a sentence-final particle for femininity:** *Wa* is often referred to as a sentence-final particle of women’s language. The occurrence of *wa* is very low in frequency in our data. There were only 4 instances in total (cf. Table 8.3), and they were all in female speakers’ utterances. See the following examples.

(8) F1: *Nan-nen-sei?*
What-year-student.
M2: *San-nen-sei.*
Third-year-student.

F1:	Aa,	*onnazi-na-n-da*	wa.
	Oh,	same-be-NMLZ-COP	WA

'[lit.] F1: What year student, are you?
M2: Third year student.
F1: Oh, the same year students, we are.' (7A, 5-30))

(9)	F2:	*"A'*	*atasitati*	*wa*	*onnanoko-na-n-da*	*wa"*	*tte*
		Oh	we	TOP	girls-COP-NMLZ-COP	WA	QUOT
		sooyuu	*zikaku*	*ga*	*aratani*	*de-ta-n-desu.*	
		such	awareness	NOM	newly	emerge-PST-NMLZ-COP.POL	

[lit.] An awareness (that) "Oh, we ARE girls!" newly emerged.' (9A, 6-5)

(10)	F2:	*"Hayaku*	*oyomesan-ni-iki-tai*	*wa!"*	*nante*	*no*	*mo*	*iru.*
		quickly	bride-LOC-go-DESI	WA	such	ones	also	be.

'[lit.] "I want to marry quickly!" There are also ones saying such things.' (9A, 6-5)

In (8), just finding the fact that she and her partner are both juniors, F1 says "*Aa, onnazi-na-n da wa!*" with some emotional upsurge. In (9), F2 explains to F1 that (by dividing roles between female students and male students in the club activities) the speaker suddenly became aware of the difference between men and women, which was almost a surprise. She reports her internal state – awareness – with an embedded sentence ending with *wa*. In (10), too, F2 describes that there are female students who are more interested in marriage rather than in studying by mimicking their feminine language. The emotional meaning of *wa* is consistent with other morphologies within the quotation: An interjection *Aa* in (8), *A'* in (9), and desiderative verb *-tai* in (10). To be mentioned is the fact that sentence-final particle *wa* in these examples is pronounced with a rising intonation.

What gives an emotional nuance to *wa*, what makes *wa* a feminine particle, and why the occurrence of *wa* is uncommon in our data? Too much emphasis on the gender function of wa may have blinded us from seeing some hard facts about *wa*.

Wa is in fact used by male speakers in their middle age or older. After a dinner with his colleagues, a middle-aged male teacher might pick up the check, casually saying *Kyoo wa boku ga harau wa* 'I will pay it today'. But the male speakers would pronounce sentence-final particle *wa* with a falling intonation. Although both males and females use *wa*, it doesn't mean that the use of sentence-final particle *wa* is gender neutral. There is a distinction between female *wa* and male *wa*. It is the rising intonation that makes *wa* a cue for femininity.[4] I encountered an example in which

4 Kitagawa (1977) pointed out that what makes sentence-final particle *wa* sound feminine is the rising intonation. Men and older women pronounce *wa* with a falling intonation.

wa is uttered with a more distinctly emotional tone in an intimate setting than the conversations in our data.[5] Since Japanese has no particular exclamatory sentence patterns usable in conversational discourse, exclamatory meanings are expressed with a particle pronounced with exclamatory intonation, lengthened and rising. A female graduate student S said *Hontoni tanosikat-ta wa(a)*! 'It was really enjoyable!' to another female student after having described various tour activities she had enjoyed upon her arrival in Honolulu. A male student would never use such emotionally charged *wa*.

All the facts observed in the use of *wa* indicate that *wa* is a sentence-final particle with the potential for the expressive function in the Jakobsonian sense. Even when it is used by male with a falling intonation, it doesn't carry much sense of phatic-conative intention. When it is pronounced with a rising intonation by a female speaker, its function is almost purely expressive. The weakness of phatic-conative function may be the reason why *wa* is often described as a representative marker of women's language.

***Yo* as a discourse particle:** We have seen that *yo* is the major sentence-final particle with the conative function. Our data, however, includes 2 exceptional instances of *yo*.

(11) M1: *mosi boku ga karini yo, mosi karini naru*
IF I NOM supposedly YO if supposedly become
to-sitara, <M2:nn > Waseda de yaritai-tte no ga
COND <M2:hum> Waseda LOC do.DESI-QUOT NMLZ NOM
aru n desu.
have NMLZ COP.POL
'[lit.] M1: If I supposedly, you know, if I supposedly become a teacher <M2:hum> I would like to do at Waseda University High School.'
(5B, 6.5)

The use of *yo* tagged to the adverb *karini* 'supposedly' in this example is perfectly acceptable in standard Japanese. One might even say *mosi yo* or *boku ga yo*. It could be repeated within the conditional clause like "*mosi yo, boku ga yo, karini yo, naru to-sitara yo*." This means sentence-final particle *yo* can be used for a discourse purpose as well. The function of *yo* in (11) is putting an emphasis on the conditional modality while thinking of how to explain his idea from there onward, rather than expressing his attitude towards the hearer. We cannot, therefore, generalize *yo* simply as a sentence-final particle. In order to explain all the facts concerning the use of *yo*, we need to look at pre-modern *yo* that is still alive in dialects. In dialects spoken in a wide area around Tokyo, including my hometown prefecture, *yo* was/is commonly used for various discourse functions: as an attention getter, as a phatic

5 A conversation between female students in their latter 20's Reynolds gathered in the late 80s.

channeling marker, or as a sentence-final particle by both men and women. When incorporated into standard Japanese, the status of *yo* has changed in some respects. Its occurrence has become more or less specialized as a sentence-final particle and its function as a discourse particle became limited to the one such as we have just seen. The *yo* in dialects is pronounced mostly in falling intonation. In modern Japanese, however, the discourse particle *yo* is pronounced with a rising intonation, and the sentence-final particle is pronounced with a falling or rising intonation depending on the nuance that the speaker would like to embellish. If the subject *boku* in example (11) is replaced with *watasi*, the speaker of the example could be a female. Particle *yo* in modern Japanese is not exclusively gendered. However, what should be remembered is that male speakers are more conservative in language standardization: Female speakers standardize their language much faster than males (cf. Haig 1990; Nakamura 1992). During the transition process from dialect to standard, as a result, the female speakers tend to pronounce *yo* with a rising intonation while many male speakers still keep the dialect intonation, a falling intonation. When working on the data with a male research assistant from Nagoya, I was surprised at his reading of *yo* in the above example with a distinct falling intonation. I expected as a speaker of standard Japanese this particle should always be pronounced with a rising intonation. I asked him to re-read the sentence twice, but he pronounced it every time with the same high-low intonation. Although he generally spoke a standard Japanese, he pronounced this nonfinal particle *yo* with a dialect intonation more than once. Unintentionally, he has given me an excellent example of the dialect-standard mixing that commonly happens in the transitional process from dialect to standard.

Anyway, the use of *yo* for a discourse purpose is not common, especially, for female speakers. In our data, only two instances of *yo* were found as a discourse particle. Both are in male utterances.

***Na(a)* as expressive:** Our data shows that both male and female speakers use *na(a)* as a sentence-final particle expressing the speaker's reflective or emotional state. Example (12) is M1's admiring utterance because he is impressed by the strong muscled arms of M2, a member of the boat club of W University. Example (13) is F2's bewildered or perplexed response to F1, who has spoken of an unexpected condition in her university. Example (14) is a self-question of F1, who is trying to remember an article written about the trend of university female students. In example (15) *na* occurs in M2's regret about the difficulty in pursuing a theater career.

(12)	M1:	*sugoi*	*ude*	*siteru*	$\boxed{\textit{naa}}$.	(admiration)
		Awesome	arm	have	NAA	
		[lit.] You have awesome arms! (2A, 5-30)				

(13) F2: *moo* *wakan-nai* $\boxed{naa}$. (bewilderment, perplexity)
MOO know-NEG NAA
[lit.] I do not understand it anymore. (6A, 5-30)

(14) F1: *nan* *de* *yonda-n-dak-ke* $\boxed{na.}$ (self-questioning)
what LOG read-NMLZ-COP-PST-Q NA
[lit.] In what (book) did I read it, I wonder. (6A, 5-30)

(15) M2: *zettai* *mezyaa* *ni* *nare-nai* $\boxed{na}$ *nante*
Absolutely major to become.can-NEG NA QUOT
omottyatte. (worry)
think
[lit.] Thinking that I will never be able to become a major actress.
(1A, 5-30)

There is no gender difference observed in the use of this expressive sentence-final particle *na(a)* in our data. However, this doesn't mean that *na* is gender neutral. The emotional meanings expressed by the use of *na*(*a*) vary from admiration (e.g. example (12)) to anger. *Na*(*a*) in utterances like *It-ta na!* ('You have said it!' or 'How dare you say that?') pronounced with a distinct rising intonation expresses the speaker's angry response to a remark made by the conversation partner. *Na*(*a*) with such an emotional meaning is not for a female speaker's use, however angry she is. A female speaker might say *It-ta wa ne*! (adding the feminine particle *wa*) or at the very most *It-ta ne!* (using *ne* rather than *na*) in such a situation. Also, male speakers would use *na* for the phatic function in intimate conversations. They might say, *Naa* with a falling intonation to a close friend and then might continue, *eki no-mae-ni na, henna yatu ga i-te na*. . . 'a weird guy was in front of the station. . .' pronouncing *na* in a rising intonation. This type of *na*(*a*) is definitely for male use only; that is, it is a sex-exclusive form for male speakers. A female speaker would use *ne* instead of *na* for the solidarity cue.

Particle compounds in women's language, *wayo* and *wayone*: Contemporary Japanese women have become somewhat more assertive than before, especially in informal conversation with their intimate female friends. The use of *wa* with a rising intonation by itself is no longer common even though it was popular at one time perhaps during early modern periods. One method for female speakers to be more assertive using *wa* is to add *yo*, a particle with a conative function. With this understanding of the function of *yo*, the compound particle *wayo* can be given a consistent interpretation. Women can talk assertively with *wayo*, having *wa* represent their gender and expressing her conative intention with *yo*. If the speaker is afraid that *wayo* is too assertive, she would bring *ne*, a phatic particle from the discourse modality resource and might say *wayone*. *Ne*, being a discourse particle of phaticity, can take off the edge of the assertive force of *wayo*. *Wayone* is less imposing than *wayo*. The differences between *wa, wayo*, and *wayone* are subtle but significant. Female speakers in our data were young women going to prestigious universities in Tokyo meeting for the first time at the recording scene. Naturally, they talk in/formally but not intimately. Example (16) is the only example of *wayone* found in our data.

(16)	F1:	*Hutuu*	*sooyuu-huuni*	*si-nai*	*wayone*.
		Usually	in-that-way	do-NEG	WAYONE

[lit.] People usually don't do in such a way, do they? (7A, 5.30)

In a conversation of three female friends A, T and S (middle class housewives in their forties), I found a marvelous sample of conversation with *wayo* and *wayone*.[6]

(17)	A:	*Hontoni*	*soko*	*ga*	*aru*	*wayone*.		
		Really	that kind	NOM	have	WAYONE?		
	T:	*Aru?*						
		have?						
	A:	*Aru*	*wayo*.					
		Have,	WAYO					
	S:	*Aru*	*wayo*.	( )	*soryaa*	*anta*	*moo!*	
		Have	WAYO!		That is	you	MOO!	
	A:	*Aru*	*wayo*.					
		Have	WAYO					

[lit.] A: They really have such aspect, right?
T: Do they?
A: They DO! . . .They do, I mean.
S: They DO!. . . They do. I tell you, seriously.
A: They DO, I know it.

After this episode, A tells S and T that she actually got very angry with her husband that morning and tells a story illustrating that she was rightfully furious about her husband's selfishness. A is the one who brought up men's selfishness, but T was not sure. A, having had an argument with her husband that morning, says with a determined tone "*Aru wayo*", and S supports A with exactly the same words pronounced in the same tone adding emotionally charged sentence fragments. A concludes the issue by saying "*Aru wayo*" in a final tone.

6 This conversation sounded somewhat emotional. In addition to the use of *wayo, hontoni* (A's line) and *moo* (in S's line) are adding the emotionality to the discourse. These emotional expressions are not easily available in "our data" because people do not express emotions when they know that their talk is recorded for analysis. In Reynolds (2016) I have given many examples of emotional discourse gathered from TV news programs. Extreme happiness, sadness, anger, and frustration are often caught by the media camera.

Discourse particles *ne* and *sa*: The interactional particles, especially, those I named "discourse particles", give an impression that they are randomly distributed throughout the conversation. If they are carefully examined in discourse contexts, however, each one has some specific functions or meanings depending on where they occur and how they are pronounced. Several points relevant to gender differentiation can be made about these particles based on the figures in Tables 8.2 and 8.3:

(1a) *Ne* occurs in all three positions (i), (ii), and (iii), and it occurs with significantly greater frequency than the other particles in all three positions.

(1b) *Ne* occurs considerably more frequently sentence externally and sentence internally in female speech than in male speech.

(2a) *Sa*, on the other hand, occurs in male speakers' utterances with significantly greater frequency than in female speakers' utterances.

(2b) *Sa* never occurs in the sentence-final position in spite of the fact that it has been generally believed to be a "sentence-final particle".

It is necessary to discuss each of these points with some specific comments and examples to come to a better understanding of *ne* and *sa*.

***Ne* as the most major discourse particle:** *Ne* is the only particle not associated with a regional dialect. It was a new particle emerging in the process of standard Japanese formation, probably based on the combination of *na* and *ye*: *Na* was used as widely as today's *ne* by men and women in various areas as it is used in the dialects in western Japan today; (*y*)*e* was a particle tagged to various sentence-final particles to express the speaker's intention to mildly affect the hearer. E.g. *na-ye*, *ka-ye*, *zo-ye*, and *wa-ye*. It is likely that *na-ye* have become *ne*(*e*) as a major phatic particle of modern Japanese although ascertaining it may not be possible to since particles are characteristically conversational material, i.e. voice.[7]

Setting aside the historical backgrounds of particles in modern Japanese for now, let me show a couple of longer pieces of conversational discourse for the purpose of observing *ne* as an interactional particle with important discourse functions. Then, I will discuss a few issues of *ne* and *sa* in regards to gender differentiation. (Because of limited space and because of the length of the examples, word-for-word glosses will not be given for these examples. Refer to the translations for the content of the conversations when necessary. Interactional particles are highlighted and other discourse materials, fillers, are underlined.)

7 Regional dialects would have been the only evidence for any study about what had happened to particles, but they are quickly disappearing as a result of the standardization of the Japanese language. What we remember about how our parents and grandparents talked seems to be the only resource for particle studies.

(18) (F1 and F2 are from western Japan, where the gender discriminatory culture is stronger, according to what they are talking about. The excerpt begins after F2's description of the tradition that women should not go to school too far from their home. Line numbers are given on the left.)

1 F1: *. . . . . soo-yuu isiki ga nai toka sa* <F2:*un*> *soo-yuu no wa atta yo ne*.
2 F2: *naruhodo ne*.
3 F1: *nee, onna ni umarete-kite yokatta to omou*? (LAUGH)
4 F2: *soryaa, . . .*
5 F1: *(ehehe)*
6 F2: *<u>maa</u> hakkiri itte anmari konomasiku-nai ne*.
7 F1: (*ehe*)
8 F2: *nee? ima no yononaka da to* <F1: *un*> *mada tyotto ii gurai ne*.
9 F1: *hee! Dooyuu koto de?*
10 F2: *<u>ano</u> ne tatoeba* <F1: *nn*> *atasi wa sigoto zutto issyoo yaritai n da kedo.*
11 F1: *haan.*

[lit.] F1: They don't have such consciousness, for instance, you know? There was something like that, there was. Right?
F2: I see.
F1: Say. Do you think that it was good that we are born as women?
F2: THAT . . . ., we know that.
F1: (giggle)
F2: Well, honestly speaking, it is not to my liking, I say.
F1: (giggle)
F2: Say. Speaking of the current society, (F1: Yah?) it is a little better.
F1: I see. How is it so?
F2: Let me think. For example, I want to keep working.
F1: Yah? . (8A, 6-5)

The *nee* in the beginning of line 3 doesn't structurally belong to the following sentence. F2's *Naruhodo ne* 'I see!' in line 2 is the resolution of the previous paragraph discussing the conservatism in the western area of Japan. So, F1, sensing the need to refuel the conversation, says *Nee* with a high-mid falling intonation, not a rising intonation. It is F1's attempt to renew the momentum of the main topic about men and women by bringing F2's attention to the question of whether or not being born as a woman is good. F2 responds with an utterance, which doesn't make much sense. It sounds like what Samuel Martin called a "sentence fragment". The *nee* pronounced with a flat elongated intonation, however, is pregnant with significance making F1 giggle. Encouraged by F1's giggle, F2 starts giving answers in line 6. The *nee* in line 8, pronounced similarly to the one in line 3, has the same function of marking a topic development for the purpose of enriching the conversation: F2 offers a slightly more hopeful view of the world than what she has expressed in her previous paragraph. *Nee* is deployed to sustain mutual cooperation to recover the liveliness when the conversation goes into a stall. In male-to-male conversations also, *ne* is used as a cue for some interactional meanings mostly in the turn initial position.

(19) (M1 wants to discuss the patriarchal family tradition in Japan. M2 is not familiar with the word "patriarchal".)

1 M1: *sono kahutyooteki kazoku-seido -tte no* *sa* *zutto at-ta wake-desyo*?
2 M2: *nani-teki*?
3 M1: *kahutyoo-teki*.
4 M2: *ee*?
5 M1: *kahutyoo. ie no titi-tte kai-te. . .*
6 M2: *aa, aa.*
7 M1: *ne*? *sono kahutyooteki* *sa* <M2 *ee*>*sono kazoku-seido-tte no at-te sa* (. . .)*zyosei wa* *ne* *sonoo otto o* *ne* <M2:*un*> *moritatete* *ne* *yat-te-ikere-ba ie ga| ie ga umaku iku to* *ne*, *soo yuu kangae-kata tte aru desyo*? <M2:*un*> *boku wa* *sa* *soo yuu no yappa suki zyanai* *na*.

[lit.] M1: What is called patriarchal family system has long existed, right?
M2: What-teki?
M1: Kahutyoo-teki
M2: What?
M1: Kahutyoo, written with characters meaning "family" and "father". . .
M2: Oh, I see, I see.
M1: OK? There has been that patriarchal family system and women have thought that if they were able to live their lives assisting their husband, the household can probably be maintained in peace. . . . . .there is such an attitude, isn't there? <M2: mmm> I don't like such a thing after all. (3B, 6-5)

M2 had a problem with the word "patriarchal" and M1 had to repeat the word and explain how it is spelled in Chinese characters. This detour exchange is for the "metalinguistic" function, the function to explain the word, according to Jakobson. M1 concludes this detour by saying *ne*? (line 7) with rising intonation and returns to his main point he was about to make before the detour.

The difference between female and male use of independent *ne(e)* observed in the above examples suggests that it may be attributed partly to the speaker's gender. Ehara, Yoshii and Yamazaki (1983) have demonstrated that men and women are different in their work towards conversational maintenance in their ethnomethodological study: Female speakers work more cooperatively to support each other than male speakers.

Ne* and *sa: As we once came out of a department store elevator in Tokyo, Prof. M, an old friend of mine, said, “Young girls don’t speak nicely these days. They use *sa* in public places, and they are not ashamed at all.” The female speakers of our data also used *sa*(*a*) with some degree of freedom (see Table 8.3). What is the function or the social value of *sa*? Why do many Japanese people perceive the use of *sa* as inappropriate for women?

Sa is in fact quite different from *ne*: In our data (Table 8.2) its occurrence in the sentence external position and in the sentence-final position is zero. However, expressions like “*Sa*(*a*) *hazimemasyoo*! (Now, let’s start)” and “*Saa*? *Oboete-imase-n nee* (Let me see. I don’t remember)” are often heard in various conversational situations. In the NHK news, the news reader says “*Saa*” when she shifts the news topic (e.g. from the Japanese Diet debate to the Mideast political development). This *saa* occurring separate from the sentential structure is called an “interjection” by some scholars instead of a “particle” and considered to be different from the interactional particle sa tagged to sentential elements. It is in fact likely that the interjection *saa* is a historical cognate of the interactional particle *sa*, both coming from some dialects. We treat the interjection *saa* as no longer strongly related with the interactional particle *sa*(*a*) in contemporary Japanese, and focus on the interactional particles *sa* tagged to sentential or non-sentential elements within the space of the sentence unit. Reynolds (2000) has already shown that *sa* occurs as a sentence-final particle only in dialects. Utterances like *Tokyo e itta sa* (‘(He) went to Tokyo’) is not standard Japanese although I hear them very commonly in people’s conversations in my hometown. I consider, therefore, that interactional *sa*(*a*) is a free variation of the sentence internal *ne* as one can see from examples 10 and 11. Because of its association with *sa*(*a*) in dialects, it is interpreted by adults like Prof. M as masculine and too rough or too conative for female speakers.

***Ne* as a modern Japanese particle:** The late Professor Mauer, a Sanskrit specialist who studied approximately 28 descendants of Sanskrit, once asked me, “I heard a group of young Japanese girls on the bus chattering in Japanese. They kept saying, *ne*, *ne*, *ne*, *ne*. What the hell are they saying? What is that *ne*?” This polyglot scholar never studied Asian languages beyond India. Although the modern particle *ne* is basically gender neutral, it is used far more often by female speakers than male speakers as our data shows, except that the *ne* in the final position is somewhat more frequent in male speakers’ speech. There are several reasons for this. One of the reasons has to do with the fact that female speakers have fewer opportunities in the discourse process to deal with sentence final particles since they tend to leave sentences unfinished. The male speaker tends not only to end his responses with complete sentence patterns, but he also tends to use the *no-da*/ *no-desu* emphatic construction to offer information to the hearers. He also tends to add the conative particle *yo* to *noda*/ *nodesu*; his attitude towards the hearer becomes still more assertive or haughty, which does not suit the in/formal distant conversation of our data. He attempts to neutralize otherwise too self-assertive utterances by placing *ne* after *desu yo*. In one of the male-to-male conversations "*desu yo ne*" is observed 29 times. Another had only 3 instances of *desu yo ne*, but it had 20 instances of "*da yo ne*", which is even more emphatic and assertive. However, the added discourse particle *ne* transforms the aggressiveness into positive politeness (or solidarity).

Historically speaking, *ne* is the most recently developed particle for the purpose of standard Japanese conversation to signal very generally the speaker's phatic intention. This new particle is so attenuative in its semantic content and so malleable in phonological realization that it can accommodate a wide range of discourse functions: Occurring in the utterance initial position it works as an attention getter, as a topic shifter, etc.; tagged to a sentential element, it functions for one thing as a channeling cue; it can be used at the end of grammatically generated speech acts and rounds off the sharp edges or makes a finer tuning of the interactional meanings put out by other sentence-final particles (e.g. *da yo ne*, and *wa yo ne*). It can be tagged to other discursive elements, pause fillers or hedgings, forming *ano-ne*, *eeto-ne*, *nan-ka-ne*, *yappari-ne*, *chotto-ne*, etc. to remain bonded with the hearer. There are some signs of changes towards more gender equality, but the semantic of self-genderization corroborating with the power semantic is lurking at the root of the meaning potential. What had become the maxim of women's language during the feudal period of Japan is still influencing Japanese speakers.

4 Other genderization in Japanese

We have seen in Section 2.1, the most remarkable contrast between Japanese and English in regard to genderization: Japanese genderizes the first-person pronoun, male and female first-persons, while English genderizes third-persons. That is, Japanese is a typical self-genderizing language, and English is an other-genderizing language. The other-genderization manifested in the third person (e.g. use of *he* and *she*) in English is transmitted through nouns categorizing people. There are a number of gender pairs, such as, waiter – waitress, actor – actress, poet – poetess, steward – stewardess, hero – heroine, host – hostess, etc. Due to the influence of the feminist movement in the seventies and eighties, they are no longer part of the prescribed or preferred English. For example, Maya Angelou, who died on May 28, 2014, was described as "an African-American *author*, *poet*, *dancer*, *actress* and *singer*, etc. in most respected journals (e.g. New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post). Although there are words which remain gendered (e.g. actress), the general trend is toward "de-genderization" of English in the United States.

European languages (e.g. French, Spanish, and German) classify all nouns including objects, which do not have natural sex into masculine, feminine and neutral under the name of "grammatical gender". In French, for instance, 'meat', 'house', and "apple' are feminine nouns, and 'homework', 'milk', and 'book' are masculine nouns. Furthermore, the gender of nouns manifests itself in determiners, pronouns, or adjectives structurally related to nouns. French can be said to be a language in which the semantic of other-genderization is operating in a more impregnable way than English.

As mentioned in Section 2, the gender differentiation in the Japanese third-person pronoun – *kare* and *kanozyo* – was innovated when the Japanese language came into contact with Western languages and that they are still used in a limited cultural class. Marking gender (i.e. woman) on nouns became a common practice in the media about the same time. At the time when women were only good for being a mother – wife and were not anything else, it was taken for granted that women were different from men. There was no need to take the trouble to distinguish between women and men in various categories of social roles since there were no women there. However, the modernization of the country has brought women into the public domain: schools, factories, offices, stores, etc., made Japanese speakers create gendered forms more explicitly, mostly by prefixing words meaning "female" or "woman" if the referent was not male. Books published in early modern times, such as, *Gendai fujin shokugyō annai* 'A Guide to Contemporary Jobs for Women' (Shufunotomo-sha 1926) and *Onna batōroku* 'A Book Vituperating Women' (Yoboroku 1920) prove what forms were first used for marking women. Male intellectuals were upset about women who became popular in socially important jobs, and they bashed them by mentioning gendered words repeatedly. Since then, several prefixes have been tried and tested in recent history. They are still very much in use in contemporary Japanese although there were vicissitudes in the meanings and the degree of usage.

The result of gender differentiation by marking only the female gender with prefixes meaning woman resulted in asymmetry in the social value between men and women: Men are unmarked standard beings, and women are marked as beings with less value (e.g. *bengosi* 'lawyer or male lawyer' vs. *zyosei-bengosi* 'woman lawyer', and *daigisi* 'house member' vs. *huzin-daigisi* 'female house member'). Kazuko Tanaka (1984), who named these prefixes *josei kanshi* 'female articles', argued that the [unmarked=male and marked=female] pattern appearing in daily newspapers would in effect reproduce the social structure of men and women, with women below men.

Let us see what female articles contemporary Japanese has for differentiation of job category nouns. Table 8.4 summarizes female articles, examples, and corresponding male articles. The asterisk * indicates that the form is not used. Ø means there is no male counterpart.

These articles developed at different times during early modern times except *zyo-*. Neither how they became productive prefixes nor how they came to be semantically differentiated from each other is totally clear. However, it is possible to understand the social circumstances in which they emerged by looking at the contexts in which they appeared.

***Zyo-* (女-)** This form has never been a free form in Japanese. It appeared fixed in words, such as, *zyotyuu* (女中 'female servant'), *zyoi* (女医 'woman doctor'), and

Table 8.4: Female articles.

Female article	Examples	Male article
zyo-	*zyoi* (woman doctor), *zyokoo* (woman factory worker), *zyotyuu* (woman house helper), *zyokyuu* (woman waiter), *zyokyoosi* (woman teacher)	**dan-*
onna-	*onna syatyoo* (woman company president), *onna oyabun* (woman yakuza boss)	*otoko-*
zyoryuu-	*zyoryuugaka* (female art painter), *zyoryuusakka* (female writer), *zyoryuukisi* (female chess player),	**danryuu-*
huzin-	*huzin soodanin* (woman counselor), *huzin daigisi* (woman council member), *huzin kisya* (woman journalist), *huzin keikan* (woman police)	Ø
zyosi-	*zyosi seito* (girl pupil), *zyosi syokuin* (girl employee), *zyosi sensyu* (woman player). *zyosi zimuin* (woman clerk), *zyosi anaunsaa* (woman announcer)	*dansi-*
zyosei-	*zyosei untensyu* (woman driver), *zyosei bengosi* (woman lawyer), *zyosei kanrisyoku* (woman administrator), *zyosei hyooronka* (woman critic), *zyosei sityoo* (woman mayor), *zyosei-pairotto* (woman pilot)	*dansei-*

zyokoo (女工 'woman factory worker'). *Zyotyuu* first referred to female servants recruited to work in the women's quarter of the Shogun's castle, but it changed to mean 'female servants' for upper class families after the Meiji Restoration; *Zyoi* referred to a woman who studied medicine towards the end of the Edo period and *zyokoo* to the young girls who were recruited to textile factories to work in the middle of the 1880's, the time of early capitalism and industrialization. Many textile factories were built, and young girls' labor was desperately needed. In a society where women were taught to stay at home and to be obedient to their fathers, young female factory workers were looked down upon. *Zyokoo*, *zyotyuu*, and *zyoi* are now listed in various media guidelines as discriminatory words, and journalists are advised against their use in the public media. Contemporary young Japanese women no longer want to be housemaids or factory workers, and they are almost extinct in reality. The use of these historically contingent words would become gradually obsolete even if guidelines did not prohibit their use.

***Onna-* (女-)** The reading of this character [onna] is an indigenous noun meaning 'female,' which came to be used as a female article. When it is used as a female article, it conveys a sense of low culture and purports a sense of sexuality. Thus, it takes on somewhat derogatory meaning. In *Onna Batōroku* , the author repeats *onna-kisya* (女記者 'female journalist', and he uses even *ki-zyo* (記女 'writing-women'), in which *ki-* (記-) is only a modifier and *zyo* is the head of the compound, implying that the referent is just a woman who writes.

***Zyoryuu-* (女流 'feminine style')** This is used referring to women specializing in Japanese traditional arts. *Zyoryuu-kazin* (女流歌人 'female tanka poet') and *zyo-*

ryuu-haizin (女流俳人) ‘female haiku poet’ are still in use although its use of seems to be increasingly more limited.

***Huzin-* (婦人 ‘lady’)** When modern liberal men began to write about gender equality in the early years of the Meiji period, they became aware that using *onna* was not appropriate for describing modern women and *huzin*, a Chinese word meaning ‘a mature or married woman from a good family’, was brought in as a counterpart of the English lady in the discussion of the idealism of gender equality.

***Zyosi-* (女子 ‘girl’), *dansi-* (男子 ‘boy’)** Before the time of modernization, the difference between *onna* and *zyosi* were not significantly large. In the early Meiji years, *zyosi* came to be used in the context of school education.

Zyosei- (女性 ‘female’), *dansei-* (男性 ‘male’) During the post-war period, *huzin* was replaced with *zyosei* (female), which is a more general term for women than *huzin*. Then, in correspondence with this new term for ‘woman’, *dansei*- ‘male’ was introduced. Although marking the male gender is not commonly practiced in print media, it seems to be increasing in online media. A law office advertises *Dansei bengosi mo 5-nin imasu* ‘Our office also has 5 male lawyers’, and a university public relations office announces research on *Zyosei- oyobi dansei-kanrisyoku ni taisuru taido ni-kansuru kenkyuu* ‘A study concerning attitudes toward female and male administrators’. Online news continues to report about *dansei untensyu* (male driver), *dansei ten’in* (male store clerk), *dansei giin* (male council member), *dansei anaunsaa* (male announcer), *dansei sikai* (male dentist), etc. As print journalism is in decline and online articles are becoming more readily available, gender differentiation by prefixing *dansei*- or *zyosei*- might gradually become accepted in journalism.

What seems to come into our view from these facts about third person pronouns and female and male articles is that the semantic of other-genderizing began to operate in the time of modernization. When the second feminist movement reached Japan, the other-gendering semantic was not as firm and strong as the self-gendering semantic. With guidelines issued by many government offices and women’s groups, the other-gendering has become part of the culture to be changed.

5 Beyond men’s and women’s language

We have seen that Japanese is indeed a very strongly gendered language, especially in the way women are influenced by the self-gendering semantic. The sex-exclusiveness of the differentiation between male speakers and female speakers in the use of the first-person pronoun is totally unlike English or other European languages. In addition to the first-person pronouns and speech act patterns, there are many more gendered forms, sex-exclusive or sex-preferential: An interjection of surprise *Ara!*, for example, is exclusively for women; Pause filler *ano(o)* is preferred by female speakers and *ma(a)* by male speakers (Reynolds 2001); Women tend to use a higher pitched voice than men (Ohara 1992). Self-gendering in Japanese stands out even in comparison with Korean, which is generally considered to be a language genetically related to Japanese.[8] To all appearances, Japanese is a type of language to be placed at the extremely strong end of the self-genderization axis. English is perhaps at the opposite end of self-genderization. This comparative analysis of Japanese and English can be extended to classify other languages according to their genderization types, which helps describe and explain each language on a common ground. It is not unreasonable to contend that languages with strong self-gender differentiation (e.g. Japanese) are more deeply imbedded in the consciousness of the speakers than languages without strong genderization (e.g. English). The theory of women's history that Itsue Takamure (1972), a Japanese woman historian, has offered concurs with this view. She compared women's history in Japan to that in ancient Greece and ancient Rome. She explained, as many other Japanologists do, that ancient Japan was matriarchic, with women playing more central roles in the culture, that as the society increasingly became male-dominated, a more sophisticated political and economic system took shape. She provides important proof that there were all kinds of attempts made by the dominant sex to mold women, especially during the period of centralized feudalism (from the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century). The women's condition at this stage resembled that was found in ancient Greece, when women still had resilience. Takamure continues to argue that in Japan the molding of women had been completed by the time the centralized feudal system collapsed (1868) and the country was rushing for modernization, Westernization, and industrialization. She concludes that women had already become willing to play the subservient role by the time of the modern era and men needed to do nothing but praise the virtue of women in order to keep women in their place (as in ancient Rome). Then, we can fortuitously infer that the gender semantic reached its height in Japan in the midst of the efforts toward language standardization. That was from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. Japan was trying to catch up with the West, building a modernized society on Confucian soil. Once women internalized the view that they are different from men, that women are the sex for childbearing, nurturing, and domestic care, being gentler and more obedient than men, that women are the sex who speak a "womanly" language, they would no longer question the validity of the dichotomy between men's and women's language. The high degree of literacy resulting from the

8 John Kerby (term paper submitted for the graduate course "Japanese sociolinguistics" in the fall of 1990) conducted a study testing this claim. He randomly selected 20 sentences from the sample sentences that Reynolds (1985) had given as sentences exclusively or preferentially sex differential, presented them separately and out of context to 9 native speaker informants, and asked them to identify the gender of the speakers. He wrote, "Of the twenty items taken from Reynolds (1985) and purported to have definite gender bias in usage, sixteen were confirmed 100% of the time to be used by male or female speakers only, as predicted in Reynolds". He tested Korean sentences in a similar fashion. The result showed that Korean sentences were not gendered as much as Japanese sentences.

government policy of universal education was not a cure for sex differentiation, but it worked as a vehicle to disseminate the genderized culture to the masses.

Second-wave feminism was responded to in various forms in Japan. The media was reporting in the seventies that schoolgirls in Tokyo were using *boku* or even *ore* in their interactions among themselves. Akiko Jugaku (1979) interpreted it as the attempt of young girls to "hijack" male first person pronouns: It was the young girls' collective expression that *atasi*, a constant reminder of their female gender, gets in their way when they try to participate in school activities on equal terms with boys, whether studying or playing. Although the hijack plan was not successful, the young girls' *boku* echoed everywhere. Mitsu Tanaka (1972) published her best-selling autobiography, *Inochi no onna-tachi e: Torimidashi ūman ribu ron* 'For My Spiritual Sisters: A Disorderly Theory of Women's Liberation' using *atasi*, an informal woman's first person pronoun printed in hiragana, as if she were affirming her female identity as a full-fledged human being.

As Hiroshi Osada (2002) stated, the category of the first-person pronoun has been problematic for the Japanese language for all Japanese speakers, female or male, and a solution is not going to be found in the immediate future. In many other areas of the language, however, gender crossing is occurring, undermining the semantic of self-genderization.

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9 Feminist approaches to Japanese language, gender, and sexuality

1 Introduction

The aim of feminist linguistic studies is to address the problems of sexism in society and promote gender equality by deconstructing and relativizing the assumed naturalness of hegemonic ideologies about sex, gender, and sexuality embedded in the structure, conventional usages, and socially recognized styles of language. The label "feminism" in feminist linguistics does not stand for a single theory, but rather "a perspective that includes many different and sometimes competing approaches, all of which share a basic commitment to understanding the shifting position of diverse gendered subjects, both female and male, with respect to power and agency" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 471). Theoretically, early research approaches in the 1970s and 1980s can be classified into three major models: the deficient model (Lakoff 1975), the dominance model (Zimmerman and West 1975; Fishman 1983), and the difference model (Maltz and Borker 1982; Tannen 1990). In contrast, approaches in the 1990s and later, as discussed in detail in 3.1, developed taking full account of post-structural theories, especially Michel Foucault's notion of discourse and Judith Butler's formulation of gender as performance. Feminist linguistics is an interdisciplinary field with close ties to feminist theory, queer theory, sociology, anthropology, and literary theory; it utilizes a wide range of approaches, including conversation analysis, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, variationist sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of speaking.

One of the major arguments of feminist theory refutes biological determinism by distinguishing sex (a biological distinction) from gender (a socially constructed distinction between what is generally called femininity and masculinity); that is, it rejects the belief that femininity and masculinity are innately determined with the goal of bringing about social change. While biological determinism now has little credence, there is still a strong tendency toward biological foundationalism – the belief that "distinctions of nature, at some basic level, ground or manifest themselves in human identity" (Nicholson 1994: 82); in short, many people learn how to understand their own and others' gender on the basis of biological sex. Against biological foundationalism, the development of sex science has demonstrated that biological sex itself is not binary (Fausto-Sterling 1992). Nevertheless, as Butler (1990: 7) argued, the binary

Acknowledgements: My thanks go to Shigeko Okamoto and Masahiko Minami for insightful and valuable comments on the 2014 version of this chapter in 2020, and Laurie Durand for her thorough editorial work. Any errors and misinterpretations are entirely my own.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-010

conceptualization of gender enables us to interpret non-binary sex as binary: "gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established." The binary force of gender testifies to the importance of examining the power asymmetry between genders: the unequal deployment of masculinity as superior, standard, and powerful and femininity as inferior, marginal, and powerless.

This chapter presents an overview of feminist approaches in Japanese sociolinguistics. It focuses on three major topics: linguistic sexism, gendered styles, and the representation of sexuality. The first section presents examples of sexist usages in Japanese, discusses theoretical debates concerning the relationships between sexist language and sexism in society, and concludes with examples of social change instigated by feminist language reform movements. The second section starts with a brief review of recent theoretical developments concerning gendered styles, followed by two subsections, one outlining the findings of studies investigating the discursive construction of Japanese women's language, and the other reviewing analyses of the ways gendered styles are used in the media. The third section examines labels for sexuality, linguistic codes of heterosexuality, and styles of speech associated with particular sexual identities. While the chapter does not cover all topics in the field of gender and sexuality in Japanese sociolinguistics, I believe these three areas offer the most intriguing Japanese data and theoretical contributions.

2 Linguistic sexism and feminist language reform

2.1 Sexism in Japanese language

Language and the way it represents women and men has been a major issue for Japanese feminists since the 1970s. It was the work of voluntary women's groups throughout Japan that brought the issue of linguistic sexism into public view, led the discussion with journalists and lawyers, and worked to reform sexist expressions and statements (Niwa 2010; Saito 2010).

I discuss five major areas of linguistic sexism problematized by women's groups. The first is concerned with terms for wives and husbands, especially *mibōzin* 'widow' and *syuzin* 'husband'. *Mibōzin* 'lit. not-dead-person' defines a widow as a person who has not died even though her husband has. *Syuzin* is a term of address used by wives to their husbands that literally means "master"; for a woman to use it reproduces an asymmetrical power relationship between wife and husband (Endo 1998). Instead of *syuzin*, feminists have suggested using a given name, family name, or the term *tureai* ''lit. accompany-together' to refer to one's husband, and *otureai* (*tureai* with the honorific prefix *o*) to address another person's husband.

Second, women criticized the use of a feminine prefix before occupational terms that are used with no prefix for men, as in *onna-syatyō* 'woman-president', *zyosei-syain* 'woman-employee', *zyosi-sensyu* 'woman-athlete', and *zyoryū-sakka* 'woman-writer' (Nakamura 1995). This usage reinforces the notion of men as the standard holders of such occupations, thus making women in the same job marked cases, while also unnecessarily emphasizing their femaleness. The emphasis on femaleness encourages evaluation of the success or failure of, say, a 'woman-president' on the basis of the fact that she is a woman.

The third area is concerned with the use of personal pronouns. The usage of the many personal pronouns available in Japanese is regulated by convention. Self-reference terms in standard Japanese, for instance, are classified by gender: *atasi* for women; *boku*, *ore*, and *wasi* for men; and *watasi* for both women and men. While actual pronoun usage does not always follow gender classifications, the use of self-reference terms assigned to opposite genders is often deemed rule breaking. At the same time, however, a group of people that includes both women and men is referred to with plural masculine pronouns such as *boku-ra* (Nakamura 1995). Such usage makes women linguistically invisible, a problem also found in the generic use of the English *men* to refer to human beings.

The fourth problem concerns the Japanese law that requires married couples to use one family name. While the civil code does not specify which spouse should change names, women adopted their husbands' family names in 96 percent of marriages in the 2000s (Ninomiya 2007). Changing one's family name causes several practical problems in Japanese society, where adults are identified by their family names rather than by given names. For instance, the female creator of literary, artistic, or academic works before and after marriage becomes difficult to identify if she takes her husband's name. Moreover, a woman's marital status becomes public knowledge – at her workplace, for example – which is not the case for a man (Nakamura 2010a). In 1996, lawyers and female Diet members submitted a bill to allow married couples to choose whether they would use the same or different family names. In 2009, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women asked the Japanese government to amend this aspect of the civil code. The Japanese Diet had not passed the bill as of 2020 because conservative Diet members claim that it destroys family ties.

The first four areas of linguistic sexism generally concern imbalances in customary linguistic behaviors. The fifth area of linguistic sexism is more concerned with the expression of sexist ideas through language. For example, a common term for female office worker, *onna no ko* 'lit. woman-child; girl', is demeaning in its assumption that the woman is immature. In a slightly more subtle manifestation of the same assumption, many women have experienced answering the telephone at work and being asked, "Is there a man I can talk to?"; the implication is that a woman is not capable of handling the caller's request. To address the problem, it was necessary for feminists to broaden the discussion of linguistic discrimination beyond individual words. As a case in point, in the 1980s, many major Japanese publishers simply created lists of "taboo" words and instructed their employees to avoid them. To stimulate more meaningful discussion about the power of language in creating and sustaining sexist ideologies, some women's groups have published guidelines for non-sexist language use since the 1990s (Saito 2010). Many Japanese publishers and broadcasting companies now distribute handbooks adopting the principles and alternatives proposed in these guidelines to their writers.

2.2 Theoretical debate: Language as social action

Some of the earliest feminist language reform movements in the English-speaking world took up the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which consists of two arguments, linguistic relativity (different languages embody different worldviews) and linguistic determinism. There are two versions of linguistic determinism: strong (the structure of a language determines how we perceive the world) and weak (the structure of a language influences how we perceive the world). Drawing on the strong version, Spender (1982) claimed that English sexist usages determine the way English speakers perceive their societies. The strong version of linguistic determinism, however, has been refuted by later studies of language and cognition, which offer evidence that structural differences among languages do not directly determine the way their speakers perceive the world.

Attempts to reform linguistic sexism have also drawn criticism from several quarters. One such criticism argues that reforming language does not change society; for example, it does not raise women's wages. The advocates of that critique claim that language is an ideology-free tool for communicating ideas, and thus if a society abolishes discrimination, its language will automatically become non-discriminatory (Nakamura 1995).

New insights into the relationship between language and sexism in society that are relevant to this criticism have emerged from post-structural theory. Post-structural theorists argue for the crucial role of discourse in producing, reproducing, and disseminating particular ideologies concerning social categories, relationships, and activities (Foucault 1981[1969]). If Japanese speakers call female office workers *onna no ko* 'girl' as a matter of routine, the idea that female workers are less competent and efficient than male workers becomes prevalent and, as a result, women's lower wages are legitimized. Sexist language, by promulgating sexist ideology, thus has a material effect on women's everyday lives. Language is not an ideology-free tool for communication, but a system of signs that can be tailored to produce, represent, and legitimate discriminatory ideas.

Speech act theory offers another perspective on linguistic sexism. Its central insight is that language use is a social act. As Austin (1962) pointed out, we use language to do things as well as to assert things. The statement "I promise to meet you at 10 o'clock tomorrow" is an act of promising rather than an assertion of anything. Nakamura (2013a) argued that if language use is a social act, uttering a sexist statement can be considered an enactment of discrimination. In Japan, it is common for a person accused of making a sexist statement to excuse him/herself by saying, "I had no intention of discriminating against women." Nakamura claimed that such an excuse is irrelevant, because what is at issue is not the speaker's intention, but whether the speaker engaged in the social act of uttering a sexist statement.

2.3 How language has changed Japanese society

If language plays an important role in promulgating sexism in society, language can also bring about reform and change in society. Among the coinages proposed by women, *sekusyaru harasumento* 'sexual harassment', often abbreviated as *sekuhara* 'sexual harassment', has had a large impact on Japanese people's daily lives. The term was first introduced to Japan in the 1980s by a group of suburban Tokyo women (Niwa 2010). Reading a handbook about sexual harassment published in Detroit, they realized the problems described in the book were identical to the problems women faced in Japanese workplaces. Convinced of the need to introduce the term *sekuhara* into Japan, they documented the voices of ten thousand working women who responded to their questionnaires about harassment at work. After they published their findings, women's groups all over Japan, along with public and private organizations, governmental agencies, journalists, and lawyers became engaged in eliminating sexual harassment.

The spread of the term *sekuhara* in Japan is a prime example of how language can change society. It transformed people's ways of interpreting relationships between women and men at work. Before the word came into use, it could be difficult for a woman experiencing sexual harassment to recognize the problem. Once a certain set of verbal and physical behaviors was tagged *sekuhara*, women became aware of such behavior in a different way, making them able to see it as abuse that victimized them, to talk to others about the offender's behavior, to tell the offender to stop, to report the offender to the police, and even to take the case to court. As the critical social changes the term *sekuhara* brought about were recognized, new terms for other types of institutional harassment, *akahara* 'academic harassment' and *pawahara* 'power harassment', came into use. These terms enabled both women and men who suffered physical and verbal abuse from teachers and employers to fight against them. Now, in the 2020s, most large companies and universities in Japan have internal committees dedicated to preventing, resolving, and finding ways to discourage various forms of harassment.

The upsurge in the awareness of violence against women furthered the introduction of more new terms. The spread of *sutōkā* 'stalker' highlighted the potential tragic outcomes of obsessive attention by individuals or groups toward an individual. In 2000, Japan enacted a national law that imposed legal controls on stalking. The terms *DV* 'domestic violence' and *dēto DV* 'date DV; violence by a man against his girlfriend' helped reveal violence in the private sphere, which had long been considered too personal for police intervention. People became aware of the need to redefine familiar terms, such as *tikan* 'groper', thereby raising "trivial" matters to crimes. In 2012, some railroad companies started making announcements in their trains that groping was a crime, thus redefining the term *tikan* and giving women the courage to accuse gropers of their offense.

Other neologisms are *kaisyun* 'lit. buy-spring; paying for sex' and *kaisyunhu* 'lit. buy-spring man; a man who buys sex'. Before women created these terms, prostitution was referred to as *baisyun* 'lit. sell-spring' and a prostitute was called *baisyunhu* 'lit. sell-spring lady', which placed the focus on women who earned money through sex. The new terms, *kaisyun* and *kaisyunhu*, served to shift the focus from women who have sex for money to men who buy sex with money. This shift resulted in the passage of a 1999 law against buying sex from those under the age of eighteen.

After the equal employment opportunity act for men and women came into force in 1986, the Japanese government proposed neutralizing job descriptions that contained words referring specifically to women, such as *kangohu* 'nursing-lady', *sutyuwādesu* 'stewardess', and *hobo* 'day care mother', to *kangosi* 'nursing-teacher', *kyakusitu zyōmuin* 'passenger cabin crew', and *hoikusi* 'day care teacher', aiming to promote equal opportunities for both women and men in these occupations.

These examples show that the reform of language can relativize dominant social relations and structures by providing alternative views. It is worth emphasizing that the new terms proposed by women did not spread immediately but were gradually accepted in society through the long-term efforts of Japanese women and men. In Japan today, although we still hear sexist expressions, it is widely recognized that discriminatory language can produce, disseminate, and legitimate discriminatory ideologies.

3 Gendered styles: Women's language and men's language

3.1 Theoretical developments in research on gendered styles

Traditional sociolinguistic studies in the 1970s and 1980s, reflecting the rise of feminism, began to realize the need to consider women's speech, but pre-supposed that speakers' gender pre-existed their language use. Hence, the inclusion of women's speech in sociolinguistic research led to the development of "gender difference studies". Linguists divided informants by gender, compared their speech, and presented the differences between the two groups as linguistic gender differences, assuming that the observed differences were the result of the speaker's gender (see Yukawa and Saito 2004 for a review). Thus, researchers assumed that a woman, before she engages in any linguistic practice, already possesses female gender and uses language according to her gender. Gender in this framework is conceptualized as a personal attribute; one possesses a gender or belongs to a gender. Moreover, it is strictly binary; there are only two kinds, female and male. If gender determines one's speech, both observed linguistic gender differences and the characteristics of women's language are accounted for by the fact that the speaker is a woman. Such a conceptualization of gender is now called essentialism.

Empirical studies on women's speech have demonstrated, however, that women's speech changes constantly, varying by age, generation, education, everyday experience, and place of residence (Kobayashi 1993; Okamoto 1995; Takano 2000). If speakers use language based on a pre-given attribute such as gender, as the essentialist approach assumes, we cannot account for the heterogeneous language use of women. Homogeneous "linguistic gender differences" cannot be extracted from heterogeneous linguistic practices. Rather, it was the gender difference studies that invented "linguistic gender differences", promoting the myth that women and men use language differently and overlooking the differences among women and among men.

Post-structural feminism in the 1990s, in contrast, considered gender an accomplishment performed by an agent. As Butler (1990: 25) argued, "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender." Gender neither pre-exists nor determines practice but emerges in ongoing practice. It thus changed from something one *has* to something one *does*. This theoretical development has radically reversed the relationship between gender and linguistic practice. While gender was the cause of one's practice according to previous models (e.g. a woman speaks politely because she is a woman), gender became the accomplishment of practice (e.g. one speaks politely to construct a particular identity). The research objective of language and gender studies shifted from the discovery of linguistic gender differences to analyses of how gender identities are constructed through individual linguistic practices.

This theoretical development brought about four crucial changes in our understanding of the relationship between language and gender (Nakamura 2001). First, gender is conceptualized as a product that emerges as a social actor engages in linguistic practices. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 588) contended, "Identity [including gender identity] is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices." Second, the conceptualization of gender as the emerging product of practice emphasizes the agency of a speaker. If one's practice is not determined by a pre-existing gender, the speaker has the agency to choose and perform a variety of gender and sexual identities using diverse semiotic resources. Language is regarded as one of the semiotic resources available for the social actor to utilize in enacting multiple identities in interaction along with other semiotic resources including hairstyle, clothes, and bodily movements. Third, gender is not limited to the male-female binary but is understood to emerge in a variety of forms intersecting with other factors such as class, age, region, ethnicity, and sexuality. The femininity of a high school girl can be very different from that of a middle-aged female professor. To examine the diverse, multiple, and sometimes contradictory enactments of gender, rather than postulating a direct relationship between speaker gender and linguistic practice, linguists are expected to take into consideration the complex relationships between linguistic practice and social and situational factors including genre, speech act, discourse structure, and setting in a specific "community of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992), as well as wider societal norms and ideologies the participants choose to draw on in a given interaction. Fourth, gender is considered to constitute only one facet of one's identity, along with other facets including class, age, region, ethnicity, sexuality, and social role. Gender does not always have a direct effect on speech, nor does it have a uniform effect on speech. A woman does not always use language to present her femininity. This does not mean that researchers assume a reduced role of gender in analyzing linguistic practice. Taking gender into account is indispensable in conducting sociolinguistic research because it has "a latent, omnipresent influence in every communicative encounter, with the potential to move into the foreground at any moment" (Holmes 2014: 434). Gender alone cannot account for any social process but attempts to investigate a social process without considering the effects of gender are unlikely to cast much light.

Central to the notion of gendered speech is the indexical association of particular linguistic features with social categories (Silverstein 2003). Ochs (1992) described indexicality as the process by which some linguistic features directly index affective meanings, through which they are indirectly associated with social identities. The Japanese sentence-final form *wa* directly indexes delicate intensity, a societal preference for female behavior, so it indirectly indexes femininity. Researchers in the field of language ideology further argue that the direct and indirect links between linguistic forms and social categories are mediated by language ideology. Woolard (1998: 18) wrote, for instance, that "simply using language in particular ways is not what forms social groups, identities, or relations . . . rather, ideological interpretations of such uses of language always mediate these effects." In this view, the sentence-final form *wa* came to be associated with femininity not because women prefer to use it, but because the ideological distinction between women's and men's languages rationalizes such an association.

3.2 Constructing gendered styles

Japanese is known for having socially salient linguistic categories of women's language and men's language. Women's language is considered to be a reserved, polite, and soft style of speaking, whereas men's language is regarded as a direct, impolite, and rough style. Almost all Japanese speakers can give stereotypical contrasting examples of feminine and masculine features. These involve a wide range of linguistic, stylistic, and paralinguistic features such as tone of voice, interjections, sentence-final particles, personal pronouns, and particular phrases. A high-pitched voice is linked to femininity, while a low-pitched voice connotes masculinity. The interjections *ara* and *mā* are considered feminine, and *oi* and *kora* masculine. The sentence-final particles *(da)wa*, *ne*, *yo*, and *kasira* are feminine forms, and *ze* and *zo* are masculine forms. The first-person pronoun *atasi* is commonly regarded as feminine, while *boku* and *ore*, and the second-person pronouns *omae* and *kimi*, are considered masculine. *Onaka suita* is a female way of saying, "hungry"; the male version is *hara hetta*. Thus, most Japanese speakers would assume that the sentence *Atasi onaka suita wa* 'I'm hungry' was spoken by a woman and the sentence *Ore hara hetta zo* 'I'm hungry' was spoken by a man.

Nevertheless, empirical studies on local linguistic interactions have refuted the direct relationship between linguistic features and the gender of the speaker. First, they have shown that the speech of female speakers often lacks the so-called feminine features and that some women, especially young women, actively avoid women's language (Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū-kai (ed.) 1997; Kobayashi 1993; Okamoto 1995). Second, speakers are often observed to use features ideologically associated with the opposite gender (Miyazaki 2004). Third, speakers use stereotypical feminine and masculine features to employ a wide range of affective and epistemic stances often unrelated to gender (SturtzSreetharan 2009). These findings explicitly demonstrate the need to distinguish the notions of women's and men's languages from women's and men's linguistic practices.

To account for the incongruence between the reality of people's heterogeneous practices and the notion of homogeneous women's and men's languages, researchers have proposed redefining women's language and men's language as *ideological constructs*, and emphasized the importance of distinguishing between "*ideology* – the representations of social types and their ways of speaking and writing which circulate in a given society – and *practice* – what we observe when we investigate the behavior of real people in real situations" (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 135, emphasis original; Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016).

Furthermore, a series of studies has demonstrated that the linguistic enactment of gender identity is not accomplished by using individual linguistic features, but by employing a sociolinguistic style comprising a constellation of linguistic and other semiotic features (Coupland 2007). Moreover, linguistic features indirectly linked to femininity are associated not with broad categories like "women" but rather with more specific social types such as "burnout teenage girls" (Eckert 2000; Bucholtz 2009). These ideas led to a new view of Japanese women's language as one of the gendered speech styles associated with a reserved, polite, and soft type of femininity. Reflecting this theoretical development, I use the terms *feminine styles* and *masculine styles* to refer to multiple styles associated with different femininities and masculinities, redefining women's language as one of the feminine styles and men's language as one of the masculine styles.

The redefinition of women's language as an ideological construct enables new questions such as how and why the ideology of women's language has become a culturally salient notion in Japan (Nakamura 2008, 2014a). Researchers have launched investigations of what Agha (2005: 38) called enregisterment, "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users." The approach is different from previous sociolinguistic studies in two major respects. First, it incorporates historical perspectives to delineate genealogies of gendered styles. Second, it broadens the data from face-to-face interactions to metapragmatic discourse (comments about language use) as well as to constructed dialogues in the media.

Genealogical analyses of Japanese women's language have demonstrated that the ideology of women's language has been constructed by metapragmatic discourse and dialogues in the media, rather than by women's practice, and is closely related to political and economic processes at particular historical junctures. Inoue (2006) made a crucial theoretical contribution to this field with her argument that "Japanese women's language" is not a natural outcome of women's speech that originated at some ancient time, but a style that emerged in a new discursive space opened up by Japan's modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The process relied on the formation of indexical relations between specific linguistic features and femininity, which took place in part through the invention of a speech style, *jogakusei kotoba* 'schoolgirl speech', by female students in the early twentieth century (Nakamura 2006).

In contemporary Japan, the ideology of gendered styles has two major functions. First, it functions to create regulatory norms. The normative function of the ideology of men's language exists but is not as strong as it is for women's language. The ideology of women's language functions as a regulatory norm by representing the appropriate speech style to be used in performing ideal femininity: "What has been regarded as *joseigo*, based on standard Japanese, in fact represents a prescriptive norm for women's speech" (Okamoto 2014: 83). Supporting this claim, studies have found such norms prescribed in etiquette manuals for elite women as early as the fourteenth century, in a tradition that continues today (Nakamura 2014b; Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016). While the norm of feminine speech can restrict women's linguistic practices in some situations, women can also utilize the norm to perform a reserved, polite, and soft kind of femininity when they wish to do so (Nakamura 2014b).

Second, linguistic, stylistic, and paralinguistic features that comprise the ideologies of women's and men's languages can be employed as semiotic resources to construct a variety of femininities and masculinities. I review major studies on such processes in the media in the next section.

3.3 Changing representations of gender in the media

Traditional sociolinguists considered fictional conversation in media to be inauthentic and therefore inappropriate as data, in contrast to natural conversation (Bucholtz 2003). With the recent interest in the processes of dissemination of gendered styles, however, the political and commercial intentions of mediatized language are analyzed as a major force in the linguistic construction of gender in particular ways in late capitalist society (Androutsopoulos 2016; Stamou 2018).

Studies on Japanese media representations of gendered styles have demonstrated five major points. First, the stereotypical feminine style is repeatedly reproduced in a wide range of media genres, including films, TV dramas, comics, animation, and novels, and it is used much more frequently in media than in face-to-face interaction (Mizumoto 2010; Hiramoto 2012). The style appears both in originally Japanese media and in Japanese translations, and in fact, studies of translation have shown that the translated speech of non-Japanese women, especially of white heroines, has played a key role in producing and preserving Japanese women's language (Inoue 2003; Nakamura 2013b). The speech of non-Japanese men is also translated into Japanese men's language. Furthermore, Japanese translators have invented a specific, "cool and informal" style that is spoken only by non-Japanese men (Nakamura 2020). The differences in translation practices according to gender suggest that the relationship between native and non-native femininities differs from the relationship between native and non-native masculinities in Japanese gender regimentation.

Second, the producers of media contrastively utilize gendered styles and dialect to delineate distinctive characters. For instance, female characters who speak in a stereotypical feminine style tend to be heroines in romantic stories while those who speak dialects tend not to be romantic heroines (Shibamoto Smith and Occhi 2009). Male characters' personae are also differentiated through gendered styles; SturtzSreetharan's (2017) analysis of a film demonstrated how Osaka dialect was employed to represent a warm and emotionally connected father, while standard Japanese was used for the character of an upper-middle class salaryman father disconnected from his child.

Third, the producers of media apply gendered styles differently according to the race of the speaker. For example, Suzuki (2020) examined the Japanese speech of non-Japanese male characters in contemporary Japanese novels and found that Japanese authors assign linguistic features associated with masculinity much more frequently to their East Asian characters than to their white characters. Through their masculine language, East Asian men are constructed as more heterosexually attractive than white men, in contrast to the longstanding Western stereotype of Asian men as feminine and asexual.

Fourth, when the media take up the new types of Japanese femininities and masculinities, they often represent them so as to both reassert and shift traditional gender regimentation. Studies of mediatized representations of the new gendered notions, such as women business leaders (Nakamura 2017), househusbands (Fukuda 2020), and *ikumen* 'childrearing man/men' (Saito 2020), have shown that mediatized discourses simultaneously advocate and contest existing gender orders by evaluating the new types of femininities and masculinities in comparison with the traditional types, such as women workers limited to subordinate positions or the hegemonic masculinity of *sararīman* 'salaried man/men'.

Finally, media targeting younger audiences employ gendered styles in a variety of ways, showing that media have the potential to instigate changes in people's perceptions of gendered styles. One particularly conspicuous change observed in the media since the 1970s is the use of women's language in aggressive utterances such as assertions, orders, snobbish utterances, and expressions of evil intention. Chinami (2010) pointed out, for instance, that a female character in a *manga* comic tended to shift to polite women's language to directly criticize her listeners. Thus, feminine features have expanded their indexical meanings from their conventional link with reticence, politeness, and gentleness to encompass the completely opposite meanings of aggressive, critical, and even evil femininity in the past fifty years (Matsugu 2008).

4 Talking about sexuality in Japanese

Sexuality has long been considered private and natural. Radical feminists, beginning in the 1970s to 1980s, refuted this understanding of sexuality by showing how sex-related crimes and industries (e.g. rape, prostitution, and pornography) that were said to be caused by the male sex drive are based on structural gendered asymmetry in society (Dworkin l987; MacKinnon 1987). By clarifying the social and political aspects of sexuality, they emphasized the need to examine how sexual identity, sexual desire, and sexual activity are related to societal power structures. Although feminist views on sex, prostitution, and pornography vary, feminists share the recognition that it is important to investigate how sexuality is socially constructed. Discourse is considered to play a central role (Foucault 1981[1969]). Discourses about sexuality fuel our understanding of what is normal, correct, and proper, and how we should feel, behave, and communicate in sexually relating to others.

Pivotal in the theoretical development of sexuality studies is the notion of heteronormativity: "those structures, institutions, relations and actions that promote and produce heterosexuality as natural, self-evident, desirable, privileged and necessary" (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 55). Early sexuality studies tended to focus on homosexuality, based on the assumption that it was the marked case in need of investigation. Lesbian and gay researchers in the 1980s instead questioned the privileged, naturalized, and legitimate status of heterosexuality (Rich 1980). In the 1990s, their arguments instigated the emergence of queer theory, much of which aims at "the deconstruction or blurring of two powerful binarisms stabilizing each other: female vs. male and heterosexual vs. homosexual" (Motschenbacher 2011: 151). The notion of heteronormativity has redefined heterosexuality as a political institution in need of scrutiny rather than a natural relationship necessary for reproduction.

The conceptualization of heterosexuality as a political institution has deconstructed the opposite, complementary deployment of femininity and masculinity. It is commonly assumed that women and men are naturally attracted to each other because they are born opposites. Radical feminism reversed this complementary conception of gender by claiming that heterosexuality as a political institution requires men and women to be opposites (Cameron and Kulick 2003). The binary constitution of gender into femininity and masculinity serves as the stabilizing mechanism of heteronormativity. As Butler (1993: 123) pointed out, "'gender' exists only in the service of heterosexism." To denaturalize sexuality, feminist and queer linguists have examined the relationships between language and sexuality from three main perspectives: the labeling of sexuality, linguistic codes of heteronormativity, and speech styles associated with sexual identity. In the next sections, I outline the major research in these three areas in Japanese.

4.1 The labeling of sexuality

A major function of language is to draw boundaries and create social categories. One of the ways language draws boundaries is by creating labels, rather than simply assigning labels to already distinct entities. The distinguishing force of language also applies to the labels categorizing people into different groups according to their sexuality. I will describe three sets of common terms that construct asymmetrical relationships between groups in terms of sexuality.

First, in Japanese, there are different terms that refer to homosexuality and heterosexuality, *dōseiai* and *iseiai*. Having distinctive terms for homosexuality and heterosexuality renders the making of this distinction among sexual experiences a matter of socially accepted commonsense. However, whether sex is between people of the same or different genders is just one of the many ways to categorize sexual relationships (Sedgwick 1990). Moreover, attempts to classify people into one of the two categories based on sexual practices are doomed to failure. For example: How many times must I have sex with someone of the same gender to be classified as a homosexual? Must I love a person of the same gender to be homosexual? The difficulty arises because the identification as homosexual or heterosexual is not in fact determined by one's sexual practices but is a choice we are forced to make because the homo/hetero distinction created by linguistic labels is our society's dominant framework to understand sexual desire, practice, and identity.

Second, entities to be distinguished can be given multiple labels, each of which carries distinctive positive and negative values. The linguistic label assigned to a minority group can potentially acquire negative, marked meanings. How to deal with negative labels, therefore, has been a significant issue in the rights movements of many minority groups. Thus, some gay males self-identify with negative labels, such as *homo* 'abbreviation of homosexual' and *okama* 'prefix *o* + *kama* [pot]', trying to positively redefine them. Others prefer the use of the English loan word, *gei* 'gay', which carries a cosmopolitan connotation. Still others dispense with all existing terms. The choice of a linguistic label is closely related to one's political stance toward the normative ideology, and we therefore find a variety of usages within the same group as well as by the same person in different situations.

Third, the labels given to groups that are being contrasted in terms of sexuality are asymmetrically deployed. Terms for homosexual were known and appeared in dictionaries long before terms for heterosexual came into use. A Japanese language dictionary, *Kōjien* (Shinmura 1955, 2008), for instance, has included the word *dōseiai* 'homosexual' since its first edition in 1955. The first citation of the word *iseiai* 'heterosexual' in the same dictionary was in the sixth edition, published in 2008. Its later appearance maintains the unmarked, standard, and normal status of heterosexuality because "it is through the lack of explicit reference that heterosexuality can maintain its privileged status" (Vincent, Kazama, and Kawaguchi 1997: 99, translated by the author). There are also a large number of derogatory slang terms referring to homosexuality including *homo* and *okama*, but there are few derogatory terms for heterosexuality. The terms for homosexuality tend to acquire derogatory connotations, because heterosexuality depends on negative definitions of homosexuality to acquire its normal, positive status.

4.2 Linguistic codes of heteronormativity

Every society has its own appropriate ways of expressing sexual desire, arousal, and satisfaction. Language constitutes a crucial part of such codes of sexuality. Following conventional codes, we identify particular experiences as sexual, and we communicate our sexuality to others. If heterosexuality is not a natural but a political institution, it becomes crucial to examine the ways the linguistic codes of heterosexuality produce, maintain, and legitimate heteronormativity in society. In examining the conventional codes of heterosexuality, the Japanese language provides interesting data because it makes an ideological distinction between women's language and men's language. This distinction foregrounds the distinction between women and men by their speech, fulfilling the fundamental requirement of heteronormativity that femininity and masculinity be clearly differentiated, yet complement each other to form the heterosexual pair.

Previous studies on the codes of heterosexuality have revealed three major points. First, speakers of many languages use the same linguistic resources to construct both gender and sexual identities (Motschenbacher 2011). This is partly due to the fact that linguistic resources that can be used for constructing gender and sexual identities in many languages are confined to those of heterosexuality, indexing either femininity or masculinity. Second, the construction of sexual relationships is often based on power asymmetry between the participants, as well illustrated by sadomasochistic relationships in which the participants intentionally build an extreme power difference to increase sexual arousal and satisfaction. In creating a hierarchical relationship, the participants use language (e.g. the superior's use of imperative forms) as well as other symbolic resources. The active-receptive asymmetry in homosexual relationships is called by special labels, *tati* ‘top’ and *neko* ‘bottom’. Third, speakers often break the rules and conventions of appropriate language use in constructing intimate relationships.

In negotiating love relationships, Japanese speakers use a variety of address forms and personal pronouns to decrease distance and to promote intimacy. In public situations such as workplaces, Japanese speakers commonly address each other by family name. Children and family members usually call each other by given name. Thus, a shift from family name to given name often creates a closer, more private relationship. Nakamura (2007) pointed out that the authors of mainstream romance novels effectively utilize the shift from family name to given name to indicate a significant turning point in a romantic relationship between female and male protagonists.

Highly conventionalized linguistic norms can serve as codes of heterosexuality in forcing speakers to reproduce heteronormativity in their everyday conversation. One such norm requires Japanese speakers to call themselves by first-person pronouns. Because first-person pronouns are gendered, *watasi* for girls and *boku* for boys, however, the convention forces children to construct a heterosexual identity (Nakamura 2007). Some self-identified homosexual and transgendered people, in retrospective essays, have described the difficulty and confusion they experienced both in referring to themselves with the gendered pronouns and in stating, or even understanding, their reluctance to follow the convention (Hirano 1994). Abe (2010: 148) contended that “for some Japanese gay men the imperative to choose among first-person pronouns forces them to define their gender/sexual identity” within the heterosexual framework.

One interesting issue in investigations of the codes of heterosexuality is how Japanese speakers use gendered styles differently in constructing heterosexual desire, arousal, and satisfaction. Nakamura (2010b) analyzed two types of *gyaku enjo kōsai* ‘reverse prostitution’ spam emails, which ask male receivers to register on a website claiming that they will be introduced to women who will pay the recipients for sex. In the first type of spam, (apparently fictional) women introduce themselves in very polite styles with feminine features. Behind this strategy lies the heterosexual ideology that male sexuality should be active while female sexuality should be receptive. In the second type, in which a man boasts to male recipients about the exciting sexual encounters he has had since registering on the website, the writer uses an overtly informal style with the strongly masculine first-person pronoun *ore*. In this type of spam, the writers, by describing all women as nymphomaniacs who actively desire sex, enact what Sedgwick (1985) called homosociality, a non-sexual bond between men characterized by misogyny and homophobia. These spam emails thus present two distinctive Japanese codes of heterosexuality: one that utilizes a polite feminine style to represent a receptive female heterosexuality, and the other that employs an informal style to construct homosociality among men.

4.3 Speech and sexual identity

Sexual identities are often constructed by being associated with particular styles of speech. The speech styles associated with sexual identities in Japanese have two major characteristics. First, people often assume that the speech styles of homosexual speakers deviate from the speech styles deemed appropriate for their gender; that is, that lesbians use a masculine style and gay men use a feminine style. Such a belief manifests heteronormativity in an extreme form by constructing homosexuality, a matter of sexual orientation, as gender deviance. Second, the speech style associated with gay male identity is more widely recognized than that associated with lesbian identity. The label given to a feminine speech style associated with gay men, *onē kotoba* 'honorific prefix *o* + *nē* [elder sister] + *kotoba* [speech]', is well known. However, there is no label for the speech styles of lesbians. The wider recognition of gay male speech compared to lesbian speech is closely related to gender asymmetry. As masculinity is unmarked and femininity is marked in patriarchal societies, crossing the boundary from masculinity to femininity is more conspicuous than vice versa (Cameron and Kulick 2003).

Onē kotoba, which refers to a speech style associated with gay men and M-F transgender/transsexual individuals, is characterized by the use of stereotypical feminine features including the first-person pronoun *atasi*; the second-person pronoun *anta*; the interjections *ara* and *iyā*; and the sentence-final forms *yo*, *wa*, and *dawa*. However, not all gay men prefer speaking *onē kotoba*. Some even refuse to speak in the style. The linguistic practices of gay men and M-F transgendered/transsexual speakers are far too diverse and creative to be covered by a single label (Abe 2010). Rather, *onē kotoba* is an ideological construct consisting of a set of semiotic resources that can be used to enact a particular gay persona (Wong, Roberts, and Campbell-Kibler 2001). The definition of *onē kotoba* as an ideological construct distinctive from gay and transgender/transsexual linguistic practices explicitly denies the popular assumption that it is the stylized use of women's language by those changing their gender from male to female. Such an assumption serves to identify *onē kotoba* as the exceptional use of women's language and keeps the gender binary intact. We should rather examine what effect the speakers enact and perform by speaking *onē kotoba*.

The style of *onē kotoba* as a parody of femininity can be compared to camp talk in English. Harvey (2002) argued that one of the characteristics of camp resides in its citationality. Citation, the act of the speaker quoting somebody else's utterance, always entails representing multiple voices. Camp talk explicitly manifests the non-authenticity of the voices of both the quoter and the quoted. Accordingly, *onē kotoba* involves multiple voices: those of the gay male and a woman who would speak in such a feminine style. The citationality of *onē kotoba* also relativizes the hegemonic binary distinctions of authentic/non-authentic, nature/nurture, and woman/man. The speakers of *onē kotoba*, by appropriating some of the features of feminine styles, reject and ridicule the dominant Japanese linguistic prescription regarding properly binary gendered speech, thereby questioning heterosexual norms.

The potential of *onē kotoba* to deconstruct hegemonic binarism, however, can be exploited to reinforce a gender binary by being consumed in the media. Maree (2013) analyzed media representations of *onē kyara* '*onē* celebrities' and showed that they are constructed as fake women, monsters, and subjects of ridicule. She distinguished *onē kotoba*, as a parody of women's language that challenges heteronormativity and binary gender and often symbolizes community ties of queerness, from *onē kyara kotoba*, a stereotypical *onē kotoba* used by gay men and transgender/transsexual celebrities for entertainment. Through a process of recontextualization, the *onē kotoba* of the LGBT community becomes the linguistic commodity of *onē kyara kotoba* in the media, where it is simplified as an index of non-authentic women (Maree 2020).

5 Conclusions

The studies outlined in this chapter suggest three major implications for Japanese sociolinguistics. First, to critically study the hegemonic ideologies of a female-male gender binary and heteronormativity, it is crucial to take into consideration social norms, conventional usages, ideologies of gendered styles, and language ideologies that render a particular interpretation, perception, or evaluation of linguistic interaction possible and normal. By examining the historical formation and contemporary proliferation processes of normative apparatuses, Japanese feminist linguistic studies have deconstructed and relativized the naturalness of their foundational ideologies. This endeavor, as seen in Section 3, has been carried out by analyzing official, academic, and popular metapragmatic discourses and constructed dialogues in the media.

Second, any study of language and gender needs to consider the complex but close relationship between gender and sexuality, because the female-male binary distinction and the complementary attributes assigned to femininity and masculinity function as a powerful ideological force to sustain and legitimate heteronormativity. Incorporating sexuality into studies necessarily entails addressing the gender and sexual power asymmetries inherent in the dichotomy of female/male and homo/hetero regimentations, as shown in Section 4.

Third, the research discussed in this chapter demonstrates the theoretical contributions of Japanese studies to the field of sociolinguistics. The studies on the formation of Japanese women's language in Section 3.2 reveal that indexical ties between linguistic features and femininity can be created through top-down processes by intellectuals and the media, as well as in bottom-up processes in local interactions as assumed in English studies (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). The studies on translation and mediatized representations of racialized gender and sexuality in Section 3.3 highlight the importance of investigating Japanese gender and sexuality in global contexts.

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Part IV: **Honorifics and politeness**

Takashi Nagata

10 Japanese honorifics

1 Introduction

Human societies employ various strategies to promote social harmony within their communities. Politeness in language is one such strategy, with different languages encoding politeness in a variety of ways. In English, for example, a speaker may choose from a number of directive/request forms, such as (1) below, depending on their judgement of a social situation:

(1) a. Pass the salt.
    b. Can you pass the salt?
    c. Could you pass the salt?
    d. Would you mind passing the salt?

Social factors influencing the speaker's choice can include: participants in the spoken exchange, other people present during the exchange, the location of the exchange, and the formality of the occasion. In other words, the social context of the exchange affects the level of politeness employed. Here the honorific expression does not appear on a lexical level, but on a pragmatic level. Brown and Levinson (1987) developed their "politeness" theory from this viewpoint.

Whilst this applies to any European language, there are some languages whose honorific expressions are located on a lexical level: among Asian languages, Korean, Javanese, Vietnamese, Tibetan, and Mongolian are well known for this, as is Japanese. Modes of politeness encoded in a language's grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation are termed "honorifics". This terminology is especially important in languages like Japanese, where the honorific system is extensive and quite elaborate. English, on the other hand, can be said to have no true honorifics; most modes of politeness are, instead, encoded through auxiliary routines such as "Would you mind. . ." as in the example above. English terms of address (first name only, Mr/Mrs plus surname; Sir/Madam, Professor) resemble some aspects of an honorific system, but remain relatively isolated from other structural aspects of the language. Central European languages are well known for the honorific system exhibited in their use of intimate/distant (or informal/formal) second-person pronouns. This is often referred to as the T/V distinction, after the French second-person pronouns *tu* and *vous,* the Italian *tu*

Acknowledgements: The research reported here was supported in part by project funds from the National Institute for Japanese and Linguistics (NINJAL). I would also like to thank John Haig for his comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-011

and *voi*, and other European languages. Brown and Gilman (1960) refer to the way in which, in European languages, these two kinds of second-person pronouns are code-switched according to the interpersonal relationship between a speaker and an addressee. Honorifics should be defined as modes of "deference" rather than "politeness" because one can be deferential without being polite or non-deferential while being polite (cf. Fraser 2005). For example, a mother who usually calls her son by nickname, *Johnnie*, may call him by title plus surname like *Mr. John Williams* when she gets angry with him. In this case, the linguistic form is deferential, but its expression is not polite.

In Japanese traditional linguistics, the term *taigū-hyōgen* is used for an expression indicating the speaker's respect, contempt, etc. for the listener or the person being discussed. It is sometimes translated into either "attitudinal expression", "treatment expression", or "expression of consideration" in English, but none of these terms is familiar to English native speakers (cf. Pizziconi 2004). I use the term "honorific expression" when referring to an expression to show speaker's respect and I use "disdain expression" for the case to express contempt. But the studies on *taigū-hyōgen* were focused upon honorific expression in Japan because honorific expression is quite developed in Japanese while disdain expression is developed in English. But studies on disdain expressions in Japanese also have been started recently (cf. Nishio 2015).

2 Outline of Japanese honorifics

In general, linguistic expression can be divided into three categories: honorific, neutral, and disdain expressions. The latter are not so developed in Japanese, while the neutral expressions are commonly used; therefore, as is the custom in Japanese linguistics, we refer to all these expressions as honorific expressions. Disdain expressions can therefore be interpreted as negative honorific expressions. In English, honorific expressions have not developed so much, but disdain expressions, cursing or swearing, have developed very much.

The Japanese honorific expression system is both syntactic and lexical. In school education, honorifics were divided into three categories: *teinei-go* 'polite form', *sonkei-go* 'respectful form' and *kenjō-go* 'humble form'. In Japanese, there is a distinction between the formal and informal style. When a speaker speaks to an addressee in a polite way, he/she uses the polite form. For example, to change the informal *watasi ga hanasu* 'I speak' to a formal style, one should affix *masu,* as in *watasi ga hanasi masu*. To the informal style *kore wa hon da* 'this is a book', should be affixed *desu*, as in *kore wa hon desu*. These *desu* and *masu* forms are named *teinei-go* and reflect the fact that a speaker varies his/her language according to his/her addressee. *Teinei-go* is sometimes translated as addressee honorifics, because its main function is to express politeness toward an addressee. In Japanese, this stylistic distinction between formal and informal is located in the sentence-final predicate. *Sonkei-go* should be used to refer to actions performed by a respected person and also in speaking about the possessions of that respected person, as in (2).

(2)	*Sensei*	*ga*	*watakusi*	*ni*	*o-hanasi ni naru.*
	teacher	NOM	I	DAT	speak
	'A teacher speaks to me'.				

When a speaker refers to the action of a superior, the verb, sometimes called an exalting verb, is conjugated *o-Verb-ni-naru*. There are three ways to generate an exalting verb. One is by using the conjugation *o-Verb-ni-naru*; another is by inflecting the verb by adding the respectful auxiliary *reru* at the end, as in *hanasa-reru*. Particular respectful suppletives are utilized for frequently used verbs: for example, *irassyaru* for 'come' and 'go', *mesi-agaru* for 'eat', and *nasaru* for 'do'. *Sonkei-go* includes not only exalting verbs but also respectful prefixes and respectful titles such as *sama,* as in *o-isya-sama* 'doctor' – all these forms are used by a speaker to express respect to a referent. Various forms are used effectively as the second-person pronoun according to the degree of respect: *anata, omae, kimi, otaku* (cf. Barke and Uehara 2005). *Sonkei-go* is sometimes translated as subject referent honorifics, or subject honorifics, because it is the agent or subject who is respected.

When a speaker refers to actions performed by others or oneself that impinge on the respected person, *kenjō-go* should be used, as in (3).

(3)	*Watakusi*	*ga*	*sensei*	*ni*	*o-hanasi suru.*
	I	NOM	teacher	DAT	speak
	'I speak to a teacher'.				

The construction *o-Verb-suru,* called a humble verb, should be used. Specific humble suppletives are utilized for frequently used verbs: for example, *itasu* for 'do', *mairu* for 'come' and 'go', and *itadaku* for 'eat' and 'receive'. *Kenjō-go* includes not only humble verbs but also humble prefixes and humble suffixes like the *domo* of *watakusi-domo* 'we'. Various forms are used effectively as first-person pronouns according to the degree of humbleness: *ore, boku, watasi, watakusi*. With *kenjō-go,* a speaker expresses his/her humility to a referent. *Kenjō-go* is sometimes translated as directive referent honorifics, or object honorifics, because the recipient or object of the action is respected through downgrading the actor or subject. Further categories are indicated by other scholars. *Bika-go* 'beautifying form' is used to decorate a word and, like euphemism in English, is a linguistic device commonly used in order to avoid saying unpleasant or offensive words. For example, *o-* is prefixed to a noun like 'flower' *o-hana* just like 'pass away' is used instead of 'die' in English. When a speaker wants to show regard toward an addressee, he/she intentionally keeps the speech level polite. In Japanese, the beautifying form is a positive way to show politeness, whilst, in English, euphemisms have negative connotations. As an honorific expression, the prefix *o-* has many functions: prefixed to a thing belonging to an addressee, it becomes a respectful prefix; prefixed to a thing belonging to the speaker, it is a humble prefix. But the prefix *o-* can be attached to something that belongs to neither of them. For example, a speaker talks to an addressee about a flower that blossoms alongside the road they walk. This flower belongs to neither of them, but the speaker can use *o-hana*, which is a beautifying form. Its function is as an honorific expression that retains the speaker's dignity. Beautifying forms are part of polite forms for, by making an utterance polite, a speaker indirectly shows his/her regard to an addressee.

Teichō-go 'courteous form' is a term coined by Miyaji (1971: 403) that defines 'honorifics in which a speaker shows deference to an addressee through the expression of topics'. In modern honorifics, humble forms such as *zonzu*, *itasu*, and *mairu* are never used independently, but always with the polite form *masu* to construct such courteous form as *zonzimasu, itasimasu, mairimasu*. Here I should mention the theory of Motoki Tokieda, which greatly influenced the development of Japanese linguistics. Tokieda believes that language itself is a human behavior and does not exist external to human beings. He lists three factors that constitute a language: a speaker, an addressee, and an expressive content. The speaker conceptualizes external material, or an expressive content, according to the situation, and expresses it to the addressee in accordance with the relationship to the addressee. Tokieda (1941) classifies words into two groups: *shi*, expressed through the process of conceptualization, and *ji,* used to express the speaker's personal idea directly. While he insists that there is a clear demarcation between *shi* and *ji,* more discussion is still needed to resolve the effectiveness of this distinction. According to Tokieda, humble forms such as *zonzu*, *itasu*, and *mairu* are classified as *shi,* whilst the polite form *masu* is classified as *ji*. Miyaji classified the honorific expression that contains features of both *shi* and *ji* by a new term: *teichō-go*. There is more to say about the Japanese honorific system, but due to space limitations, I refer readers to the following articles in English: Pizziconi (2004, 2011), Prideaux (1970), Martin (1964), Mizutani (1989), and Neustupný (1978).

There is a clear difference between *teinei-go*, *sonkei-go* and *kenjō-go* from the viewpoint of their functions. That is to say, *teinei-go* is an honorific expression whereby a speaker shows respect toward an addressee. In contrast, *sonkei-go* and *kenjō-go* are honorific expressions that show a speaker's respect toward a referent. The honorific expression system can be divided into two: addressee-oriented honorific expressions, which show deference by using polite language out of respect for the person addressed; and referent-oriented honorific expressions, which show deference to the person mentioned or talked about. *Teinei-go* is addressee-oriented honorifics, whilst *sonkei-go* and *kenjō-go* are referent-oriented honorifics. In European languages with honorific expressions, these appear only when the addressee and the referent are the same person. In English 'His/Her Highness' shows respect to the third person, but it is a *cliché* and its use is very limited. In this sense, the honorific expression of European languages is an addressee-oriented honorific expression. But in almost all Asian languages, a speaker can show respect not only to an addressee but also to a referent who may not always be the same person as the addressee. It is quite common for Japanese to mention a respected third person using an honorific expression. In this sense, Japanese has a referent-oriented honorific expression system. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the honorific expression system was divided into three categories in school education for a long time, and, therefore, in everyday life we followed this division. But in 2007 *Bunka Shingikai* 'the Japanese Council for Cultural Affairs' issued a guidebook, *Keigo no Shishin* '*Keigo* Guidelines' (cf. Bunkachō 2007) and changed its division into five categories; *sonkei-go*, *kenjō-go1*, *kenjō-go2*, *teinei-go* and *bika-go*. That is to say, *kenjō-go1* is original *kenjō-go* and *kenjō-go2* is *teichō-go*. Tokieda's theory that *shi* and *ji* should be different words grammatically is inherited because *teichō-go* is classified under the name of *kenjō-go,* but Miyaji's theory also is inherited because *teichō-go* is accepted as a distinct category from *kenjō-go1*.

3 Japanese honorific expressions from a sociolinguistic point of view

Honorifics have been studied in Japan not only from the perspective of syntax and lexicon but also of sociolinguistics. That is, the practical usage of honorifics is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is determined through the triad relationship among a speaker, an addressee, and a referent. The following have been objects of sociolinguistic studies on honorifics: to which addressee a speaker is required to address using honorifics, how an addressee may feel offended if a speaker fails to use proper honorifics, etc. Different kinds of honorifics are used to the same addressee in accordance with the situation: public or private, and there are some degrees of honorifics in terms of their politeness. The honorific system of the Standard Japanese is different from that of dialects, and the system of honorifics has changed historically. In feudal society, the social hierarchy was the most influential factor to determine the use of honorifics, but intimacy takes its place in modern democratic society. The Japanese honorific system is very complicated and lots of studies have been done. It is quite unfortunate that most of such papers were published in Japanese and very few in English. Japanese are quite eager to accept studies done in foreign countries but are reluctant to introduce their studies to the outside. Therefore, the studies done in Japan have not, for the most part, been translated into other languages. Japanese scholars might have thought it to be impossible for foreigners who don't know Japanese society to understand the very complicated system of Japanese honorifics.

Factors that might determine honorific usage can be divided into two main factors; interpersonal relationship and situation. Interpersonal relationship means the triad relationship among a speaker, an addressee, and a referent. The interpersonal relationship can be sub-divided into such relationships as the following:

– Verticality relationship: superior vs. inferior
– Benefaction relationship: benefactor vs. debtor
– Power relationship: stronger vs. weaker
– Solidarity relationship: distant vs. intimate

And some social factors should be considered even in the verticality relationship among the speaker, addressee, and referent: social position, hierarchy, age, career. In Japanese society it is common for the person ranked higher either in position, hierarchy, age or career to be respected with honorifics from the person ranked lower. But there are some cases in which these factors may compete against each other. For example, an addressee is elder but inferior in position within a company compared to the speaker. In such cases, honorific expressions fluctuate from case to case. In Japanese universities a senior student is expected to be treated with honorifics from a junior student. But the junior student may have entered the university after having failed the entrance examination a few times and be older in age than the senior student. As for the benefaction relationship, a benefactor like a customer or medical doctor is treated with honorifics from a debtor like a merchant or a patient. As for the power relationship, a factory worker is expected to treat his/her company president with honorifics. As for the solidarity relationship, a distant addressee is usually treated using more respectful honorifics than an addressee intimate to the speaker.

The second main factor, situation, also has a very strong influence upon honorific usage. That is, there is a tendency to use more respectful honorifics in a public situation where a speaker should pay attention to an addressee than in a private situation. The talent of using proper honorifics indicates a speaker's refinement. Whether an addressee is in front of a speaker or not is also a very important influence upon the use of honorifics. That is, it is not easy for a speaker to say bad things of an addressee in front of him/her. To make the use of honorifics more complicated, it is not only the relationship between the speaker and the addressee that influences the usage but also that of the referent. That is, even when the referent is inferior to a speaker, it is common to treat him/her with honorifics if he/she is a person on the side of the addressee. On the contrary, when a referent is superior to the speaker, the speaker should not use honorifics to an addressee when the referent is a person on the side of the speaker, in-group. We will use the term in-group/out-group hereafter. For example, a businessman does not refer to his/her own company president with honorifics in front of a customer because his/her company president is an in-group person. It is a rule of modern Japanese honorifics that a speaker should not respect an in-group person in front of an out-group addressee. But there are ambivalent cases where it is hard to judge whether a referent is in-group or out-group. Take an example from a school case, a schoolteacher treats the principal with honorifics when speaking to students because both the principal and students are counted as in-group. But when the addressee is a parent of a student, the teacher does not treat the principal with honorifics because the addressee is counted as out-group. It is still more complicated how a teacher should treat a vice-principal when speaking to the principal. A teacher may have troubles discerning how to consider the vice-principal's position between the principal and him/her. It differs according to the society, region, period, and so on how a referent should be treated within the relation between a speaker and an addressee. We call it relative honorifics. Relative honorifics are defined by an advocate of its term as follows:

> Honorifics today are different from those of the old days. The referent term for "father" should change depending on the person to whom a speaker mentions his/her father: within a family, *otoosama* (*sama* is a respectful suffix), to people outside the family, *titi* or *gufu* 'stupid father'. Therefore, I name today's honorifics 'relative honorifics'. (cf. Kindaichi 1992 [1941])

In relative honorifics an expression referring to a referent is controlled by the relationship between referent and the addressee. In contrast, Tsujimura (1992: 592) defines the absolute honorific expression system: "In ancient times, a fixed expression was used to a specific person regardless of context and addressee. In that sense, it is an absolute system". The honorific system in the past was the absolute honorific expression system, but it shifted to the relative honorific expression system of modern days.

4 Sociolinguistic survey on honorific expressions from the viewpoint of traditional *kokugogaku* method

In Japan, studies on honorifics continued from the Meiji period (1868–1912) under the name of *kokugogaku* 'national language studies'. After 300 years of seclusion in the Edo period (1586–1868), the Japanese government felt keenly the necessity to introduce new technology into Japan and sent lots of scholars to European countries. In the field of linguistics, scholars studied Western traditional philology and etymological analysis, transplanted it into Japan and developed a field of linguistic study with its own perspective. On the study of honorifics, the focus was put on the field of lexicon and syntax, and the study started from the taxonomy of honorifics from the viewpoint of lexicon (cf. Wetzel 2004). Japanese are group-oriented people and suitable to quantitative sociolinguistic surveys that require lots of manpower and expense. Sociolinguistic studies on honorifics were mainly done based on data that were accumulated by the Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics'.

4.1 Sociolinguistic survey on honorific expressions conducted in cities

In a local town of 370,000 population in Aichi prefecture called Okazaki, Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Language Research Institute' conducted a series of sociolinguistic surveys. The first survey was done in 1952, the second one 20 years later in 1972, and the third one in 2008. The third survey was done using 600 informants selected by a random sampling method and also using the same 145 surviving informants who had been interviewed both at the first and the second survey.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1957) was published on the honorific usage of the local population after the first survey. There were a few types of questions such as the following: language life type – "Did you talk at your home?", "Did you write at your home?", etc.; principles of life type – "Which do you think better?; Do you need to insist on your life style even when it is against custom or do you follow it?"; and honorific consciousness type – "Which do you like better, the traditional way of honorific usage or the modern one?" There were twelve questions asking about the honorific use of informants such as the following: "When you are on a bus, an unknown passenger is going to get off the bus leaving his/her umbrella behind him/her. How do you call his/her attention?", "You had a sudden rain and saw a person whom you are a little acquainted with was walking getting drenched. You feel sorry and want to lend your house umbrella. How do you call to him/her?", etc. These answers were examined to see how informants differentiated their use according to such relationships toward a referent as intimacy, age difference, situation, and so on. There were various honorific forms in the answers and these forms were subcategorized into several groups from the perspective of the degree of deference. Only through this kind of quantitative research which dealt with a large number of informants, is sociolinguistic analysis to get answers about how honorific usage can be influenced by the social attributes of informants: age, gender, occupation, and by the psychological attributes such as language life, principles of life, and honorific consciousness made possible. Only this kind of longitudinal research makes it possible for us to get answers to such questions as whether the same person might change the usage of honorific expressions according to his/her age or social change or not (see details of Okazaki honorifics study in Chapter 4 (Inoue, this volume)).

Many large-scale quantitative studies were done in various countries, but such continuous research with a 60-year time span gives us valuable data and could only be possible under an organization like Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics'. It is common to face data that is collected by the apparent-time method in order to predict linguistic change (cf. Chambers 2002). For example, in a survey of a population when patterned linguistic feature differs between sixty-year-old informants and twenty-year-old ones, it may indicate changes that have occurred over the past forty years, and twenty-year-old informants even after forty years in the future may use the same linguistic feature as before. But the possibility of age-graded variation cannot be neglected. That is, twenty-year-old informants may use the same linguistic feature as sixty-year-old informants when they grow to be sixty years old. Nobody can deny the importance of data collection through the real-time method in order to avoid this kind of mistake, but it is quite difficult to perform a real-time study without relying on a long-standing stable organization.

Tokyo University conducted a study in Sapporo city of over 503 informants under the leadership of Prof. Takesi Sibata (cf. Sibata (ed.) 1980). A computer was used to analyze the data by multivariate statistical analysis. Informants were asked how they code-switched their speech in accordance with six addressees such as the following:

1. to an intimate friend of the same age,
2. to a distant person a bit younger by age,
3. to an intimate friend a bit younger by age,
4. to a distant person a bit older by age,
5. to a person whom the speaker does not need to take care how to talk to,
6. to a person whom the speaker needs to take care how to talk to.

Various honorific forms could be elicited according to addressees. For example, the verb meaning *siru* ‘know’ can be sub-divided into *sitteru, sittemasu, sitteorimasu, zonziteorimasu* and so on by the degree of politeness. The degree of politeness of each honorific form is classified statistically using a standardization process (cf. Ogino, Misono and Fukushima 1985).

At the time of rapid economic growth after the Second World War, big cities were faced with a shortage of laborers and a large number of people moved from rural areas into the big cities to look for better jobs, and, as a result, the depopulation of rural areas and overpopulation in cities happened. A field survey on big cities became necessary in order to investigate actual linguistic conditions, but a big quantitative survey required a lot of expense and effort, and, therefore, had not been conducted for a long time. A big survey was conducted on 1000 informants in Tokyo and 500 in Osaka, and, as for honorific expressions, questionnaires investigated such topics as the following: the usage of first-person and second-person pronouns according to verticality, solidarity, and power relationships with an addressee or the situation, request expressions, respectful expressions, humble expressions, in-group honorifics, and greetings (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1981).

4.2 Actual survey on linguistic life

In Japan a research field called *gengo seikatsu*, ‘linguistic life’ has developed and has started to be used commonly, but the notion is unique to Japanese linguistics and cannot be found in Western linguistics. Two kinds of notions were advocated in a broad sense concerning what the term *gengo seikatsu* signifies: human life accompanied by language behavior and the linguistic aspect of human life.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Language Research Institute' started a survey on linguistic life in a rural city in Shimane prefecture called Matsue in 1963. All the conversations carried on for 24 hours in a certain family were recorded and transcribed. The Matsue study investigated such items regarding honorific expressions as the following: code-switching between the rural dialect and the Standard Japanese, the usage of several degrees of honorific expressions according to the situation, greetings, terms of address, and the linguistic life in the family. A quantitative statistical analysis was done using a computer on the base of actual linguistic data (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1971), and details of the 24-hour survey can be found in Chapter 3 (Shioda, this volume).

The Ministry of Education of Japan supports university teachers in their research by issuing grants. As a part of a study of women's language, Ide et al. (1984) was made public using a government grant. They collected the discourse of a housewife for one week, transcribed it into written text, made a KWIC (Key Word In Context) index, and made the results public as machine readable data in 1984. They also made a study on honorific expressions and consciousness and analyzed characteristic features of women's language compared with men's language and published the results as Ide et al. (1986).

4.2.1 Honorific expressions in Japanese private enterprises

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Language Research Institute' conducted research in both large enterprises, whose members share the common purpose of pursuing profit, and medium-sized or small enterprises, whose members share regional ties and blood relations. All enterprises exist with vertical relations and hierarchical order in order to pass directives from management to workers, so, therefore, the maintenance of human relations is indispensable and honorific expressions become important. 1086 informants were selected for a questionnaire survey and 254 informants for an interview survey (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1982).

The difference in the choice and use of honorific expressions of informants was surveyed taking into consideration personal attributes like job classification, terms of working, gender, educational career, etc. The consciousness of informants was also surveyed as to when they felt they needed to talk carefully and use honorific expressions in their work places. Honorific expressions are very highly developed for the case when a speaker refers to a third person and a lot of practical training is required to master their appropriate use. Honorific expressions referring to a third person are determined by the vertical relationship among the speaker, the addressee, and the referent. For example, in the utterance in (4),

(4)

Katyoo	*wa*	*mada*	*watakusi*	*no*	*tokoro*
Section manager	TOP	yet	I	GEN	place

e	*mairi*	*mase*	*n.*
LOC	come	POL	NEG

'The section manager hasn't come to my place yet'.

the humble verb *mairu* ‘come to the place of a superior’ is used for the behavior of *katyoo*, so the speaker is superior to *katyoo,* and the polite form *masu* is used, so the addressee is superior to the speaker. The vertical relation among them can be understood through the use of honorifics.

Informants were tested to see whether they had acquired the knowledge of how to use proper referent honorifics in this survey. The survey also investigated how informants had mastered the knowledge: from schoolteachers, from their parents, from their friends, from reading books, etc. Frequently used verbs such as *iku* ‘go’, *kuru* ‘come’, and *iru* ‘be’ are expressed using a variety of honorific forms, for example, the verb *iku* ‘go’ has the respectful forms *irassharu* and *ika-reru* and the humble form *mairu*. Even Japanese native speakers make mistakes when they use these honorific forms.

The actual differential usage of honorific verb forms was surveyed looking at the job classification of the informants. The title *kun* as in *Yamamoto-kun*, is used only when referencing or addressing an inferior in Japanese, while *san* or *sama*, as in *Yamamoto-san* or *Yamamoto-sama*, is used for a superior. *Kun* was used commonly from superior to inferior as determined by their job classifications, but a case was reported in which an elder inferior addressed his younger superior by *kun*. This phenomenon signifies that age functions as a stronger factor than job status in determining terms of address. *Kun* developed as man-to-man language in the Meiji period and was not used toward female workers.

A variety of terms of address was used: job title, job title + *san*, last name + *san*, last name + *kun*, first name, nickname, etc. One’s superior in terms of job classification was commonly addressed by the job title, such as *katyoo* ‘a section manager’. Brown and Ford (1964) reported that in American English terms of address shift from titles like *Mr. Roger Brown* to last name *Brown*, and to first name *Roger* when a speaker and addressee become increasingly intimate. But in Japanese, terms of address are fixed according to the vertical relationship and never change by intimacy in enterprises.

4.2.2 Honorific expressions in Japanese schools

The maintenance of hierarchical order within an organization was treated as quite an important custom in Japanese society, and the school environment is no exception. The vertical relationship by age was quite important, and it was a matter of course for a junior student to show respect to a senior student by using honorifics. Especially in an athletic club, a senior student was expected to be responsible for instructing a junior student, and a teacher was expected to guide his/her students. But nowadays in Japan, the factor determining the use of honorific expressions has shifted from an emphasis on vertical relationships to intimacy in some social environments, including Japanese schools.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo ‘National Institute for Japanese Language’ conducted a survey at junior high schools and high schools in Tokyo, Osaka, and Yamagata prefectures. A questionnaire survey was completed by 6021 students and an interview survey was administered to groups composed of six students. Such items as the following were asked in the questionnaire survey:

1. “Are you conscious of honorific expression toward your teacher or senior student?”,
2. “To which opinion do you agree? A: honorific expression is indispensable because it helps to keep the hierarchical order in the classroom and club activities, or B: honorific expression is too formal and troublesome, so it is a disturbance in school life.”,
3. “Which kind of first-person or second-person pronouns do you use?”,
4. “To whom or in what circumstances do you use the expression *siturei si masu* ‘a polite expression for apologizing or saying good-bye’ ?”,
5. “In what situations do you code-switch between the pitch accent of the Standard Japanese and that of the local dialect?”, etc.

Such items as the following were asked in the interview survey:

1. “Do you switch between respect forms, humble forms, polite forms, and terms of address according to your addressee and the person you are referring to?”,
2. “Do you use humble expressions like *haha ga moosite ita* ‘my mother said so.’?”,
3. “Do you switch your request expressions and acceptance expressions depending on your addressee and the situation?”
4. “Are you conscious of when politeness forms are used?”,
5. “Are you conscious of dialect expressions?”, etc. (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2002, 2003).

In Japanese, a reference to a member of the speaker’s in-group when addressing someone outside one’s group should be done with a humble form even if the referent is superior to the speaker, like one’s mother. *Haha* is humble form of ‘mother’. But its usage is not easy to master, so the study asked how and from whom an informant learned these kinds of humble expressions (cf. Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999).

4.2.3 Honorifics of rural dialects

There are lots of dialect studies, including many on the honorifics of dialects. A rural society is homogeneous compared with an urban society, and fruitful results can be obtained on the qualitative level, so a lot of studies were done by individual scholars. Especially, we can get an overview of honorific expressions in dialects all over Japan by reading through the bibliography of Yoichi Fujiwara (cf. Fujiwara 1978). Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo ‘National Language Research Institute’ also conducted a dialect-geographical survey all over Japan concerning some honorific expressions, asking the same questions presenting three different situations varying by the degree of politeness toward the addressees, and we view the differences in honorific expressions on a map (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2006a).

Honorifics are more developed in central western Japan, where former capitals such as Nara and Kyoto were located from ancient times, than in eastern Japan which was an area remote from the capitals. The reason why honorifics are less developed in eastern Japan is that the society is considerably more equal and there was less diversity of hierarchical order in eastern Japan. There exist dialects in eastern Japan that do not have honorific expressions and others that have only use of the polite form toward an addressee even when they have honorifics. In western Japan where honorifics were more highly developed, honorific expressions unique to each dialect were used.

In the present situation, standardization has influenced all of Japan, and as a result, the honorifics of dialects are in the process of being replaced by those of the Standard Japanese. At the first stage in this replacement, dialect has two speech styles forming a "diglossia" situation (cf. Ferguson 1959): high and low language, and the dialect honorifics were used by dialect speakers as high language when they had to deal with addressees in their rural society. At the second stage, under the influence of standardization people started to use Standard Japanese honorifics when they need to deal with addressees. Dialects survive when they are used only in places where local people meet and talk in friendly and relaxing situations (cf. Nagata 1996). The death of dialect honorifics is reported in Indonesia. Dutch was the standard language during colonization, but after independence, the Malay language that was used as a lingua franca for trade became the standard language. But each island has its own dialect for daily usage, and some dialects, like Balinese and Javanese, are famous for the richness of their honorifics. But the standard language, Bahasa Indonesia, has spread all over Indonesia, and local dialects are disappearing. Dialect honorifics are the first to disappear. This process might be universal to all languages.

Reflecting this situation, a sociolinguistic study on honorifics in local dialects was carried out taking standardization into consideration. In Japanese there are two types of honorifics systems: absolute and relative honorifics. Taking the fact into consideration that dialects are the unofficial language of the common people, it is reasonable to think that the relative honorifics of the Standard Japanese were introduced as an official language into rural societies where the honorifics of the rural dialects had an absolute honorifics system. *Keigo no Shishin* provides guidelines that the honorifics both of the Standard Japanese and the dialects should be code-switched and allowed to coexist accepting the fact that these two systems are different. There are lots of areas where honorifics are still used in dialects, but they are absolute honorifics, and the relative honorific system of the Standard Japanese is gradually taking the place of the absolute honorific system of dialects (cf. Sanada 1993).

4.2.4 Honorific studies from the point of the sociology of language

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Institute for Japanese Language' published a report (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1986). Honorifics is a kind of social behavior and therefore honorific usage might change when society changes.

After the Second World War, Japan changed from an imperial country to a democratic country. First of all, the big change happened to the honorific expressions toward imperial household that was located at the top of imperialism. Honorifics that originated from difficult special Chinese vocabulary were used only for the behavior of emperor like *gyookoo* 'go' or *kankoo* 'return' before the war. Those lexical items were abandoned and instead, after the negotiation with authorities in the imperial household, the Japanese Newspaper Association decided to use the common honorific expressions like *go-ryokoo* (respect form *go* + *ryokoo*) 'travel' and *o-kaeri* (respect form *o* + *kaeri*) 'return' after the war. A hierarchical relationship *kakaku* 'family stock' existed rigidly within an agricultural village in Akita prefecture and terms of address were fixed according to *kakaku*. For example, *Okaasan* is used for the housewife of the first class *kakaku* family, *oka* for the second, *kaka* for the third, and *appa* for the fourth among the families in that village. And not only terms of address, but also respect forms were fixed according to *kakaku*. The same kind of survey was conducted by Sibata (1973) in the Noto area in Ishikawa prefecture about code-switching of terms of address. It was reported that it was not the modern social class but the traditional *iegara* 'family stock' that determined the code-switching of terms of address and that in the case of the face-to-face communication between a speaker and an addressee also, *iegara* was functioning as the most important factor to determine honorific behavior (cf. Sibata 1973; Kunihiro, Inoue and Long (eds.) 1999). Before the Second World War, a few big landlords occupied vast tracts of farmland while tenants who didn't possess their own farm had to cultivate the landlord's farm paying rent and exist on the income from selling their share of the produce. There existed a hierarchical order where landlords stood on the top. But after the war, landlords had to surrender the land to tenants under the agricultural reform law that was put into effect by the occupation of GHQ (General Headquarters). As a result, villages were democratized, the difference of honorific expressions according to *kakaku* disappeared and the criteria for choice of honorific expression changed relative to the personal attributes like age difference, generation difference, etc.

4.2.5 Honorific studies from the point of language policy

There is a division under the Agency for Cultural Affairs that takes public opinion polls on Japanese language each year from 1995 and publishes the results as *Kokugo ni kansuru Yoron Chōsa* 'National language opinion survey' in order to "find the consciousness of Japanese citizens about our national language in the fields of speech, writing, and expression in order to get useful information on language policy". They selected 3,000 informants over 16-year of age from 210 places all over Japan.

They questioned many items about honorific expressions. For example, such questions as the following; abstract questions like troublesome things about honorifics, the way Japanese honorifics should move from now on, greeting at workplaces, evaluation towards honorifics, and concrete questions like the informants' opinion of the correctness of honorific usages like *orareru*, *o-biiru* (beautifying form *o* + beer), *moosareru* (humble form *moosu* + respect form *reru*), etc. The respect form *orareru* is a compound form in which the respect form *reru* compounds to the verb *oru*. In the Standard Japanese, which came from the Tokyo dialect, *oru* is a disdain form while in Kansai dialect, it is an ordinary common verb. This is a question that fluctuates between the Standard Japanese and Kansai dialect, which can be considered the second standard Japanese. The beautifying form *o* is usually prefixed to native Japanese words like *o-hana* 'flower', Japanese native noun, but not so often to words of Western origin like *biiru*. There is a tendency for women to use more beautifying or polite *o*- forms than men in order to speak more politely, but there is no fixed opinion whether it is correct usage or not (cf. Kunihiro, Inoue and Long 1999 (eds.), Inoue 2010). Social attitude toward gender difference is entangled with this problem.

There is a controversy about the usage of *moosareru*; one insists that *moosu* is *kenjō-go1* and it is a wrong usage to add the respect form *reru*, and another insists that this *moosu* shift its grammatical function to *kenjō-go2* or *teichō-go* and it is a correct usage. The interpretation of historical shift makes the use of *moosareru* problematic.

As a conclusion, there are variations in honorific expressions according to generation, region, gender, etc. and, therefore, the purpose of this poll is to find out the opinion of people and make use of its results in the language policy of the nation.

4.2.6 Historical studies of honorifics

There are lots of studies on the history of Japanese language by Japanese scholars, but all the papers and books were published in Japanese, so there were no books written in foreign languages. Some classical literary works like *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of Heike* are translated into many foreign languages and have many foreign readers. But once they were interested in knowing more about the Japanese language that had been spoken at the time when those works were written, there was no other way besides read a technical book on the history of Japanese language written in Japanese. But Frellesvig (2010) was published recently, so any scholars who read English can learn about the history of the Japanese language and also of the history of Japanese honorifics to some extent. Because of the development of traditional *kokugogaku* study that has been influenced by the philology of Western linguistics, we can survey which kinds of honorific lexical items were used syntactically from the Nara period (710–794) when Japanese documents were started to be written in

Chinese characters to the present (cf. Tsujimura (ed.) 1971). The fact that honorific expressions are determined by the social factors is applicable not only to modern honorifics but also to the honorifics of the past. But it is not an exaggeration to say that it is quite recently that the study of honorifics and honorific expressions have started taking the viewpoint of sociolinguistics (cf. Sato 2008; Mori 2010; Ogino 2011).

Surveying the structural change of honorific expressions historically, there are two main shifts in its function; the shift from absolute honorifics to relative honorifics and the development of polite expressions. The origin of honorific expressions is supposed to have started from awe-inspiring expressions toward the gods or a man of power, and, therefore, the main function of honorific expression was to show respect to superior addressees or referents from inferior speakers in the past. In the beginning only *sonkei-go* 'respectful form' and *kenjō-go* 'humble form' existed in order to show respect toward superior or obedience of a speaker. But its function moved to show regard to an addressee in present days. That is, even when a referent is superior to a speaker, a speaker doesn't show respect if the referent is not an in-group person of the addressee, on the contrary, even when the referent is inferior to the speaker, the speaker needs to show respect if the referent is an in-group person of the addressee. In such way, the present-day honorific expression became more addressee-oriented. There is no established theory about the process of how absolute honorifics shifted to relative one and the period when it happened. Nagata (2006) made a study of this problem.

The second main shift, the development of polite expressions, is also an important problem to solve. The main function of honorific expressions in the past was to show respect toward a superior using respect forms and humble forms, but *teinei-go* 'polite form', *desu* and *masu*, and *bika-go* 'beautifying form', *o-* and *go-*, developed in present-day honorific expressions and the development of polite expressions should be the focus of research. Vertical hierarchy was the most important criterion in the past, but in the early modern age (1568–1867) when free commerce started, honorific expressions toward customers came into being. Merchants had been gaining power gradually through their wealth in the society of the Edo period in which the government set up four classes: warriors, farmers, craftsmen and merchants with *samurai* 'warriors' at the top and merchants at the bottom. The basis determining to whom a speaker needed to show respect shifted from vertical hierarchy to the benefactor relationship. And when Meiji government was established, the four-class system was demolished with some exceptions, and all Japanese people were proclaimed to be equal in social status. According to this social change, the vertical hierarchy by birth was no longer the crucial factor to determine honorific expressions.

In Modern Japanese we can refer an addressee using the second-person pronoun only when addressing an inferior but not to a superior. But in English, for example, we can say "Hello, Dr. Nagata. Where are you going?" using title "Dr." for the term of address, but afterwards "you" for the term of reference. But in Japanese we would say "Where is Dr. Nagata going?" to Dr. Nagata using titles, kinship terms, etc. Nagata

(2015) presented some research on the process of how this system has developed historically and found that this system is not unique to Japan but is also found in various countries in Southeast Asia. This might be a cue to the origin of the Japanese honorific system.

5 Another sociolinguistic approach to honorific expression

For many years the study on Japanese language was conducted using two independent and different methodologies; within Japan Japanese linguists wrote papers and books in Japanese using *kokugogaku* methodology while outside of Japan Japanese linguists who were trained or worked in the U.S.A., Australia, and European countries wrote in English or foreign languages using foreign linguistic methodology; structuralism, transformational grammar, etc. There were almost no exchanges of information between them. The situation is same for the study of honorifics. Almost all studies on honorifics focused on the lexicon in Japan.

Politeness theory was introduced in Brown and Levinson (1987) and Japanese honorifics began to be analyzed from the viewpoint of pragmatics. It is easily supposed that any language will have some method to express politeness toward an addressee, but there are many languages like English that express politeness not on the lexical level but on the pragmatic level. In order to prove the universality of politeness theory, Japanese was a quite suitable language, having a method to express politeness on the lexical level. Politeness theory defines honorifics as "direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event" (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987: 179) and as "negative politeness strategy" to distance an addressee from the speaker.

But some Japanese scholars who used American linguistics in their research criticized its universality and acceptability arguing that the theory had been developed on the basis of European society and was not valid for Japanese society. One of them analyzed Japanese honorifics as a tool to adjust social relationships and created the *wakimae* 'discernment' theory (cf. Matsumoto 1989; Ide 1989). However, Fukuda and Asato (2004) argued against *wakimae* theory. Haugen and Obana (2011) explained Japanese politeness using the cultural notion of *tachiba* 'position, lit. the place where one stands'. Lots of discussion occurred about the validity of applying politeness theory to Japanese honorifics.

There is a big difference between the work made public in Japanese and work in English about the sociolinguistic study of honorific expression depending on whether the author is Japanese or not. The works made public in English always utilize sociological theory to explain social phenomena that underly honorific usage in Japanese because it is necessary to explain it to foreigners who are not familiar with Japanese society. For example, the rule in Japanese society that we need to use honorifics toward our superiors does not need to be explained to Japanese readers, but sociological theories like face, identity, distance, or *tachiba* are necessary to explain such rules to foreign readers who do not know Japanese society. But a new trend has arisen even among scholars trained under traditional *kokugogaku* methods in Japan to try to analyze Japanese honorifics applying politeness theory (cf. Takiura 2005).

Most of the honorific studies focused on linguistic phenomena on the sentence level, but some scholars tried to analyze from the discourse level (Usami 2002). Take, for instance, an example of the action of a person drooping his/her head and closing his/her mouth to present a docile attitude when being reprimanded. He/She does not actually speak, so no honorific expressions are used. It is impossible to analyze his/her actions on a sentence level, but when we interpret his/her action as showing an obedient attitude toward the person who making the reprimand, it is possible to analyze the action as a kind of honorific expression on the discourse level. The *Journal of Pragmatics* published a special edition "Negotiating Linguistic Politeness in Japanese Interaction: A Critical Examination of Honorifics" in Volume 43, Issue 15 (2011). Six articles were contributed by scholars who analyzed various issues concerning honorifics using American linguistic theories. Mainly, these articles criticized both politeness theory and *wakimae* theory as being too theoretical because the actual meaning of honorific usage is determined only by taking situational factors into consideration. The articles also pursued the problem how honorific forms can effectively function as polite expressions through analyzing actual discourse data. Collected data covered diverse fields: a conversation between a schoolteacher and a student, a classroom situation to train honorifics as business etiquette, and a political discussion on a TV program, among others. There also is work that analyzed Japanese TV dramas as data (cf. Barke 2010). Geyer (2008) analyzed how a speaker tries to keep the face or identity of an addressee using Ervin Goffman's face theory. Data was collected from an actual discourse in which the two participants could not reach an agreement and need to find a solution. Some scholars are using discourse data as a text for teaching Japanese honorifics (cf. Wu 2009). It might be quite interesting to analyze non-verbal communication using politeness theory.

Recently new terms, *hairyo-hyōgen* and *keigo-hyōgen*, have appeared and different kinds of study have started from a new perspective influenced by American linguistics (cf. Miyake, Noda and Ogoshi (eds.) 2012; Noda, Kobayashi and Takayama (eds.) 2014). Yamaoka, Makihara and Ono (2010) advocated investigating honorific expressions not on the lexical level as in past studies but as means for communication applying such approaches as pragmatics, the cooperative principle of Paul Grice, relevance theory, speech acts, and politeness theory. That is, they created a new term, *hairyo-hyōgen* 'consideration expressions' intended to describe social language behavior aiming at smooth communication maintaining good human relationships. Concretely, they analyzed honorific expressions on the discourse level used to express requests, giving thanks, issuing invitations, etc.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 'National Institute for Japanese Language' took note of the importance of moving focus from honorific expressions to consideration expressions and conducted a questionnaire survey of 1,136 informants and an interview survey of 432 informants including all generations in Sendai, Tokyo, Kyoto and Kumamoto. They asked about regional and generational differences in request expressions and the kinds of consideration expressions, humble expressions, expressions of gratitude, hedge expression, etc. (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2006b).

6 Honorifics from the point of Japanese as a foreign language

Honorific expressions cannot be neglected in the field of Japanese language education. It sometimes happens that foreign students can use honorifics properly on a grammatical level but cannot use them on a pragmatic level, creating problems with native Japanese. Some studies were done from the viewpoint of Japanese language education.

Keigo and *keii-hyōgen* are used commonly as technical terms, but Kabaya, Kawaguchi and Sakamoto (1998) invented the term *keigo-hyōgen* to describe honorific expressions examined on the communication level. They insisted that honorifics can only convey speaker's intention of taking an addressee's position into consideration when they are used in the proper situation, in the proper form, and in the proper expression. For example, foreign students often make such mistakes as (5).

(5) *Sensei, watasi no repooto o-yomi-ni nari tai desu ka.*
Teacher I GEN report read want HON Q
'Professor, do you want to read my report?'

The respectful form *o-yomi-ni naru* is properly used to the addressee, a professor, so there is no mistake on the syntactic level, but the expression *tai desu ka* 'do you want?' is improper because such language behavior itself is improper in Japanese. An inferior cannot question the intention of a superior like his/her teacher for an act that is beneficial to himself/herself. Instead of (5), a request expression like (6) would be more suitable.

(6) *Sensei, watasi no repooto o-yomi* kudasai.
Teacher I GEN report read want
'Professor, would you please read my report?'

Kudasai is an imperative form of verb *kudasaru* 'a superior actor gives to an inferior'. *Juju-hyōgen* 'giving and receiving verbs' themselves are not honorifics but are deeply related to consideration. The verbs *morau* ‘receive’ and *ageru* ‘give’ can be used only for describing an action from the speaker’s point of view. For example,

(7)	*X*	*ga*	*Y*	*ni*	*ageru.*
	X	NOM	Y	DAT	Give
	‘X gives (something) to Y.’				

(7) can be used only as in (8) and not as in (9) when the speaker is involved in the act.

(8)	Watasi	*ga*	*Y*	*ni*	*ageru.*
	I	NOM	Y	DAT	Give

(9)	*Y	*ga*	*watasi*	*ni*	*ageru.*
	Y	NOM	I	DAT	Give

Also, the pattern *Verb + te + ageru* ‘(speaker) do (verb) for someone’ in modern Japanese, implies a beneficial meaning as shown by the gloss. For example, if a speaker should see his/her teacher carrying a heavy suitcase, he/she cannot offer to help using the pattern in (10).

(10)	*Sensei,*	*nimotu*	*o*	*mot*	*te*	*age*	*masyoo*	*ka.*
	Teacher	luggage	ACC	hold	PART	give	HON	Q
	‘Professor, shall I do you the favor of carrying your luggage?’							

Essentially, an inferior cannot imply an advantage over a superior by giving a favor. It is much more proper to use an expression like (11).

(11)	*Sensei,*	*nimotu*	*o*	*moti*	*masu.*
	Teacher	luggage	ACC	hold	HON
	‘Professor, let me carry your luggage’.				

The authors insist on the importance of investigating honorifics on the discourse level. They are Japanese language teachers and these subjects are studied from the side of Japanese language education. That is, honorifics are not only grammatical phenomena but also pragmatic phenomena, so honorifics should be used in accordance with the situation taking into consideration such factors as the following: to which kind of addressee, in which situation, and for what purpose. They pursue the description of honorifics from a pragmatic point of view taking into account such sociolinguistic factors as who should be treated as superior and in which situations honorifics should be used. It is quite possible that rules of honorific expression are different between Japanese society and learner’s society. It is quite necessary to teach sociolinguistic rules in addition to grammatical rules in the Japanese language classroom.

7 Contrastive studies on honorifics between Japanese and other languages

It is not only in Japanese but also in neighboring languages like Chinese, Indonesian, Mongolian, and especially Korean that honorifics have developed, and, therefore, a lot of contrastive studies have been done on Japanese and Korean honorifics. Han and Umeda (2009) is targeted to Japanese readers who are studying Korean from a contrastive perspective. Ka (2001) surveyed the usage of the first-person pronouns and honorific verbs for 120 Japanese and Korean informants of in their teens, thirties, and fifties. There is a big difference between the Japanese and Korean honorific systems; Japanese is a relative honorific system while Korean is an absolute honorific system. For example, in Japanese a humble form is used referring to a speaker's in-group superior referent such as one's father to an out-group addressee, but in Korean a respectful form is used. In Korea, where the Confucian tradition still remains strong, the difference in age is the main social factor determining honorific usage; an elder person should be referred to with a respectful form even when he/she is an in-group referent of the speaker when addressing an out-group addressee and children are never referred to with honorifics from an adult even when they are members of the addressee's in-group. But, since Japanese is a relative honorific system on which side, in-group or out-group, the referent belongs to is much more important. In Korean and Chinese also, the in-group versus out-group relation functions as a social factor, but it varies among the societies who should be considered in-group and out-group.

Hill et al. (1986) questioned 1099 American students and 1053 Japanese students how they expressed the sentence *pen o totte kudasai* 'Would you pass me a pen?' in order to find similarities and differences in honorific expressions between Japanese and American English. They found that, while various honorific expressions were code-switched according to the consideration toward the addressee in both Japanese and English, the range of code-switching was wider in Japanese than in English. That is, Japanese needed to pay more attention to the social context when speakers use honorific expressions toward addressees than English. There are quite a number of contrastive studies between Japanese and Chinese conducted by Chinese scholars and students. In Chinese also a member of the speaker's in-group is referred to with the humble prefix *gu* 'stupid' as in *gusoku* 'stupid son' and *gukei* 'stupid brother' while a member of the addressee's in-group is referred to with the respectful prefix *ki* 'honorable' as in *kikun* 'honorable you' and *kika* 'honorable your family', but in-group factor covers only family members not members of the speaker's or addressee's social group. Therefore, a superior in the company of a speaker is never referred to with a humble form in Chinese even when speaking to an out-group addressee. In general honorifics are not so highly developed in Chinese compared with Japanese. On the other hand, Chinese has different expressions to show consideration toward an addressee, for example, when showing appreciation, greetings, refusals, requests, etc. (cf. Pon 2004; Wang 2005).

8 Problems in the modern usage of honorifics

As discussed above, honorific expressions are deeply related to the society in which they are used. It is said commonly that only ten years is enough to reach the degree of social change that required one hundred years in the past, and just as social change in modern society is rapid, honorific expressions have also changed so much. The older generation criticizes the honorific expressions used by the younger generation, who have a different honorific system, saying “The youth these days don’t know how to use honorifics” and “The girls these days don’t talk politely”, while the younger generation complains “The honorifics of the older generation are hard to copy” and “The honorifics of the older generation are quite square and tiresome”. Let us examine some of the changes in honorific expressions that have taken place one by one.

8.1 From vertical relationship to solidarity relationship

Kokugo Shingikai ‘Japanese Language Academy’ submitted a report to the Ministry of Education named *Korekara no Keigo* ‘*Keigo* from Now on’ and presented a guideline for honorific expressions in the democratic era to the public in 1952. This report had a large influence on official documents, broadcasting, and school education. It is written there, “Until now, *keigo* developed based mainly on vertical relationships, but from now on *keigo* must be based on the mutual respect that derives from valuing the essential character of each person.” A feudalistic, vertical social structure remained in Japan before the Second World War, and it was considered as a matter of course that a superior addressee and referent should be referred to with honorifics. But after the war, Japan shifted to a more democratic society and, accordingly, the criteria for choosing honorific expressions changed from vertical relationships to solidarity relationships. Accordingly, we should refer to a distant person with honorifics but not an intimate person without regard to his/her vertical relation to the speaker. For example, school children used to treat teachers with honorifics because teachers were considered to be superior in a benefactor relationship, but school children now tend not to use honorifics because teachers have become intimate persons. In a survey conducted 60 years ago asking opinions about how the informant thinks about the necessity for a student to use honorific expressions to his/her teachers, the responses varied among “Students should be polite with right honorifics”, “Friendliness is better than politeness with honorifics”, “No need to use honorifics”, and “No idea” depending on the age, educational background, occupation, and residence of the respondents. There are many people with different personal attributes living together in Japan, and many older people who think highly of vertical relationships complain about the new trend among the younger generation.

Within the family as well, a patriarchal system was strongly maintained before the war and the patriarch was referred to with honorifics from all the family members including his wife, children, and grandchildren, but this system was destroyed after the war. All family members became equal in a democratized family, but at the same time the social education teaching the way to live in society ceased to be conveyed from elder to younger within a family. That is, social training toward young constituent members of a community was conveyed from the elder to the younger, from parents to children or from elder sibling to younger sibling, including how to use honorifics to the elder member in the old days, but nowadays because of equality within the family or the declining birth rate, which leads to a family structure in which a child has no siblings, no family education on honorifics takes place. Domestic violence and the disruption of a family became big problems in modern Japanese society recently.

But there still remain some social structures that still preserve a hierarchical order within a rigid organization. For example, in an athletic club the length of time one has been a member in the club is very crucial and a student who does not use honorifics toward his/her teacher uses honorific expressions to his/her senior in the club. That custom may come from the system in which senior students train newcomers and maintain the traditions of the club.

8.2 Commercial honorifics

As explained above, the criteria for choosing honorific expressions changed from vertical relationships to solidarity relationships because Japanese society became democratized and all Japanese became equal after the war, so it would seem that there would be no place for honorifics to be used. But this is not true. Honorifics are still used to people who give one some kind of benefit. One concrete example is commercial honorifics. Shops use excessive honorific expressions to customers because customers give profits to the shops. Even when customers are immature children, they are treated with honorific expression as customers. Honorific expressions are formalized and have been called *baito* honorifics, *konbini* honorifics or *famiresu* honorifics. They are all loanwords; *baito* came from the German verb *arbeiten* meaning work and is used in Japan to refer to part-time work, *konbini* is shortened from *konbiniensu sutoa* 'convenience store' and *famiresu* from *famirii resutoran* 'family restaurant'. Misused honorific expressions have become a social problem. They started to be used by and spread among young people who worked at restaurants or convenience stores. Many young people are unfamiliar with honorifics in daily life and misuse honorific expressions following instruction manuals about how to speak to customers. An example of such misuse is a euphemism like *no hoo* 'a kind of' which came to be used in order to distance customers. For example, (12) is used instead of the usual expression (13).

(12)	*O-tabako*	*no hoo*	*o-sui-ni-nari*	*masu*	*ka.*
	Cigarette	a kind of	smoke	HON	Q

'(lit.) Do you smoke a kind of cigarettes?'

(13)

O-tabako	*o-sui-ni-nari*	*masu*	*ka.*
Cigarette	smoke	HON	Q

‘Do you smoke cigarettes?’

Another example is the use of *X ni narimasu* ‘lit. become X’ as in (14) instead of the copula *desu* in (15).

(14)

Kotira	*seikyuusyo*	*ni*	*nari*	*masu.*
This	bill	DAT	become	HON

‘(lit.) This becomes a bill’.

(15)

Kotira	*seikyuusyo*	*desu.*
This	bill	HON

‘This is a bill’.

Ni naru is an expression that hides the spontaneous intention of speaker’s action, while (15) may sound like insinuating that the customer should pay the bill. This is also euphemism not to show speaker’s position in front of an addressee. This kind of commercial honorifics has spread not only among the young but also to adults and is considered a misuse of modern Japanese honorifics.

8.3 The change of honorific expressions of women’s language

Male chauvinism was rigidly maintained in Japan before the war under the national regime that held that men should surrender their lives for enriching the nation and building up the defenses and that women should support men from behind staying at home as good wives and wise mothers. But Japan was democratized after the Second World War, the government enacted a gender equal employment law in 1972, and women started to be employed as equals in the workplace. In Japanese there is no gender difference in written language, but in spoken language there are forms particular to the gender of the speaker. Among the linguistic forms that show gender differences are the following: sentence-final particles, the first-person and second-person pronouns, interjectional particles, etc. For example, the sentence-final particle *wa* is often attached in feminine speech as in *sooda wa* while men use *sooda* ‘That is right’. In feminine speech, the confirmatory sentence-final particle *ne* can attach directly to a noun, as in *ame ne* while men use *ame da (ne)* ‘It’s raining’. The informal copula *da* was used only by male speakers, but young females in their teens and twenties are now using *da ne* and *da yo*, and the difference between male and female language is decreasing. In the survey mentioned earlier (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2002, 2003), a difference was found in the first-person pronouns used by male students, *boku* and *ore*, and those used by female students, *watasi* and *atasi*. It might be correct to say that there still exists a difference between male and female language, but the difference is becoming smaller and smaller. The *Kokugo ni kansuru Yoron Chōsa* 'National Language Opinion Survey' in 2010 asked a question: 'It is said that the difference between male and female language is becoming smaller, please choose an answer which best expresses your opinion'. 12.2% of informants answered 'It's better that there is no difference', 47.1% 'It's natural to lose a difference. We have no choice', 36.8% 'It's better to keep a difference', 2.9% 'I can't say anything'. There was not much difference between regions and gender, but there was much difference by age. The percentage that supports 'It's better to keep a difference' increases with age reaching 44.8% for respondents over 60 years of age. The older generation, especially female informants, support the difference in language by gender and feel uncomfortable with the speech among young girls (cf. Shibamoto 1985).

8.4 Simplification and complication of honorific expressions

Notices and advertisements at, for example, department stores sometimes become a topic of discussion as expressions asking for the customers' permission using *sase te itadaku* '(lit.) receive your allowing me to do' in (16).

(16)	*Asu*	*wa*	*kyuugyoo*	*ni*	*sase*	*te itadaki*	*masu.*
	Tomorrow	TOP	close	DAT	make	receive	HON

'(lit.) I receive (a permission) to make this store close tomorrow'.
'I have the privilege of closing this store tomorrow.'

The department store may justify this kind of expression by saying that it is treating customers as a superior person in a position to make a decision and is asking for the customers' permission, but many people argue it to be a misuse saying that it is the business of the department store to decide whether they close their department or not and that this expression only feigns politeness. The same expression appears in (17) instead of usual expression (18), and this expression is spreading among the younger generation as a commercial honorific expression.

(17)	*Sono*	*ken*	*ni*	*kansite*	*go-setumei*	*sase te*	*itadaki*	*masu.*
	That	case	DAT	about	explain	make	receive	HON

(18)	*Sono*	*ken*	*ni*	*kansite*	*go-setumei*	*itasi*	*masu.*
	That	case	DAT	about	explain	do	HON

'Let me explain about that case.'

Go-setumei itasu and *go-setumei suru* are *kenjō-go*. And *itadaku* is *juju-hyōgen*. For example,

(19) *X ga Y kara itadaku.*
X NOM Y ABL receive
'X receives (something) from Y.'

In the *Verb + te + itadaku* pattern, *te* is the gerundive suffix, used to form many compound verb patterns in modern Japanese, and the pattern as a whole implies a beneficial meaning. *Sase* is the causative form of *suru* 'do', and the literal meaning of *sase te itadaku* is to 'receive the permission of an addressee or a referent for the speaker to do something'.

In *Korekara no Keigo* '*Keigo* from Now on', it is written "along with growth of manners and etiquette that conform to the lifestyle of our new age, we hope to achieve sound development of a straightforward and clear-cut code of *keigo*" and in *Keigo no Shishin* '*Keigo* Guidelines', it is written "*keigo* should be used not exceedingly but properly". Simplification of honorific expressions is recommended in both government documents, but in reality, complication is taking place as excessive honorific expressions are being used to the distanced addressees or superiors who give benefits. While honorific expressions in private situations have become simplified because the criteria for choosing an expression has shifted from vertical relationships to solidarity relationships, on the other hand, they are becoming more complicated in public situations where the speaker and the addressee have common interests and keep a distance between them.

9 Future perspectives

In general, it is almost impossible to predict the future, but there are some points that seem predictable regarding the future of Japanese honorifics in relation to social shifts in Japan.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications reported that the population in Japan has been constantly declining for fifteen years and about twenty percent of inhabited villages will be abandoned by 2050. It is easily foreseeable that dialects of these small habitations will disappear, and that the rural honorifics found in these dialects will also disappear. There is a chance that only the honorifics of the Standard Japanese will be maintained in the future.

In contrast to the population decline of Japanese citizens, the population of foreigners has been increasing. The Ministry of Justice reported that in 2019 the number of foreigners who entered Japan was 31,187,179, and the number of foreign residents was 2,933,137 compared to 1980 when it was only 668,675. Currently 2.3 percent of the whole population are foreign inhabitants. Foreign workers have been permitted to stay in Japan in order to compensate for the shortage of Japanese labor. There often exists a language barrier between foreign residents and their Japanese neighbors. The Great Hanshin Earthquake happened in 1995 and temporary foreign residents had to endure hardships to get information such as where to take refuge, where to get water and food aid, etc. because of inter-communications problems. Nowadays lots of foreign workers are living next door and many foreign tourists are coming to Japan. The government, especially regional governments, face a big problem in communicating with them. Japanese language professionals invented a variety of artificial simplified versions of Japanese, collectively called *Yasashii Nihongo* 'Plain Japanese'. A variety of *Yasashii Nihongo* is used by many organizations; for example, NHK, the public broadcast station, telecasts news, local public offices, post official notices, travel agencies that guide foreign tourists. All varieties of *Yasashii Nihongo* have in common the use of simplified grammar, limited vocabulary, avoidance of slang, etc. As for honorifics, it is recommended that *sonkei-go* 'respectful form' and *kenjō-go* 'humble form' not be used, because they are too complicated for foreigners to master. Only the *teinei-go* 'polite form', that is, the *desu* and *masu* forms, is recommended, because most elementary Japanese textbooks for foreigners start teaching Japanese in *teinei-go* style, which is the most suitable style to be used in official situations. If *Yasashii Nihongo* is authorized as an official Japanese for communication with foreigners like Global English, *sonkei-go* and *kenjō-go* will not be used as a means of international communication.

Such consensus has been established as no discrimination should be allowed due to gender, power, seniority, etc. In Section 8.1, it was stated "there still remain some social structures that still preserve a hierarchical order within a rigid organization". Bullying and harassment have been proclaimed as big problems. Many schools have established harassment prevention committees organized by teachers, and the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare made harassment prevention obligatory for employers at working places in 2020. As for honorifics, honorific expression unique to women's language may disappear and the criteria may change for how, when, and to whom honorifics should be used in organizations such as family, school, working place, etc.

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Masato Takiura

11 Intersection of traditional Japanese honorific theories and Western politeness theories

1 Introduction

1.1 Up to the first essay on honorification – the significance of its delayed appearance

The history of the sciences is a successive change of paradigms. Once a more effective one has superseded an older one, the older becomes more or less outdated and is no longer reflected on. This picture, however, does not hold true for Japanese honorification. It became a subject of academic research in a particular context at a rather late date, and the first paradigm, which appeared in the Meiji era is, in a sense, still alive in the 21st century. This is why we need to begin by examining when and how it first became an academic issue.

Even today, many Japanese view honorification, or *keigo*, as a symbol of "Japanese ethos". An enormous number of popular books on *keigo* are being published, arguing that honorifics represent the "beauty" of the Japanese language, and convey warm-hearted consideration and understanding, or *omoiyari*, toward others. However, it is not widely recognized even within Japan that this kind of ethnocultural view of honorifics is only 120 years old. We can easily trace the use of honorifics back more than 1,200 years: there are quite a number of examples in works of ancient literature, such as *Kojiki* (a mythological history compiled in 712) and *Manyōshū* (a collection of poems compiled after 759), while *Waji Shōran-shō* (a phonological grammatology written by Keichū in 1695) is the first known attempt to study Japanese in a systematic way. Nevertheless, there is no single study focusing on honorifics earlier than 1892.[1] The question is, thus, why honorification did not become an issue of academic research until the end of the 19th century.

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1 One of the few exceptions to this was the detailed and precise descriptions of honorifics made by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century in reports to their headquarters, which had little influence on Japanese academism. The most outstanding work was João Rodriguez's *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (1604–08).

Acknowledgements: I am very grateful to Professor Steven Nelson and Professor Michi Shiina for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this chapter. I am also grateful to reviewers for their helpful feedback on an earlier draft of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-012

One answer may lie in the fact that Japan had closed the country to the outside world for the two and a half centuries before the Meiji era, and had to wait for the new era to bring new, rational schemes of linguistics from the West. Admittedly this has a point, but it fails to account for the fact that several grammars of Japanese based on Western ones had already appeared some time before the turn of the era. The earliest example is Shigenobu Tsurumine's *Gogaku Shinsho* (A New Book on Grammar), which appeared around 1833. A standard work can be seen in Fumihiko Otsuki's *Gohō Shinan* (A Guide to Wording, 1889), which was revised into a more complete version, *Kō Nihon Bunten* (A Comprehensive Grammar of Japanese) in 1897. Nevertheless again, even in these books there were no major references to honorification. Things have yet to be accounted for.

The first essay focusing on honorification written by a Japanese scholar was Toshiya Mitsuhashi's *Hōbun-jō no Keigo* (Honorifics of our Language, 1892). By then, 25 years had already passed since Japan entered the new era of civilization and enlightenment called Meiji, which started in 1868. The key seems to lie in this delay. Put in the context of world history, the year 1892 gains a different implication: Japan was about to enter the race to acquire colonies, and in the next some ten years it would wage two international wars, i.e. the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05). Historically speaking, to Japan this was the age of building a nation-state, and what it was like to be Japanese was a matter for serious thought. In addition, the government set up a board of investigation for the establishment of a national language in 1903.

These facts suggest that academic focus on honorification in Japan did not begin as a part of language research but as something indispensable to the establishment of a nation-state in the Far East. This is implied clearly in the text of the first essay of Mitsuhashi, who wrote in a passionate tone as follows:

> In our country, so many honorifics have been used both in writing and speaking, and this fact will be enough to demonstrate that, as foreigners have lauded it as decorum in a country of men of virtue, from ancient times people have been more compassionate and more conformed to decorum than in other countries, including China and Western countries. . . . I sincerely hope that our honorification will maintain the true value of our language, whether spoken or written, and eternally keep our country in this place of honor.
>
> (Mitsuhashi 1892 [Kitahara (ed.) 1978: 21]; my translation[2])

Although the body of the essay was largely on the taxonomy of Japanese honorifics and their semantics, and of much value as the first descriptive research, Mitsuhashi could not help starting his story by pointing out that neither Chinese nor European languages had honorification and closing it by celebrating the Japanese language as in the quote above. Japanese honorifics were to him testaments of the distinctiveness of his language.

2 All citations in this chapter from books and papers written in Japanese are given in my translation.

1.2 Person view of honorification – a sense of superiority as a sign of inferiority

1.2.1 Honorification as a grammatical category

One may be inclined to think that that was a temporary view, strongly influenced by the ethos of the times, but this was not the case. Claim of the superiority of Japanese, on the contrary, became a part of a routine story of the significance of the fact that Japanese has honorification. Thirty years after Mitsuhashi's essay, Daizaburō Matsushita, a representative of the early grammarians, was even more enthusiastic in claiming how distinctive Japanese was. He searched for grammatical categories proper to Japanese, and "found" honorification to be one. Taking the sentence below as an example, he explained how it worked "grammatically" (Matsushita 1923: 49).

(1)	*Anata*	*wa*	*go-endan*	*no*	*koto*	*ni*	*tuite,*
	you	TOP	talk of marriage(Hon)	*GEN*	*matter*	*DAT*	*concerning*

o-toosama *ni* *nan* *to* *moosiage* *asobasi*
father(HON) DAT what QUOT say(HON[Obj]) AUX(HON[Sub])
masi-ta?
AUX(HON[Hr])+PST
'What did you tell your father about the talk of marriage?'

Pointing out that (1) contains "a possessive honorific, an object honorific, a subject honorific, and an addressee honorific" and thus is the most complex honorification possible, he emphasized how easy it is for a hearer to recognize who is superior to whom, or the hierarchical relationships among entities expressed in the sentence and argued that it results from the function of honorification. He went on to say as follows:

> With no honorifics, the sentence above would be like: "What did you tell your father about the talk of marriage?", but this is only the Western way of saying things and, in the eyes of the Japanese, nothing other than a smattering of the language, or something that people lacking in sympathy to others would say. Peoples who use such language are animal species that understand science, or science animals, so to speak. (Matsushita 1923: 49)

Why did he need to be so disparaging; it is not as if Japan was waging a war against Europe or America? Remember he was looking for grammatical categories of Japanese. There were two major types of grammarians in those days; some tried to apply the categories of European languages to Japanese, while others who were not satisfied with it tried to seek unique categories suitable for Japanese by themselves. Matsushita was typically of the latter type. There was one thing he must have noticed as he was considering Japanese grammar: that is, it does not have most categories that many European languages have, including person, and he might well have found this a reflection of linguistic "inferiority" and thus humiliating for the Japanese. However, he noticed that, although it lacked the category of person, it had the category of honorification that worked substantially like person, because in Japanese there is a general tendency for the hearer and people close to him/her to be treated respectfully as superior, and the speaker and those close to him/her humbly as inferior, which enables the hearer to infer the human relations in question even without personal distinctions. The "discovery" of honorification as a grammatical category was to him more than enough to compensate for the deficit. The passage quoted above was, in fact, his exclamation of delight in his discovery of this virtue of the language.

Again, this claim of superiority masking a sense of inferiority was not particular to Matsushita. On the contrary, one of the most famous scholars of honorification, Kyōsuke Kindaichi, who played a leading role in formulating a public guideline of use of honorifics in the postwar period, namely *Kore kara no Keigo* (Honorifics in the Future) of 1952, had casually mentioned this perverse feeling before the outbreak of the Pacific War.

> Our language does not have anything else to be proud of when compared to Western languages. Our nouns do not have case, number, or gender, nor do our verbs have person, tense, or number. As the only exception, we have an extremely elaborate system of honorifics that Western languages do not have, and it is this category of honorification that we can pride ourselves on.
> (Kindaichi 1941 [1992: 311])

As clearly seen in the texts of Mitsuhashi and Kindaichi, Japanese honorification was identified as something scarce that the Japanese could be "proud" of, and with leading scholars' confirmation, the story of a language celebrated and distinguished by honorification has survived even to today.[3]

1.2.2 A long-held fallacy

The fact that honorification has a function somewhat similar to that of grammatical person has strongly interested grammarians for three-quarters of a century. Around the same time as Matsushita, Yoshio Yamada published the first monograph on honorification, the major topic of which was what would later come to be called the PERSON VIEW of honorification. Not content to find it a grammatical category, he went so far as to make an assertion that honorification as a system even entails the function of person. "Although it is needless to say that Japanese verbs do not have

3 There may even be possibility that this was a hidden factor in the unwillingness of Japanese academia to accept the notion of "politeness". In Brown and Levinson's scheme of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), honorification is viewed only a means of expressing "negative politeness", which makes up less than half of politeness as a whole, and in fact, Ide (1989) criticizes this saying that confining honorification to the limited strategy of "showing deference" as they do will only distort the original function of honorification.

grammatical person, honorifics perform functions equivalent to it, and this should not be understood as a coincidence, but rather as a direct consequence of the use of honorification.” (Yamada 1924: 12) “It is observed that honorification indeed has much to do with person distinctions of sentences. They correspond as follows: in principle, in first person sentences humble forms are used, in second person sentences respectful forms are used in regard to the second person, and in third person sentences general polite forms are used.” (Yamada 1924: 18–19).

What Yamada wanted to say was that one had no trouble recognizing the person of the subject even in sentences without an explicit one. It is one thing, however, to point this out and claim that there is no inconvenience which results from the fact of Japanese lacking the person category, and it is quite another to claim that there is correspondence between honorifics and persons as in Table 11.1.

The correspondence in the table is obviously too strong to be true, and all that we can say concerning the relationship between honorifics and persons is this: When the subject of a sentence is not explicit, a referent marked by a respectful honorific is more likely to be the second person or of his/her side, and those marked by humble ones more likely to be the first person or of his/her side.

Table 11.1: Yamada’s claim on the correspondence between honorifics and persons.

person of a sentence	type of honorifics		
	humble	respectful	polite
1st	+	–	–
2nd	–	+	–
3rd	–	–	+

As for the third person Yamada did not seem to be so confident, and soon after the last quotation, he writes that there are two types of cases with the third person, where either respectful or humble honorifics are used, depending on what kind of person the subject actually is. Finding this view a weakness to overcome, or in other words, in an effort to affirm the validity of the framework itself, researchers of successive generations have worked toward revising it. As a complete form of the modern era, Kikuchi (1994) advanced a revised version of the PERSON VIEW as “honorific persons” in Japanese. His point is to divide the third person into three subcategories: i) third person on the side of the second person, ii) third person on the side of the first person, and iii) third person on neither side, respectively. Persons in the usual sense and “honorific persons” correspond to each other as in Figure 11.1.

Kikuchi’s revision only required replacing “person of a sentence” on the left column of Table 11.1 with “honorific person of a sentence”, and he appeared to have been successful in solving Yamada's problem, as there was no criticism of this until Takiura (2005).

Takiura (2005: III–1) questions whether the correspondence between honorifics and persons which was postulated by early grammarians including Yamada actually exists. As a matter of fact, just examining the validity of the markings "–" in Table 11.1 would have made it clear that in reality all of them should be marked "+", which would lead to the conclusion that the PERSON VIEW of honorification has been invalid from the very beginning. In order to illustrate its failure, I will cite two examples of honorifics, one of which is concerned with the use of respectful honorifics for the first person, and the other with the use of humble honorifics for the second person.

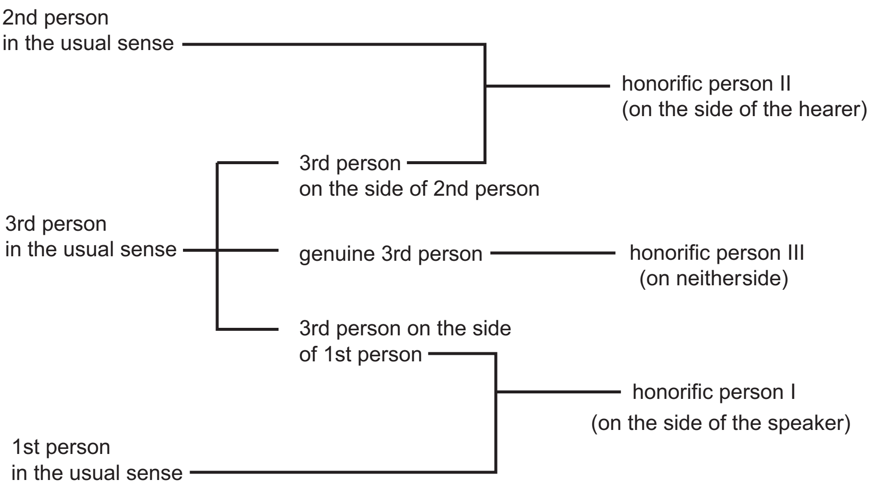

Figure 11.1: Kikuchi's "honorific persons" in Japanese (Kikuchi 1997: 119).

(2) [A husband and father says to his family when he comes back home.]

Tadaima.	*Papa*	*no*	*o-kaeri*	*da*	*yo!*
I'm home	father	GEN	return(HON[Sub])	(assertive)	SFP(ast)

'I'm home! Dad is back!'

(3) [In a business context, a boss tells one of his people to see off a guest.]

Zyaa,	*eki-made*	*o-okuri-si*	*te.*
then	the station-to	drive(HON[Obj])	(directive)

'Then, give our guest a ride to the station, will you?'

To elaborate, in (2) the subject honorific *okaeri(da)* is, of course, respectful, and here, the focus of this honorific is the speaker himself. Usages in which the speaker treats him/herself as superior have been called *jikei keigo*, or self-honorification, examples of which are known to be found mainly in ancient literature, and which thus have been thought of as rather peculiar. No doubt the honorifics in (2) are not so "full-fledged" as those in ancient literature – if so, (2) would be *Papa-ga o-kaeri-ni natta yo!*, with the use of the expression *okaeri-ni naru* sounding too theatrical for the context. For sure, however, self-honorific expressions like (2) are not so rare even in modern times – the one in (2) bringing about a humorous or comical effect which gives an impression of good relationships within the family. The honorifics in (3) are quite common, and as object honorifics have been called humble honorifics, or *kenjō-go*, in the example *o-okuri suru*, the subject of the act of seeing off is treated as relatively inferior to the object, or guest. Here, the subject of second person is treated as someone on the side of the speaker, contrary to Kikuchi's prediction. As to "general polite" forms, or *teinei-go*, there is no tendency with regard to person since its use depends on the relationships between the speaker and the hearer, and thus any combination is possible. Probably there is no more need to refer to the third person here.

In conclusion, as Takiura (2005) illustrated, the PERSON VIEW of honorification is not directly related to the grammar of Japanese, although it might reflect some linguistic tendencies that accompany the usage of honorifics. Rather than spending a lot of time and effort on trying to revise this alleged view, there should have been a paradigm change of honorification research, based on objective examination of usages. In the next section, I will take two scholars' theories as possibilities which could have made a new paradigm of research.

2 Alternatives in research of honorification

2.1 Pragmatic index view of honorification

2.1.1 Tokieda's point-of-view movement

The discussion so far does not mean that there appeared no alternative way of approaching honorification; in fact, about half a century after the first essay by Mitsuhashi on Japanese honorification, a completely different view was advocated independently by two linguists, Motoki Tokieda and Akira Mikami. Both number among the most prominent researchers of the Japanese language, sharing a vision that honorification should be seen as a pragmatic social index system, so to speak. I argue that they are indispensable figures for establishing a paradigm compatible with present theories of politeness (Takiura 2005: I–3, I–4).

Let us begin with Tokieda. Strongly conscious of Yamada, he emphasizes that honorification is not based in "ethos", but in social index and people's linguistic awareness of it:

> As for the essence of honorification or the distinction between honorifics and non-honorifics, no explanation has been provided other than that honorifics are expressions of respect, reflecting our people's virtue of consideration for others. This is a serious defect of research in honorifics; if one wants to say something about honorification, one must think in advance what it means to express respect for others, or what the essence and significance of honorification are. (Tokieda 1941: 432–433)

> Therefore, what we understand from honorific expressions is not whether the speaker has the virtue of consideration for others or not, but whether he has the proper discernment to discriminate such [=social] relationships, and how he does so. This may sound as if I were raising an unnecessary objection to the view that Japanese honorification is a reflection of people's virtue of consideration for others, but, on the contrary, honorification cannot show its true value until such a view is overcome. (Tokieda 1941: 472)

Tokieda is known for an original theory named "Gengo Katei Setsu", or the theory of language-as-process, which sees language as a process composed of two parts, that is, one with social conceptualization and one without (and thus, with personal "modi" of communication). According to him, honorification has much to do with this division. Both respectful honorifics, or *sonkei-go*, which are typically subject honorification, and humble honorifics, or *kenjō-go*, typically object honorification, are the former type, representing the speaker's recognition of social relationships between those concerned. These are conceptual, being parts of what are called referent honorifics. In contrast, polite forms, or *teinei-go* are the latter type, representing the speaker's direct attitude toward the hearer, which are speech levels from which the speaker chooses. Tokieda was radical enough to insist that recognition of relationships is not of itself respect for people, writing as follows:

> The honorification of content words is not so much an expression of the speaker's respect as one of his discernment, which reflects his recognition of hierarchical or positional relationships between referents, and thus, it is anything but a reflection of respect itself. (Tokieda 1941: 498)

His view was, in fact, so radical that it was to be criticized as an extreme "denial of respect" by researchers of the next generation. Tokieda, however, may well have emphasized this view so as to capture the relative nature of Japanese honorification, where the speaker adopts the hearer's viewpoint to decide who should be treated with honorifics and who should not. To illustrate that the notion of respect is even misleading, he compares the two sentences in (4) (Tokieda 1938: 331).

(4) [The speaker talks about/to a guest who is inferior to himself.]
a. [talking to a servant]

X san	*wa*	*ko-rare-ta*	*ka?*
Mr.X	TOP	come+AUX(HON[Sub])+PERF	SFP(qst)

'Has Mr. X arrived?'

b. [talking directly to the guest]
Yaa, *ki-ta* *ka.*
Hi come+PERF SFP(heu)
'Hey, welcome!'

To his mind, a decent theory of honorification must provide a clear explanation to the apparent contradiction between (4a) and (4b), that the speaker can treat an inferior guest with honorifics when talking to a servant whereas he uses the plain (non-honorific) form when talking directly to the guest. Tokieda explains this in terms of point-of-view movement: in honorification of the modern Japanese, the speaker is supposed to move the honorific point of view to where the hearer is. Therefore, the speaker of (4)'s choice to use honorifics toward his inferior guest when talking to a servant makes good sense because it actually reflects the servant's point of view, in which the guest must be treated with honorifics. This kind of point-of-view movement is, in his view, indispensable for proper understanding and accounting for the general usage conditions of Japanese honorifics. That is why Tokieda would not accept a definition of honorification in terms of feeling of respect. Tokieda's theory of honorification should be appreciated as pioneering and could be called a "pragmatic index view" of honorification, in that it was associated with conditions for using social indices. He did not, however, try to develop his theory further, since his main interest was not in accounting for the honorification phenomena of Japanese but in establishing his original theory, "Gengo Katei Setsu". In addition, it was unfortunate that scholars of the next generations, who thought it impossible to think about honorification without the notion of respect, criticized him and rejected his theory (Ishizaka 1951; Watanabe 1971).

2.1.2 Mikami's "A String" of honorification

Around the same time as Tokieda, Akira Mikami found virtually the same general rule of usage conditions of honorification as a by-product of his research in the grammar of Japanese (Mikami 1942). Also known as a "subject denier", Mikami's major interest was whether or not Japanese needs the grammatical notion of "subject", and honorification was to him an experimental field of how dominantly subjects of sentences control verbs.

To confirm, in French as an example, if one finds in a passage the word *aimerai*, it must be the second person singular simple future form of the verb *aimer* 'love' and its subject must be *tu* 'you' (sg. plain). The opposite is also true; if one wants to say something about the idea that a familiar person who one is talking to will fall in love with him/her, the subject must be *tu* and the verb form must be *aimerai*. Here, the subject has a full control over the verb. On the other hand, in Japanese honorification, if one finds in a passage a word *mesiagaru* 'eat' (HON[Sub]), its subject can be either the second or third person, and even the first person as seen in 1.2.2, although the person should be treated as superior in all cases. In the same way, when one wants to say something about someone superior to him/herself, does he/she have only to use honorifics for the person? Mikami's answer is no, because he sees that it depends on the hearer's point of view, not the speaker's, whether the focused person should be treated as superior or not. Thus, unlike the PERSON VIEW, he finds the subject having only a weak control over the verb in Japanese.

Mikami names this criterion for use of honorifics the "*A* String of Honorification", in which "A" is the initial letter of Japanese *aite* 'the other party',[4] and he expresses it as follows: "Deference in honorification always depends on whom one is taking to (Mikami 1972 [1955]: 118)". The examples that Mikami gives are much the same as those of Tokieda. In one of them, the head of a prestigious family treats his young son with honorifics while talking to a servant, as in Tokieda's (4a).

(5) [The head of a family asks a servant about his young son.]

Bottyan	*wa*	*moo*	*o-kaeri-ni-nat-ta*	*ka?*
young-master	TOP	already	come-back+AUX(HON[Sub])+PERF	SFP(qst)

'Has the young master already come home?'

His criterion is that somebody should be treated as superior by honorifics if and only if he/she is located above the "*A* String", which is on the hearer's position. Mikami, thus, explains that the speaker has good reason to use honorifics to refer to his own son, who should be treated as superior from the servant's point of view. He subsequently points out that the "self-honorification" by Emperors or highest-ranking people can be accounted for by the same criterion, the "*A* String of Honorification", because in both cases, the persons focused on can rightly be treated with honorifics since they are positioned above the "*A* String" (Mikami 1972 [1953]: 119).

Mikami also discusses cases where honorifics are not supposed to be used, or at least the degree of deference should be reduced, because of the same criterion. The ultimate case is when the hearer is the Emperor, because the "*A* String" is located at the Emperor's position and thus no one else could be treated as superior to him/her. Mikami gives (6) as an example of devaluation of deference, in which even one's former teacher whom one adores may well be treated with a humble form in front of the Emperor.

(6) [The speaker talks about his former teacher to Emperor Meiji.]

Waga si	*OOTUKI FUMITUKI*	*wa*	*koo*	*moosi-te*
my-former-teacher	ŌTSUKI-Fumitsuki	TOP	as-this	say(HON[Hum])+link

ori	*masu*
be(HON[Hum])	AUX(HON[Hr])

'My former teacher Ōtuki Fumituki says as follows.'

4 Of course, this is a parody of "*G* String" as in "Air on the G String".

As is already clear, both Tokieda and Mikami looked at dynamic aspects of honorification, and their observations and speculations revealed that using honorifics is not a mere passive sociolinguistic obligation, but an active, thus pragmatic, expression of the speaker's recognition of the human relationships in question. In this respect, they undoubtedly had an insight into the function of Japanese honorification which, in retrospect, was clearly foresight.

2.2 DISTANCE VIEW of address

There is another noteworthy figure whose name has hardly been recognized in Japanese linguistics, but whose work may have been the most pioneering in politeness research in Japan. Nobushige Hozumi (1855–1926) was one of the first legal scholars of modern Japan and is known as a drafter of Civil Law in the Meiji era. As one of the earliest dispatch students, he studied in Britain and Germany, studying anthropology and sociology as well as law, and this led him to explore manners and customs as a foundation for laws.

One issue which interested him was *imina*, or the posthumous name in the background of the practice of hiding the real name of a noble person. Following the great Japanese classicist of the Edo era, Norinaga Motoori (1730–1801), the belief was common in the Japanese academic world that originally in Japan there was no practice of *imina*, which came from China only later, and thus, the names of the successive Emperors and even gods of Japan were all true ones. In a monograph titled *Imina ni kansuru utagai* (A doubt on posthumous and hidden real names), Hozumi challenged this dogma, claiming that, if that were the case, Japan would be almost the only exception among all Pacific countries, contrary to what anthropology had shown (Hozumi 1919: 2).

In an attempt to prove his point, Hozumi appeals to an anthropological scheme of address based on relative distance of human relationships. Classifying types of address in terms of semantic functions, such as "respectful", "disrespectful", and "endearing", he gives an interpretation in which these functions are derived from that of relative distance between interlocutors. This pragmatic mechanism is expressed in a short and simple phrase: "Close is contemptuous. Distant is reverential." (Hozumi 1919: 103) Although Hozumi did not directly mention Durkheim, an early French sociologist, his frame of reference has much in common with Durkheim's, sharing a base in taboo theory. Avoiding a holy existence (whether a person or a thing) by distancing it means showing deference to it, while approaching the focus by getting close to it means disrespecting it, except under special conditions. Table 11.2 shows the Durkheimian bidirectional scheme, as first advocated by Durkheim (1912: III–I, II).

This is why we could call Hozumi's view of address the DISTANCE VIEW. The passage below will show clearly how appropriately he understood the effects of rel-

Table 11.2: Durkheimian bidirectional scheme (Durkheim 1912).

type of rites	nature	function	phenomenon
negative rites	avoidance-based	separation	restraint on seeing, calling, and touching sacred things
positive rites	approach-based	mixing	communion with sacred things

ative distance of human relations, and how it accounted for pragmatic, rather than semantic, functions of many different address terms of Japanese.

> Similarly, usages of second person pronouns show that avoidance-based address conveys deference, while calling someone directly by name is equivalent to contemptuous or abusive address unless the speaker and the person focused on are in a close relationship, such as parent and child, husband and wife, or close friends. Generally speaking, second person pronouns have usages of respectful avoidance: the closer an address form gets to the focused person, the more intimate, or otherwise disrespectful, attitude it implies, and, on the other hand, the more distant from him the more deferential or reverential attitude it implies. Due to this principle, it is usual that different address forms are used depending on the speaker's attitude toward the focused person, despite their proper meanings. For example, addressing someone directly *sonata* / *soti* / *sonohoo* [all of them composed of mesial deictic (i.e., relatively proximal compared to distal *a*-) *so* + direction indicating morphemes] means disrespecting him, addressing indirectly *anata* [composed of distal deictic a + direction indicating morphemes] with an avoiding term means respecting, and using doubly avoiding terms *anata-sama* [*anata* + honorific title] means respecting him very much. If one uses even more avoiding terms, one will show him highest respect, including ultimate forms such as honorific pronouns *heika* [literally meaning 'under the stairs'], *kakka* [literally meaning 'under the residence'], and *denka* [literally meaning 'under the palace'].[5]
>
> On the other hand, when one disrespects someone by addressing him as *ware* [literally meaning 'self'] from a close distance or shouting *onore* [literally meaning 'self'], they mean invective hostility, and when addressing him as *unu* [a contracted form of *onore*][6] in a thundering voice, it nearly works as an iron fist. (Hozumi 1919: 102–103)

Readers may readily notice that this bidirectional framework is perfectly good for interpretation of politeness and impoliteness of address on the basis of Levinson's theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). The whole of Hozumi's argument can be summarized as in Figure 11.2, and again, it may well be seen as a scheme of address in terms of relative distance of human relationships.

5 These terms are comparable to English address forms *His Majesty*, *His Excellency,* and *His Highness* respectively, but, while these express the eminence of the focused person directly, Japanese ones are extremely indirect expressions, thus avoidance-based address.

6 The usages of *ware*, *onore,* and *unu* which Hozumi mentioned here are examples of address inversion, all of which are originally first-person pronominal terms. (Hozumi 1919: 121–122)

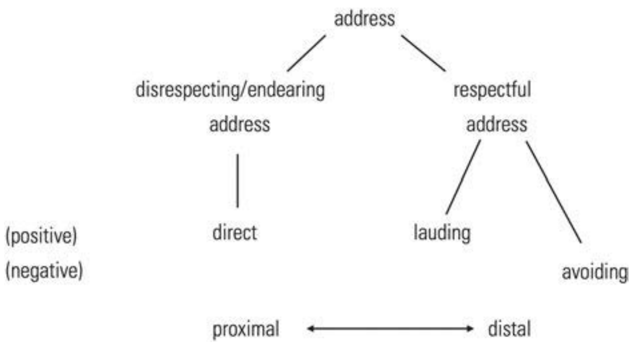

Figure 11.2: Hozumi's DISTANCE VIEW of address.

I believe that this shows both the modernity of Hozumi and the traditional aspect of Brown and Levinson, whose theoretical scheme was strongly influenced by Durkheim.

It is regrettable, however, that this truly insightful discussion of Hozumi's was not paid much attention to by linguists – partly because this study focuses not on honorification but on address, and partly due to the fact that he was not a linguist but a legal scholar. It took about 85 years before it was rediscovered and reinterpreted in the light of politeness by Takiura (2005).

3 Polite deixis: The pragmatic and discursive nature of Japanese honorifics

3.1 DISTANCING VIEW of honorification

3.1.1 Bidirectional scheme and honorifics

The discussion of the previous section shows the potential of Japanese honorification research: the functions of honorification can be well accounted for in pragmatic terms, and interpersonal attitudes accounted for in terms of relative distance of human relationships. By combining the achievements of those mentioned above, even though they did not appear in history on a continuous basis, we might build up an optimal theoretical framework of Japanese honorification, in which the speaker would conventionally or conversationally distance or approximate persons focused on and draw pictures of the human relationships in question.

Although linguistic meanings, including honorific meanings, can only be assessed in context, as can be surmised from what I have discussed so far, honorification can typically or conventionally be thought of as representing an avoidance-based device for communicating interpersonal distance. Viewing honorification in terms of relative distance became more common from the 1990's, when Shibatani's survey of the Japanese language seemed to give it momentum (Shibatani 1990, Hiraga 1999, Pizziconi 2003 also make the same point). His point is as follows:

> The honorific system appears to be ultimately explainable in terms of the notion of (psychological) distance. Honorifics . . . are used in reference to someone who is psychologically distant. The formality factors that tend to trigger honorifics contribute to creating a sense of distance between people. The use of honorifics toward someone unfamiliar, regardless of the addressee's social standing, and the non-use of honorifics toward someone familiar, even if the addressee's social standing is higher, are both controlled by the factor of psychological distance.
>
> (Shibatani 1990: 379)

Shibatani's view has a twofold significance: first, functions of honorification can be accounted for as contextual consequences of distancing honorific foci, and, second, this distal effect is produced by contrast with the proximal effect of non-use of honorifics. Concerning the first, Hiraga develops Shibatani's insight into systematic interpretation of Japanese honorifics from the perspective of cognitive metaphors (Hiraga 1999). Hiraga claims that this study tries . . . to argue, through an analysis of Japanese honorific verb constructions, that the metaphor, DEFERENCE IS DISTANCE, motivates and underlies the structure of the honorific system of language. (Hiraga 1999: 47) Hiraga's metaphor of distance, DEFERENCE IS DISTANCE, is completely consistent with Hozumi's principle of DISTANCE VIEW observed above: "Close is contemptuous. Distant is reverential."

I will call the approach based on the "distancing" effect of honorifics the DISTANCING VIEW of honorification and illustrate here its theoretical advantages. In an attempt to organize usages of Japanese honorification, Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo [The National Institute for Japanese Language] cites five major categories, in which many different communicative functions are included (presented here with grouping by myself), as follows:

Table 11.3: Communicative functions of Japanese honorification (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1990: 95–97).

a) RESPECT (*keii*), DEFERENCE (*sonkei*), REVERENCE (*ikei or agame*)
b) AVOIDANCE (*kei'en* or *hedate*), FORMALITY (*aratamari*)
c) PRESTIGE (*igen*), DEMEANOR (*hin'i*)
d) BEAUTIFICATION (*bika*), ENDEARMENT (*shin'ai*)
e) ALIENATION (*sogai*), IRONY (*hiniku*)

As Table 11.3 shows, it is clear that there is difficulty regarding these categories themselves as meanings of honorifics, because, if they were a variety of meanings of honorifics, one and the same linguistic form should convey pairs of opposite meanings at the same time, for example, respect of others (DEFERENCE) vs. respect of self (DEMEANOR), respect vs. endearment, or respect vs. alienation. The mainstream of research has located RESPECT at the core of honorification, but obviously there is no way of accounting for these apparent contradictions with the notion of RESPECT.[7] The DISTANCING VIEW claims that honorification simply places a social or psychological distance between a speaker and some target, and that, by avoiding impingement upon his/her territory, it results in paying deference to him/her, showing considerateness for him/her, and sometimes alienating him/her, depending on human relations or contexts. ENDEARMENT is problematic, needing a completely different line of account. Takiura (2005) explains that it is not at all a meaning or function of honorifics, but, as in (7) below, is a result of non-use of speech levels in spite of using subject honorifics or object honorifics when the second person (i.e. the hearer) is also the agent or recipient of the act being mentioned.

(7) a. [honorifics of ENDEARMENT (use of referent honorifics without speech levels)]

Asu	*mo*	*irassyaru?*
tomorrow	too	come(HON[Sub])

'Are you coming tomorrow again?'

b. [honorific of DEFERENCE]

Asu	*mo*	*irassyai*	*masu*	*ka?*
tomorrow	too	come(HON[Sub])	AUX(HON[Sub])	SFP(qst)

'Are you coming tomorrow again?'

Thus, it should be said to be a contextual effect of non-use of honorifics. It should be noted, though, that this can still be regarded as a phenomenon concerning honorification in that it shows its reverse or proximal side.

To illustrate the comprehensive explanations that the DISTANCING VIEW can afford, I will take the ALIENATION type as an example here. In Japanese, there are occasions when honorifics appear in the middle of marital or lovers' spats as in (8), which is a peripheral usage and obviously far from a sign of respect, indeed, but theoretically a significant one.

(8) a. [Honorifics appear abruptly in spats.]

Hai hai,	*kekkoo*	*de*	*gozaimasu.*
yes yes	fine	(assertive)	AUX(HON[Hr])
Doozo	*go-katte ni*	*nasai*	*mase.*
please	as-you-like(HON[Sub])	do(HON[Sub])	AUX(HON[Hr])+IMP

'Yes, yes, that's fine with me. Please do as you like.'

7 In an article titled "Honorifics: The cultural specificity of a universal mechanism in Japanese", Pizziconi (2011) criticizes the notion of "core" meaning of honorifics itself, referring to interactionist approaches. I appreciate her idea of the cultural specificity of a universal mechanism and of rejecting RESPECT as the "core", seeing varieties of meanings of honorifics as generated discursively (see also Section 3.2.2). Nevertheless, as a linguist, I will not go so far as to reject the semantics of honorifics, considering as I do that it is most natural and rational to see social and/or psychological distancing at the core of the semantics of honorifics in order to account for the many different communicative functions of honorifics as contextual effects.

b. [non-honorific equivalent of (9a)]

A,	*ii*	*yo.*	*Sukina*	*yoo ni*	*site.*
yah	it's OK	SFP(ast)	you-like	as	do (directive)

'Yah, it's OK. Do as you like.'

Speakers and hearers of (8) are typically in close relationships, say, couples or close friends. The DISTANCING VIEW gives a clear-cut explanation for this phenomenon: the speakers and hearers are so close that they usually do not use honorifics to each other, but now that they are having a spat, the speaker is temporarily wanting to keep his/her partner at a distance, and at the time, honorifics work as a kind of barrier, literally distancing the person. In the DISTANCING VIEW, distancing devices such as honorifics will therefore generate ALIENATION meanings when they mark "avoidance of comity" between people in close relations, and DEFERENCE meanings when the mutual distance, whether social or psychological, is maintained as expected.

All of these are marked contextual effects caused by use of honorifics, and this means that, like the two sides of a coin, non-use of honorifics also causes contextual effects, which are unmarked. I pointed this out in regard to Shibatani's view above, in which the notion of distance naturally involves opposite directions, either distal or proximal. Approaches based on cultural anthropology, such as Durkheim's and Hozumi's, have developed a basically bidirectional scheme, which is exactly what honorification research in Japan has long failed to have. Takiura (2005) draws attention to the fact that Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness has two different roots, that is, pragmatic and anthropological ones, and claims that their originality lies in their overlay of the two background pictures to make a whole. While in the former, grades of politeness strategies are interpreted as gradual departures from the anchoring point without any face-saving redress, in the latter, the two basic directions are divided depending on whether they are avoidance-based or approach-based, as in Table 11.2 above, which they call negative and positive respectively after Durkheim. In this latter sense, we can regard Brown and Levinson's theory as one of DISTANCING VIEW of honorification, which I believe still has validity with regard to accounting for pragmatic functions of honorifics. We will take a look at these bidirectional effects in more detail in Section 3.2.2.

3.1.2 Kuno's Empathy Perspective and its application to Japanese honorifics

In relation to distancing nature of honorifics, I suggested that Kuno's theory of Empathy Perspective is quite suitable for describing pragmatic pictures drawn by honorifics (Takiura 2005: III–2). Here let me introduce his theory and provide a quick overview of how his Empathy Perspective can grasp pragmatic aspects of honorification. Advocating "Functional Syntax", Kuno (1987) suggests incorporating cognitive linguistic constraints and hierarchies, as we might call them today, into syntactic theories, especially those that treat words and expressions involving "viewpoints" such as voice and reciprocal verbs. He names this complex the "Empathy Perspective" as follows:

> The speaker, in describing an event or state, can choose various "camera angles": He can place himself at a distance from the participants of the event/state and give an objective, detached description. Alternatively, he can position himself closer to one participant than to the others, or, in some special cases, he can completely identify himself with one participant and describe the event/state from this participant's camera angle. The empathy perspective examines syntactic manifestations of the speaker's camera angles in sentences and in a sequence of sentences.
> (Kuno 1987: 29–30)

Kuno assumes the notion of empathy as having degree and defines it in this way:

> Empathy: Empathy is the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence.
>
> Degree of Empathy: The degree of the speaker's empathy with x, E(x), ranges from 0 to 1, with E(x)=1 signifying his total identification with x, and E(x)=0 signifying a total lack of identification.
> (Kuno 1987: 206)

According to Kuno there are some basic hierarchies concerning empathy and syntactic restrictions deriving from them. Descriptor Empathy Hierarchy is one of them: Given descriptor x (e.g., John) and another descriptor f(x) depending upon x (e.g., John's brother), the speaker's empathy with x is greater than with f(x), resulting in E(x) > E(f(x)), e.g. E(John) > E(John's brother) (Kuno 1987: 207). Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy is another example: The speaker cannot empathize with anyone else other than with himself, resulting in E(speaker) > E(others) (Kuno 1987: 212). Sentences and expressions which conflict with these hierarchies turn out to be ungrammatical or, at least, inadequate in context. The ban of Conflicting Empathy Foci is the most fundamental: A single sentence cannot contain logical conflicts in empathy relationships (Kuno 1987: 207). Thus, (9a) and (9b) represent natural empathy relationships, whereas (9c) and (9d) are unnatural because they involve conflicts with an empathy hierarchy.

(9) a. Then John hit his brother.
b. Then Bill was hit by his brother.
c. ?? Then John's brother was hit by him.
d. ?? Then his brother was hit by John. (Kuno 1987: 203)

While the empathy perspective seems to hold true for languages universally and helps to account for empathetic phenomena, Kuno actually introduced this concept to show that "there is a language which has a built-in mechanism for overtly specifying what the speaker's camera angle is" (Kuno 1987: 245). What he intended to focus most on was benefactive verbs of Japanese, which, unlike the majority of languages in the world, includes three series of forms, such as *yaru*, *kureru*, and *morau*; in English *give* would cover the range of the former two and *receive* the last. His point was that Japanese has a greater number of items because it builds into its grammar empathetic relations in addition to distinctions in semantic role of the subject. *Yaru* and *kureru* are distinguished according to the criterion of empathy relationships. They are subject to the following empathy constraint.

Empathy conditions for Giving Verbs in Japanese:
Yaru requires that E(subject) > E(dative)
Kureru requires that E(subject) < E(dative)

These conditions account for the well-formedness of (10a) and (11b), and ill-formedness of (10b) and (11a) below.

(10)	a.	*Boku*	*ga*	*Hanako*	*ni*	*okane*	*o*	*yar-u.*
		I	NOM	Hanako	DAT	money	ACC	give
		'I give money to Hanako.'						
	b.	**Boku*	*ga*	*Hanako*	*ni*	*okane*	*o*	*kure-ru.*

(11)	a.	**Taroo*	*ga*	*boku*	*ni*	*okane*	*o*	*yar-u.*
		Taro	NOM	me	DAT	money	ACC	give
	b.	*Taroo*	*ga*	*boku*	*ni*	*okane*	*o*	*kure-ru.*
		'Tarō gives money to me.'						(Kuno 1987: 246)

While in (10a) *yaru* requires that E(subject) > E(dative) and the relationship between *boku* and Hanako satisfies the condition, in (10b) *kureru* requires that E(subject) < E(dative), which conflicts with the relationship between the subject *boku* and the dative Hanako. In the opposite manner, in (11a) *yaru* requires that E(subject) > E(dative), which conflicts with the relationship between the subject Tarō and the dative *boku*, while in (11b) *kureru* requires that E(subject) < E(dative) in accordance with the relationship between the subject *Tarō* and the dative *boku*.

Takiura (2005) points out that all usage conditions of Japanese honorifics can, in fact, be described in terms of Kuno's empathy perspective. As the scale of empathy is, in a sense, the inverse of that of relative distance between participants, types of honorifics can be regarded as different patterns of reflection of relative distance between the participants in question. Here I will take a brief look at the four major types. The verb *mesiagaru*, a subject honorific form of *taberu* 'eat', for example, indicates that the subject (and the agent) should be treated as more distant (less empathetic, and in context perhaps superior) from the assumed viewpoint, and on the other hand, the verb *moosiageru*, an object honorific form of *iu* 'tell', for example, indicates that the object (and the recipient) should be treated as more distant (less empathetic, and in context perhaps superior) from the assumed viewpoint. Note that so-called "humble" forms do not mean that the speaker humbles him/herself, and most of them are actually object honorifics; thus, the difference between "respectful" honorifics and most "humble" forms lies in the difference in who, or which role to be exact, is the honorific focus.

Aside from this, there is another type of "humble" honorifics in which the speaker or someone on his/her side humbles him/herself in a true sense; he/she has to do so because there is no participant role, typically the recipient, present in the context of the word in question. Thus, a truly humble verb *itasu* 'do', for example, indicates that the speaker or someone on his/her side should be treated closer (more empathetic, and in context perhaps inferior) than the assumed viewpoint. The other type of major honorifics is the so-called "polite" form, or polite speech levels, in which the speaker treats the hearer directly as more distant (less empathetic) from the assumed viewpoint. As to locations of the viewpoint, there are two possible ways depending on who the agent and/or the recipient is. When the hearer does not play the role of the agent or the recipient, the viewpoint is located at the hearer (cf. Section 2.1), while it is located at the speaker him/herself when the hearer plays the role of the agent or recipient who should be treated with honorifics. We can summarize the relationships of empathy perspective above as in Table 11.4 below. In (a–b) the honorific focus is placed more distant from the assumed viewpoint and in (d) the hearer is placed distant from the speaker, and, unlike these, in (c) the same distancing effect is produced by humbling the agent on the speaker's side.

Table 11.4: The empathy perspective of Japanese honorifics (Takiura 2005, III–2: modified).[8]

a) so-called respectful honorifics (sonkei-go): the honorific focus is on the agent (the subject), thus "agent (subject) honorifics" E(viewpoint) > E(agent) e.g. *o/go. . .ni-naru* '(lit.) come to. . .', . . .*(ra)reru* [AUX], *mesiagaru* 'eat', *ossyaru* 'say'
b) most of so-called humble honorifics (*kenjō-go*): the honorific focus is on the recipient (typically the object), thus "recipient (object) honorifics" E(viewpoint) > E(recipient) e.g. *o/go. . .suru* '(lit.) do. . .', *moosiageru* 'tell'
c) genuine humble honorifics (*teichō-go*): the honorific focus made by humbling the speaker him/herself or the agent on his/her side is on the addressee as a referent, thus "addressee honorifics"[1] E(agent on speaker's side) > E(viewpoint [=hearer]) e.g. *itasu* 'do', *mairu* 'go/come', *zonzuru* 'know', *moosu* 'call'
d) so-called polite forms (*teinei-go*): the honorific focus is on the addressee as the interlocutor, or the hearer, thus "hearer honorifics" or polite speech levels E(speaker) > E(hearer) e.g. *desu*, *-masu*, *gozaimasu* [all AUX]

A framework incorporating these mechanisms will describe the communication of politeness in Japanese as an operation of social/psychological distance by means of

8 They are represented as "HON[Hum]" in the gloss of the numbered examples in the text.

the use and non-use of honorifics. We could see it as "polite deixis" and will discuss it in Section 3.2.2.

3.2 Discursive nature of honorifics

3.2.1 Honorifics as mitigator in speech

Unlike the PRAGMATIC INDEX VIEW of the function of honorification, a quite different paradigm of seeing it has been proposed and seems to have gained recognition as a kind of "standard" counterargument from non-Western culture to Brown and Levinson's seemingly overly individualistic notion of politeness: Ide's "discernment", or *wakimae*, paradigm (Ide 1989) is among the most well-known. Challenging Brown and Levinson's "Western" rationalism, where two Model Persons are equipped with "face" and rationality and begin to infer each other's "face threat" and "face save" accompanied by speech acts, Ide calls it a "volition" system and criticizes it by asserting that it cannot account for uses of Japanese honorifics. Her point is that Japanese society is so collectivistic that people have little choice but to use honorifics when the hearer or referent in a conversation is someone to be treated as superior, although Brown and Levinson's framework can only account for uses of honorifics which are motivated by one's own intention to show politeness to the hearer. Note that the term discernment, or *wakimae*, is identical to that of Tokieda as we saw in Section 2.1.1, but that Ide's use of the term is quite different from his. To him, one's "discernment" was a reflection of one's recognition of human relationships and honorifics were means of expressing this recognition, so that the speaker of (4a), for example, would tell the hearer by taking the hearer's viewpoint that the person the speaker was waiting for should be treated as their guest and hence with honorifics even if he/she might be inferior to the speaker. It should also be noted that, to Tokieda, even this apparently contradictory recognition of human relations was a genuine "discernment", and nevertheless this was a possible way of treating the younger guest chosen by the speaker from among the others. In contrast, discernment means social norms to Ide in the first place, and "the choice of linguistic form or expression in which the distinction between the social ranks or the roles of the speaker, the referent and the addressee are systematically encoded." (Ide 1989: 230) Obviously this is such a static or fixed understanding of the notion that it reminds us of life in, say, the prewar period, when social status was strong and rigid, although I have to add that, even in those days, there were linguists like Tokieda and Mikami who took a quite pragmatic view. At least in contemporary Japanese, it is not the case that people are forced to use honorifics as obligatory choices, but that they grasp them and express their recognition in pictures of human relationships, with various intentions and motivations.

I do not deny, however, that there are times when honorifics are used as a result of passive choice or as a part of expected behavior and would be willing to admit that even Brown and Levinson's model of choosing politeness strategies does not exclude passive or unconscious choices. Criticizing Ide's *wakimae*, Pizziconi (2003) points out that communication in every society has both "discernment" and "volition" aspects, which means that there is no society where discernment does not work at all in communication. She writes as follows, and argues that discernment, or *wakimae*, is quite compatible with Watts' "politic behavior" (Watts 1992):

> Sharing a set of assumptions on, or having negotiated what constitutes "expected behaviour" (rights and duties of the participants), allows all resulting marked uses to be exploited to convey other relevant meanings. In this sense, the need of *wakimae* (discernment) is vital in communication, regardless of the language. (Pizziconi 2003: 1500)

Along with Ide, Matsumoto is often referred to with regard to her emphasis of the social-normative aspect of Japanese honorifics (Matsumoto 1989). She cites as evidence of their obligatory nature the fact that they are commonly used for non-face-threatening-acts (FTA), as in *Kyoo-wa doyoobi desu*. Fukada and Asato (2004), Usami (2002) argue against her on the ground that Japanese society is of both vertical and horizontal composition and, according to Brown and Levinson's three-variable calculation formula, the weightiness of an FTA should be estimated to be greater when values concerning human relationships are great, which is the case in Japanese.[9] To their interpretation, the question is raised why an utterance such as "today is Saturday" should be construed as an FTA at all (Pizziconi 2003), but there seems to be another interpretation possible, namely that speaking to others itself can be a potential FTA. In fact, in anthropological terms, it is quite common to regard the act of speaking to others itself as a kind of FTA, and one can easily find similar examples in other languages: English speaking people use a very common phrase, "Excuse me?" simply as a starter of conversation when there is no apparent FTA concerned.

Is it not possible, then, to see honorifics as a kind of mitigating device against impingement on others by the very act of speaking to them? If it is, the phenomenon of vertical "bidirectional" use of honorifics will be easier to account for, and in fact, empirical research supports this view. Through analyzing data of 72 conversations conducted by unacquainted participants, Usami finds that communication of politeness in Japanese is not controlled by use of honorific style by inferiors (younger speakers) but by non-use of honorific style by superiors (older speakers) (Usami 2002). As to the rate of appearance of polite forms, there is no significant difference between three vertical human relations – to older interlocutors, to those of the same age, and

9 In an experimental study on facework by native Japanese speakers in conflict situations, Kiyama, Tamaoka and Takiura (2012) reveals that, although intrinsic contents of situations (Ri[=intrinsic] factor) have the strongest influence on facework behaviors, interlocutor's attitudes (Rc[=contextual] factor) have the second strongest influence, and then interpersonal factors like distance (D factor) and power (P factor) do as well. They conclude that this supports the validity of Brown and Levinson's trivariate formula and its applicability to non-Western culture.

to younger interlocutors –, which may be thought of as the effect of psychological distance between unacquainted participants. On the contrary, the rate of appearance of non-polite forms increases the younger the interlocutor is, and so does that of downshifts – changes from polite forms to non-polite forms in the course of conversation. Interestingly enough, upshifts – changes from non-polite to polite forms – appear the least frequently in the case of interlocutors of the same age; that is, they appear quite often in relation to both older and younger interlocutors, which indicates that vertical distance of human relations, either upward or downward, can be something to give consideration to and motivates people to use polite forms. In terms of pragmatic functions of honorifics, its upward use and its downward use should be classified into different categories; the former as DEFERENCE honorifics and the latter as DEMEANOR honorifics. Usami's data, however, shows that both of them can be interpreted as honorifics of conversational "mitigation", which seems to suggest the discursive nature of Japanese contemporary honorifics.

3.2.2 "Polite deixis"

Through the discussion so far, we have gained two perspectives to view honorification, the PRAGMATIC INDEX VIEW and the DISTANCING VIEW. According to the latter, honorifics produce many different pragmatic connotations as a result of contextual action on the basis of the distancing function toward honorific foci, and according to the former, they function as devices of delineating human relationships in relation to the location of viewpoints. I argue that contemporary usage of honorifics in Japanese can be accounted for in the most comprehensive way by combining these two views into one perspective to draw pictures of relations; the speaker switches who is to be distanced and who is not, in the course of conversation, reflecting his/her recognition of, or intentions about, human relationships. I will give below a few examples to illustrate the highly pragmatic nature of this perspective. To confirm the premise, note that there are quite a few possibilities of expression in treating verbally the agent and/or the recipient of a sentence separately from the hearer, reflecting the different "maps" of human relations in question.

(12) [An employee tells a colleague that apparently their president is going to see off a guest.]

a.	*Syatyoo*	*ga*	*o-okuri-suru*	*rasii.*
	the president	NOM	see off (HON[Obj])	apparently
b.	*Syatyoo*	*ga*	*o-okuri-ni-naru*	*rasii.*
	the president	NOM	see off (HON[Sub])	apparently
c.	*Syatyoo*	*ga*	*o-okuri-sa-reru*	*rasii.*
	the president	NOM	see off (HON[Sub-Obj])	apparently

d.	*Syatyoo*	*ga*	*okuru*	*rasii.*
	the president	NOM	see off (plain)	apparently

'The president seems to be seeing off the guest.'

Needless to say, the president is the highest rank in a company, and a guest from outside should naturally be treated as higher than the president. If this were a norm which everyone was supposed to conform to, the only possible pattern would be (12a), where the guest is the only honorific focus and the president is not treated with honorifics. This is the way in which the concepts of *uchi* (in-group) / *soto* (out-group) are distinguished in accordance with the inside / outside of the company. In daily conversation, however, (12b) is often used, and if one wants to treat both of the figures with honorifics, one can use (12c) as well. In (12b), it is the president alone that is treated with honorifics, and one may wonder if it is not impolite to the guest. The picture of human relationships is different, as a matter of fact, and here the speaker, on the premise of seeing off the guest, focuses solely on which rank of person is going to do that, and tells a colleague that it will be the person of the highest rank by marking him/her with honorifics. The form *o-okuri-sa-reru* in (12c) is a complex of a recipient (an object) honorific form *o-okuri-suru* and an agent (a subject) honorific auxiliary verb . . .(*ra*)*reru*, thus focusing both the recipient and the agent. In terms of social status system this pattern might well be preferred, but, as a native speaker, I have the impression that this sounds a little too polite or even pretentious today, and it is used least often of the three choices in (12a–c). This seems to suggest that today honorifics are not only for expressing status relationships, but rather for showing the dynamic *uchi* / *soto* relationships that the speaker wants to express at the time. In addition to these, one can even hear an utterance with no honorific expression like (12d), which sounds as if the speaker and the hearer are talking like critics about, say, how important a person the guest in question is, and concluding that he/she is a VIP who is going to be seen off by the president. This is also an example of how the empathy perspective of Kuno works in communication of honorifics in contemporary Japanese.

There is another important effect concerning honorification. Since the system lies in switching "on and off" the distancing of some target, it necessarily follows that the parties who are not distanced by honorifics are left as they are, which, in turn, can cause a substantially proximal effect, creating a sense of closeness. This side-effect seems quite obvious, but in the history of honorification research in Japan, due to the circumstances discussed in Section 1, the aspect of non-use of honorifics seems to have drawn little attention from researchers. Takiura (2005) maintains that this function of distancing somebody and leaving the others separates participants into two groups, that is, what have been called *soto* (distancing switched on) and *uchi* (distancing switched off) respectively. Importantly, the boundary is not static in any sense, so much so that it is only through the very act of using honorifics that the speaker's positioning of those participants as *soto* or *uchi* is settled. In this sense, honorification has much in common with deictic expressions, and hence it could be regarded as “polite deixis”.

The best examples of these very pragmatic functions can be seen when the division of *soto* and *uchi* may be changed in the course of a conversation, even though the identical speaker refers to an identical person in front of identical hearers. To take an example from my database, in a cross-departmental committee meeting of a university, a vice-dean refers to the dean of their faculty, who is not present at the time of utterance, in two different manners, as shown in (13a) and (13b).

(13) a. *Hai, gakubutyoo mo sono taioo de mondai*
yes dean also the measures INS problem
nakat-ta to moosi-te ori
exist+NEG+PST QUOT say(HON[Hum])+link (imperfect)
masu.
AUX(HON[Hr])
‘Yes, our dean says, too, that there was nothing wrong with the measures they took.’

b. *Ee, mottomo, gakubutyoo go-zisin*
yes as a matter of fact dean himself(HON)
no o-kangae wa tyotto tigau
GEN thought(HON[Sub]) TOP a little different
yoo desu ga.
appear AUX(HON[Hr]) though
‘The dean himself seems to think in a slightly different way, though.’

(13a) is uttered as a comment on the measures which have been taken concerning a student who has failed a compulsory course and is going to be unable to graduate. In it, *moosite*, the humble form of *itte* (< *iu* ‘say’) is used, where the speaker humbles his boss and by doing so intentionally establishes a distance from the other parties of the committee and, as a result, pays deference to them. In this context, the dean and the vice dean (i.e. the speaker) belong to the same group, while all the hearers belong to other faculties and departments, and the speaker delivers the dean’s comment as an official statement from their own faculty (*uchi* here) to the outside (*soto* here). This is an example of addressee honorifics as referent honorifics (in Table 11.4c). On the other hand, (13b) is uttered shortly after (13a), but in response to the chair’s concern that personally the dean might have a critical opinion of the measures. This changes the context in a subtle way from official to personal, and in (13b), the humbled dean in (13a) is here the focus of the distancing honorific expressions, *go-zisin* and *o-kangae*. Is this simply a case in which the vice dean treats his boss according to ranking? This interpretation is not likely because, if so, (13b) would conflict with the principle of taking the addressee’s viewpoint; rather, the effect of honorification in (13b) consists of distancing the dean, and in so doing, creating a resulting group including the speaker and those who are not distanced by this honorification (i.e. the hearers), which produces an effect of, so to speak, alienating the dean. Compare the two pictures of human relationships drawn by the honorifics in (13a) and (13b) below, and we can see clearly how the division of *uchi* / *soto* changes the whole picture of relations expressed as in Figure 11.3. (Because the purpose here is to see the human relations between the dean and other parties, speech levels, *desu* and *masu*, will be ignored.)

(13a) moosite ori

<approximating>	(distancing)
dean	other committee members
vice dean	
uchi	soto

→

(13b) go-zisin no o-kangae

	<distancing>
other committee members	dean
vice dean	
uchi	soto

Figure 11.3: "maps" of human relationships drawn by changing treatment of a referent in the course of conversation.

Native speakers of Japanese are accustomed to making use of this pragmatic effect of delineating *uchi* / *soto* distinctions, and people communicate these kinds of connotations to each other as meta-messages. This meta-message is indeed strongly informative, so that participants may very well understand that in contrast to (13a), which is "institutional" thus sounding official, (13b) is "personal" thus sounding as if it reflects his/her real feelings. The social effects that honorifics (especially referent honorifics like these) cause in discourse are indexical in the sense that "they are evaluated in relation to the context or situation at hand, including those aspects of the situation created by what has already been said or done." (Agha 2007: 14) Minegishi Cook (2011) concludes in her analysis of conversation data from a company meeting that referent honorifics function as social indexes of the institutional identity of the speaker, as follows:

> Rather, as "creative indexes" (Silverstein 1976), referent honorifics foreground the institutional identity of the speaker in a committee meeting. Referent honorifics occur in on-stage talk in this meeting, and most of them are used in non-imposing requests and descriptions of the absent third party's acts. This paper has argued that the ways in which referent honorifics occur in this meeting indicate that their primary function is not to show politeness to the addressee but to index the speaker's institutional identity. (Minegishi Cook 2011: 3670)

I would like to add that even the notion of "institutional" may vary pragmatically according to the speaker's operation of honorific foci and viewpoints. This way of using honorifics acquires a more discursive nature and functions as a pragmatic strategy as Okamoto (1997) says: the choice of . . . honorifics as indexical signs "is best regarded as a strategy based on the speaker's linguistic ideology that mediates the pragmatic meanings of linguistic forms and his/her assessment of multiple social aspects of the context." (Okamoto 1997: 815)

Referent honorifics (as described in Table 11.4a–c) and polite speech levels or hearer honorifics (as in Table 11.4d) differ in dimensions where they function, and since Tsujimura (1967), they have been known as "sozai keigo" (素材敬語) (approximately 'referent honorifics') and "taisha keigo" （対者敬語） ('hearer honorifics'). This difference turns out to be that of how politeness is communicated with the interlocutor. With polite speech levels, or hearer honorifics, the speaker conveys politeness directly to the interlocutor. With referent honorifics, in contrast, he/she cannot do so because he/she only expresses his/her recognition of, and intentions about, human relationships in question, but he/she does so in context by switching who is distanced and who is not, which in turn suggests the speaker's positional or institutional connotations. This pragmatic switch necessarily involves the interlocutor; if the speaker treats someone else with honorifics (that is, distances the person) the interlocutor who is not distanced by them is regarded as on the speaker's side, while on the other hand, if the speaker treats only the interlocutor with honorifics, he/she is distanced politely. To put it in terms of politeness, the former can be interpreted substantially as proximal, and thus work as positive (approach-based) politeness, and the latter as distal as it is, thus as negative (avoidance-based) politeness. In this way, we can conclude that communication of politeness in Japanese consists of, and mixing, two levels which correspond to direct politeness resulting from polite speech levels and indirect politeness from referent honorifics.

To conclude, although the 120 years of honorification research in Japan may not have been free from ideological overtones, it is also the case that there were scholars, like Hozumi, Tokieda, and Mikami, who gained a deep insight into its social index aspect. In addition, what they grasped was the highly pragmatic nature of Japanese honorifics, not the sociolinguistic fixed nature that some researchers claim. Now that Japanese society has shifted away from the traditional social status system, the usage criteria of Japanese honorifics have changed from vertical to horizontal, which has made them more and more of a discursive nature, and "uchi/soto" distinctions by non-use/use of honorifics their major factor. In association with this shift of honorification itself, there is growing importance in viewing Japanese honorification in terms of direct and indirect politeness, and I conclude that this is how it will contribute most to the future of politeness research.

Additional Abbreviations

(HON[Sub]) – subject (agent) honorific, (HON[Obj]) – object (recipient) honorific,
(HON[Hum]) – humble honorific, (HON[Hr]) – hearer honorific
SFP(ast) – sentence-final particle (assertive),
SFP(heu) – sentence-final particle (heuristic),
SFP(qst) – sentence-final particle (question)

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12 Intersection of discourse politeness theory and interpersonal communication

1 Introduction: Why do we need discourse politeness theory?

Polite expressions in one language are not always polite in other languages. People often unintentionally violate the rules of politeness in other languages and cultures because a literal translation of a polite expression in one language into another does not necessarily function as intended, leading to unfortunate and unconscious misunderstanding, stereotyping of other cultures, and even producing conflicts.

"Linguistic politeness" is one crucial aspect of language use that strongly reflects different cultural values or perspectives. It is essential, on the one hand, to understand the language-specific complexities of successful communication. On the other hand, explicating the universal mechanisms of politeness systems is essential and attractive to researchers; such research reveals principles underlying human social interactions regardless of the language and culture, thus enabling people to find the common motivations and shared feelings of human beings regardless of cultural backgrounds. In other words, because politeness expressions are uniquely language-specific, to fully understand the strategies of politeness of people from different cultures, it is crucial to uncover the primary mechanism of motivations underlying the various superficial differences in the politeness expressions. Such explorations will help people of all cultures better comprehend different cultures' ways of communicating, thus eliminating or reducing ethnic stereotypes, misunderstandings, and conflicts.

In the study of linguistic politeness, considering Japanese is meaningful. This is because Japanese has a complex honorific system, so native Japanese speakers are more sensitive to balancing strategic and normative language use than speakers of Indo-European languages such as English. The speakers of languages that do not have linguistic "honorifics" such as English might find it challenging to understand the politeness expressed by the use of honorifics as linguistic forms because there are no honorific rules in using their native language. Therefore, to construct a universal theory of politeness, it is crucial to capture politeness at the discourse-level where differences of sentence-level grammar do not affect the interpretation. That is why the politeness of a language with a complex honorific system such as Japanese should be

Acknowledgements: I would like to express my gratitude to the reviewers for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this chapter. I would also like to thank Cambridge University Press for permission to reproduce an altered version of a figure and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies to reuse some parts of my previous paper.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-013

regarded as a principle of honorifics in one specific language, not considered to be a "universal politeness" captured by the broader concept.

Therefore, it is indispensable to capture the politeness of various languages in the same framework at the discourse-level and pursuing a universal theory of politeness brings valuable facts and information to pragmatic politeness research. Also, it will establish strong connections with the study of interpersonal communication theory. Capturing politeness as a range of discourse phenomena is a particularly effective way to contrast the "pragmatic politeness", which is realized differently in languages with and without honorifics. Although pragmatic approaches to politeness have been developing since the 1970s and 1980s, most studies of "politeness" and "politeness theory" have focused on the politeness level of certain linguistic forms as grammatical features, or on the speech-act level, considering several turns at most. Traditional approaches to Japanese honorifics in particular concentrated too much on the study of the complex and fascinating honorifics and paid little attention to studying pragmatic politeness, which examines the functions of language use rather than evaluating the politeness level embedded in linguistic forms.

The aim of this chapter[1], therefore, is to introduce "discourse politeness theory" (hereafter DPT), which provides a link between discourse-level phenomena and politeness theory, and to present the application and further possibilities of this theory to cross-cultural pragmatics, second language acquisition, and other fields such as interpersonal communication and AI-related research, as well. By doing so, this chapter leads toward the intersection of discourse politeness theory and interpersonal communication.

2 Previous research on honorifics and politeness before discourse politeness theory (DPT)

The concept of relative politeness in DPT which is the focus of this chapter has been developed primarily from research based on the analysis of natural conversational data in Japanese. DPT constitutes a completely different perspective and occupies a different sphere of interest from previous research on the rules of honorific usage and the honorifics system. In the following sections, honorifics research in Japan and politeness research in the West, and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (hereafter B&L's theory) which can be considered as a first step to communication theory before DPT will be briefly summarized as background to the emergence of DPT.

1 This chapter partially includes some similar contents of the following papers (Usami 2002a, 2006a, 2006b) since the DPT itself is not basically changed.

2.1 Honorifics research in Japan

Traditional research on the Japanese language, which has a complex system of honorifics, has resulted in a large amount of important research findings, concentrating mainly on the choice of normative linguistic forms according to the characteristics of interlocutors and situations in which these forms are chosen (Minami et al. 1974; Tsujimura 1977; Ogino 1986, 1989). However, although such research had tended to focus on this admittedly rich range of linguistic forms, there has been little systematic research based on the actual use of language from the viewpoint of the effects of adjusting interpersonal relationships. It is no exaggeration to say that politeness research covering a wide conceptual range in the manner of politeness as defined by Brown and Levinson had been virtually non-existent in traditional Japanese politeness-related research which only deals with honorifics.

2.2 Politeness research in the West

In the West there has also been research similar to those on traditional Japanese honorifics which clarify normative politeness, for example, research into the ranking of the intrinsic "politeness" of linguistic expressions such as Would you X?, Could you X?, Can you X?, Do X!, etc. isolated from contextual factors (Fraser, 1978). However, research in Indo-European languages, which do not have honorifics in the sense of Japanese and some Southeast Asian languages, had focused not only on the "politeness level" of linguistic expressions but had widened its focus to include principles underlying the actual use of language. Starting with Brown and Gilman's (1960) analysis of the connection between politeness and the interpersonal relationships that underlie the use of personal pronouns (such as tu and vous in French), research on politeness has moved into pragmatics in more than thirty years. Politeness research has thus become an interdisciplinary pursuit, in the same manner as pragmatics itself. Among them B&L's theory had great impact on related fields and can be considered as becoming a first step towards broader communication theory. Therefore, in the following sections, I will briefly summarize B&L's theory and introduce some criticisms based on misunderstandings of this theory and some legitimate weaknesses that DPT had incorporated after solving those problems.

2.3 Brown & Levinson's politeness theory

Among the various approaches to politeness, B&L's theory (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) is the most inclusive and has aroused the interest of not only linguists but also cultural anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, and others over the past forty-five years.

The main reason that this theory has captured the attention of researchers in various fields is that, while it is labeled as a theory of linguistic politeness, it is not restricted to analyzing the "politeness level of linguistic forms". The theory instead deals with the mutual interactions of various social factors such as human relationships, social/psychological distance, the degree of imposition of the act towards the other interlocutor, etc. Thus, it is a more comprehensive approach to research on politeness that occurs in actual human interactions and therefore opened up a window to a broader communication theory.

However, on the other hand since they proposed a new conceptualization of politeness that is operationally defined and completely differs from the usual nuances associated with courtesy and politeness, many criticisms based on misinterpretations had been induced as well. In the following sections those issues will be clarified and discussed.

2.3.1 Four important aspects of Brown and Levinson's politenss theory

The most crucial point in appreciating B&L's theory is to understand that their theory consists of four different aspects. Therefore, this theory must be understood as a whole considering its four main aspects. Brown and Levinson claim that within this integrated framework, one can explain the choice of polite linguistic expressions in almost all languages and cultures. The four aspects of this theory I summarized are:

1) The notion of the face (positive and negative face)
2) The formula for estimating the degree of a "face-threatening act (FTA)" (see Section 3.4.1)
3) The circumstances influencing the choice of strategies (ordering of strategies)
4) The list of concrete politeness strategies

In the following, these four aspects will be briefly explained.

1) The notion of the face (positive and negative face)

A key concept in B&L's theory is that of "face". Since their objective is to arrive at a universal theory, they define this concept operationally instead of a culturally specific one. They use "face" to refer to "basic human desires" pertaining to social interaction. There are two kinds of the face: positive and negative. According to Brown and Levinson's definition, "positive face" is the desire of every person to be accepted, understood, approved of, liked, and admired. In contrast, "negative face" is the desire of every competent adult member[2] to have his or her actions be unimpeded,

2 The concept of "every competent adult member" is also that of a "Model Person (MP)". The concept of MP has been criticized based on a misunderstanding that B&L's theory premises a "perfect, model

in other words, not to be imposed upon. In this context, they define "politeness" as a "face-saving strategy" that addresses either the positive or the negative face needs of the interlocutor, and they call the former "positive politeness" and the latter "negative politeness".

Brown and Levinson presume that a wide variety of acts, such as requests and refusals, intrinsically threaten one's face. They call these "face-threatening acts (FTAs)".

2) The formula for estimating the degree of a "face-threatening act (FTA)"

Brown and Levinson claim that the choice of politeness strategy depends on the weightiness of the FTA, which is determined by three factors: (a) the power of the hearer over the speaker, (b) the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and (c) the degree of imposition of the act. The more weighty the FTA, the more mitigated the strategies need to be. Brown and Levinson represent the relationship between the variables that can be used to estimate the degree of an FTA as follows (Brown and Levinson 1987: 76):

$$W(x) = D\ (S, H) + P\ (H, S) + R(x)$$

W(x): the weight of the FTA (x)
D (S, H): the social Distance between Speaker and Hearer
P (H, S): the Power that Hearer has over Speaker
R(x): the degree to which the FTA(x) is rated an imposition in that culture.

3) The circumstances influencing choice of strategies (ordering of strategies)

Brown and Levinson figured the circumstances influencing the choice of strategies (ordering of strategies) depending on the weight of the FTA as in Figure 12.1:

4) The list of concrete politeness strategies

Brown and Levinson listed fifteen positive politeness strategies, ten negative politeness strategies, and fifteen off-record strategies, treating, for example, "Use in-group identity markers" as a positive politeness strategy, "Be conventionally indirect" as a negative politeness strategy, and "Give hints" as an off-record strategy. (For more details, see Brown and Levinson (1987:101–227).

person" which is impossible to exist. However, this criticism does not understand how to set "operational definitions" or "assumptions" for theorizing. Brown and Levinson assume that MP is endowed with two special properties –"rationality" and "face" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 58). They insist, for example, that the formula for estimating the degree of "Face Threat" assumes that the estimate is the "estimate" of a "rational person" or in other words "ordinary people" who does not think of maliciously and deliberately hurting others. B&L's "universal theory of politeness" cannot be understood unless these definitions and premises are correctly understood.

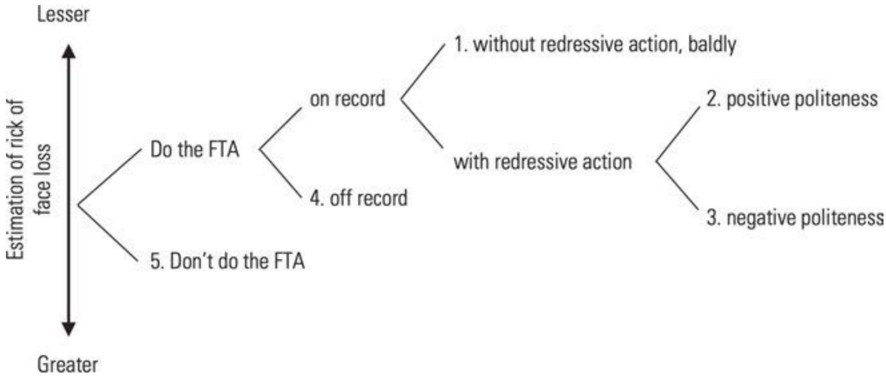


Figure 12.1: Circumstances determining choice of strategy (from Brown and Levinson 1987: 60).

2.3.2 Problems with major criticisms of the Brown and Levinson politeness theory based on misinterpretations or misunderstandings

In proportion to the large amount of influence it has had, B&L's theory has also been criticized from a variety of perspectives. However, although some criticism is merited, a great deal seems to be based on varying interpretations of its terminology, along with blatant misinterpretations of the theory in general. Another major problem is that there is virtually no critical research that takes into account all four aspects of B&L's theory written above and discusses the overall validity of this inclusive theory. One exception to this is Brown (1990).

In this section I will briefly discuss the *major problems of these criticisms* and the issues involved with each.

2.3.3 Evaluation of criticisms toward universality of the Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

There are two main viewpoints in the criticisms toward universality of the B&L's theory: (a) the concept of "*face*" and its universality, (b) criticisms based on the mixture of the concept of "politeness" and "Japanese honorifics". The problems of these criticisms themselves and their misunderstanding will be explained.

(a) The concept of "*face*" and its universality

Many researchers have pointed out that the concepts of *face* and *politeness* as face-saving strategies do not take cultural variability into consideration (Wierzbicka 1985; Matsumoto 1988; Blum-Kulka and House 1989; Gu 1990; Mao 1994; Koo 1995). It has been argued that, although they claim their theory is universal, B&L's conceptualizations of face and politeness are based on Western cultural values, and are very different from face and politeness in Chinese or Japanese cultures (Matsumoto 1988; Ide 1989; Gu 1990; Mao 1994).

The problem with this criticism, however, is that it appears to be based on a misinterpretation of the concepts of *face* and *politeness*, which Brown and Levinson defined operationally, but not culturally. They do not use those terms as concepts that are loaded with cultural values, but as terms to represent their new concepts of *face* and *politeness*. They do not deny the fact that every culture has different nuances and connotations for these concepts, but their terms do not represent those general and culture-specific connotations. This kind of criticism has not produced any substantial discussion, at least for the purpose of pursuing a universal theory of politeness. It has been pointed out by several researchers, however, that the term *politeness* might induce some confusion (e.g. Usami 1993, 2001a, 2002a, 2002b; Thomas 1995).

(b) Criticisms based on the mixture of the concept of "politeness" and "Japanese honorifics".

The other criticisms based on a misunderstanding of the theory claim that the B&L's theory does not explain the different nuances of sentences using different politeness levels of Japanese honorifics. That is the claim that B&L's theory is unable to explain language use based on the honorific principles of individual languages and comes mainly from Asian language researchers.

However, those arguments described above are not enough to fundamentally disprove B&L's theory because they confuse "politeness theory" in pragmatic language use with the "choice of politeness level of linguistic forms". In other words, they confound deference and politeness, as well as principles of honorific use in specific languages having honorific systems and politeness theory as a universal theory.

2.3.4 Criticisms of the strategic face-saving view

Another criticism of B&L's theory is that, in languages like Japanese where the use of honorifics is socio-pragmatically obligatory, there is little room for any rational or voluntary politeness strategy of the type proposed by Brown and Levinson (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1988). According to this reasoning, the context dictates the linguistic forms chosen by the speaker, denying him/her the option to use linguistic forms strategically.

Opposing the claim that there is little strategic language use in Japanese, however, Ikuta (1983) reports that in actual conversational discourse we frequently observe speech-level shifts that involve alternation between the use and non-use of the polite forms within a discourse where the social conditions remain constant. Ikuta asserts that shifts between the use and non-use of polite forms (i.e. speech-level shifts) function as a conversational strategy to convey the speaker's empathy with the interlocutor, and to signal topic shift in a discourse. Ikuta's findings suggest that options do exist for the strategic use of speech-level shifts in actual Japanese conversational discourse, although the sentence-level choice of an appropriate level of linguistic forms in any speech act is heavily constrained by socio-pragmatic rules. Based on her empirical studies, Usami (1993, 1994 2002a) insists that since the use of honorifics is heavily restricted by principles of honorifics at the sentence-level, most strategic language use in Japanese is mostly realized in discourse-level language behavior.

2.3.5 Summary of the problems with major criticisms of the Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

The criticisms made by scholars of Asian languages include some crucial points to be reconsidered and further investigated, such as the claims that B&L's theory does not fully take into consideration language use that conforms to social norms and conventions.

B&L's theory is based on the premise that honorific usage principles within various cultures are relative. Those cultural differences are already included in their theory as a parameter for estimating the degree of the "face-threatening act (FTA)" explained in Section 3.4.

While there is still room for revision of their theory, those criticisms are based on the analyses of the "principles of honorific usage" of a particular language focusing on merely one aspect of politeness, especially language-specific principles of honorifics in some particular languages. It is essential to realize that challenging B&L's theory on such grounds is not only counterproductive, but such an analysis is itself a regressive step in efforts to construct a universal theory of politeness. Thus, much of the criticisms of B&L's theory can be attributed to misinterpretation.

However, the author would argue that Brown and Levinson had left themselves room open to these criticisms based on misinterpretations of their theory. Those criticisms emerged because their theory dealt with politeness only at the sentence/utterance or at the speech act level and failed to deal with politeness as a discourse phenomenon.

Although it was not what Brown and Levinson proposed, scholars of Asian languages, whose primary concerns were the politeness level of linguistic forms, were thus immediately able to find counter-examples of the politeness level of linguistic forms in their languages. This is because in languages with honorifics if we examine politeness only at the sentence/utterance or speech act levels without considering more extended discourse units, we inevitably encounter the constraints of honorific usage principles. Thus the degree of politeness of each linguistic form cannot avoid becoming a primary index of politeness.

At the sentence level, the politeness level of linguistic forms becomes influential even as we try to judge the pragmatic sense of politeness. These features of languages having honorifics might have misled researchers such as Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988) to conclude that "the speaker of a language with honorifics does not have a choice of strategic language use, and he or she must just preserve the principles of honorific use". They argue about the usage of Japanese honorifics and not about politeness in Japanese in the sense of "politeness" defined by Brown and Levinson. To remove such biases and understand politeness in terms of the motives underlying surface strategies as well as the choice of politeness level of linguistic forms in languages both with and without honorifics, we must look at politeness at the discourse level. This is because in languages with honorifics such as Japanese, strategic language use, which is a focus of B&L's theory, is more apparently realized in discourse-level phenomena, such as the appropriate manner and frequency of topic initiation and speech-level shifts (Usami 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1996b, 1998; Kashiwazaki 1995; Kim 2001; Xie 2000).

2.3.6 Legitimate weaknesses of B&L's theory that DPT had to solve

In this section, legitimate weaknesses of B&L's theory that DPT had to solve are listed. To solve these problems, the author introduced the notion of "Discourse Politeness (DP)" for the transformation of B&L's theory into a discourse theory of politeness that can deal with the issues just raised.

As summarized above, while a large number of criticisms have been directed at various aspects of B&L's theory, these criticisms have not been able to refute their theory fundamentally. One of the crucial reasons is that most criticisms were based on misinterpretations of its terminology, along with blatant misinterpretations of the theory or focused on only a single aspect of the theory in isolation, without addressing the validity of the theory as a whole considering the above mentioned four crucial aspects. As a result, B&L's theory remains the most comprehensive and valid theory about politeness at the sentence-level to date.

However, in order to make comparisons about politeness, within a more unified framework, between languages with and without honorifics such as Japanese and English, without cultural biases, their theory faces the following problems:

1. It cannot explain politeness occurring in longer stretches of discourse, as it stops its analysis at the level of single utterances, or most, sequences of only a few utterances.
2. It cannot adequately explain sentence and utterance level politeness of languages, such as Japanese, which have complex systems of honorifics with pragmatic restrictions in their use at the sentence level. In languages with honorifics, it is difficult to observe strategic language use at the sentence or utterance level because of honorific principles.
3. The above two points reveal a fundamental problem with understanding politeness at the sentence or utterance level. That is, if one approaches politeness at the

sentence or utterance level, because of the strong influence of pragmatic restrictions on honorific usage and differences in grammatical structure in various languages, it becomes difficult to investigate and compare politeness in various languages and to provide a unified explanation of these phenomena without cultural bias.
4. On the other hand, the influence of sociolinguistic norms on the individual's language use in languages without honorifics, such as English, has not been considered.
5. It cannot adequately explain politeness observed even when there is no apparent FTA because it approaches politeness as face-saving strategies at the level of utterances. In other words, it does not account for linguistic behavior that goes unnoticed when used but becomes noticed when it is not used and gives rise to impoliteness. I call this kind of behavior "unmarked politeness". (see Section 3.2.3.)
6. It is not clear how linguistic behavior that is not particularly polite nor impolite (that is, "unmarked politeness") should be handled within their framework.
7. The introduction of their formula that estimates a "face threat" degree is a groundbreaking move in the history of politeness theory. Their theory, however, is entirely focused on only the speaker's perspective. For example, regarding the estimation of a "face threat", there may be cases where the speaker's and the hearer's estimations are different. Depending on the degree to which they are different, there is the possibility that the hearer may regard the speaker's linguistic behavior as impolite, thereby mistaking the speaker's intention. The hearer's perspective and the interactive aspect between the interlocutors had not been sufficiently addressed in this theory.

DPT which will be explained in 3 solves all threse problems.

2.4 After Brown and Levinson's theory to present: diverging to descriptive approaches and theoretical approaches to politeness

Approaches to politeness in the West, Lakoff (1973) first took politeness as an issue in pragmatics in the 1970s, and was later summarized as pragmatic "Maxims" by Leech in the early 1980s but had systematized by Brown and Levinson in the late 1970s as a more comprehensive theory based on the face-saving view of politeness. In the 1990s, researchers in non-Indo-European languages, especially Asian languages, criticized B&L's theory as Western-centric and not applicable to Asian languages. However, most of the criticisms made by these Asian language researchers were not valid because most of those criticisms based on their theory's misinterpretations. It is essential to incorporate a non-Western perspective and an Asian perspective. Still, in order to do so more convincingly, it is necessary to make a logical assertion based on more reliable data and grounds. Many of the criticisms of Asian language researchers in the

1990s were based on fundamental misinterpretations of B&L's theory, which forced the discussion on politeness to follow parallel lines.

One of the significant causes was that many researchers confound "descriptive research on politeness", such as research on honorifics and honorific principles in a specific language, and "theoretical approaches to politeness" trying to find common principles underlying the varieties of polite expressions depending on each language culture. The B&L's theory and "theoretical study of politeness" that attempt to uniformly explain, interpret, and predict the realization of politeness in different languages and cultures by capturing the motives underlying the "realization" of politeness. However, B&L's theory had been criticized in the 1990s, mainly by researchers who took a descriptive approach without distinguishing the "descriptive" and "theoretical" approaches of politeness.

After that, in the 2000s, however, the researchers refute Japanese researchers' criticisms based on misunderstandings of B&L's theory and papers written in English on Japanese and politeness which generally support Brown and Levinson, increased (Usami 2002a, 2002b, Pizziconi 2003, Fukada and Asato 2004). From the middle of the 2000s, politeness-related research was polarized into "descriptive approaches" and the "theoretical approaches". The descriptive approach was made into a "discursive approach" focusing on individual language use and comparative cultural perspectives on politeness. The "theoretical approaches" were developed from the viewpoint of theorizing discourse-level politeness (Usami 2006a, 2006b). Descriptive research and theoretical research should develop while stimulating each other; as for politeness theory, unfortunately, thirty years have passed without the debate between descriptive and theoretical studies were meshing. However, on the other hand, by polarizing two types of approaches with different purposes, it is possible to view constructively that each approach shows new developments without disjointed discussions.

This chapter clearly distinguishes between "discursive approaches" and "theoretical approaches" since the B&L's theory was proposed mainly from the viewpoint of universal theory construction. The latest DPT development, which was conceived to overcome some problems of B&L's theory, will be introduced in the next section (Usami 2001a, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2017, 2019).

3 Discourse politeness theory as an interpersonal communication theory

In this section, the essence of the "Discourse Politeness Theory (hereafter DPT)" based on the results of empirical studies and theoretical consideration on discourse behavior in naturally occurring conversations is introduced (see Usami 2002a for review). This theory had broadened politeness research from sentence to discourse-level to encompass the concept of "relative politeness", in addition to "absolute politeness".

By introducing the discourse-level linguistic phenomena and the concept of "relative politeness", DPT made it possible to explain "(im)politeness effects" within the same framework of politeness and could construct a universal theory of discourse (im)politeness, both as a system of the principles of motivations that induce (im)politeness strategies and as a system of the interpretations of (im)politeness in human interactions.

DPT applies some critical concepts of B&L's theory. However, DPT extended the study of politeness from the sentence level to the discourse level to encompass the concept of "relative politeness" in addition to "absolute politeness". We added hearer's estimation of the degree of "face threat" in addition to speaker's one, and the concept of the gap between speaker and hearer in the estimation of the degree of "face threat" was introduced. Thus, by DPT, it became able to capture the "politeness effect" from the hearer's point of view, not only from the viewpoint of the speaker's linguistic strategy's choice.

In this section, the author will argue that (im)politeness in human interaction should be viewed from a more macro-global perspective in addition to the micro-local level. Factors incorporated into DPT include the concepts of "time" and "face-balancing principle", "speaker's desire to save his/her own face", and the influence of the "existence of bystanders" in estimating the degree of face-treat of a particular act. DPT has become a more dynamic theory of interpersonal communication with an entirely different perspective from previous research on honorifics and politeness and has also developed considerably from B&L's theory. This section provides an overview of DPT, focusing on the six crucial concepts in DPT. It also explains the concepts of "time", the "face-balancing principle", the notions of "speaker's desire to save his/her own face", and the influence of the "presence of bystanders" in estimating the degree of "face threat" of a particular act as well.

3.1 Assumption of two types of "human relationship" in DPT

DPT divides relationships in social life, to which DPT applies, into two types in terms of their influence on language use:

(a) There is a need, hope, and prospect of establishing and maintaining relationships (family, friend, work, neighborhood, etc.). There is a need, hope, and possibility of continuing the relationship from the first encounter. (Including through someone's introduction).
(b) A relationship without the need, hope, or prospect of continuing the relationship (e.g. a stranger on the subway).

DPT aims to take both of these two types of relationships into account to systematize the principles of behavior. However, to this stage, DPT has been developed on the premise of interaction between people in relationships with need, hope, and prospects for building and maintaining relationships.

3.2 Definitions of crucial concepts in "discourse politeness theory (DPT)"

There are essentially six crucial concepts in DPT: (a) DP default, (b) marked and unmarked behavior, (c) marked and unmarked politeness, (d) discrepancy in estimations of the degree of "face threat" (De-value), (e) the three types of politeness effects, and (f) absolute and relative politeness. Of these, the following three concepts are the most fundamental: "DP default" (Section 3.2.1), "De value" (Section 3.2.4), and "relative politeness", as will be explained later (Section 3.2.6). Before explaining these six key concepts in DPT, the term "discourse politeness" is defined.

Many researchers discussed discourse-level factors' influence on politeness, such as metalanguage behavior and utterance organization (Leech 1983; Blum-Kulka 1990; Kasper 1990; Sugito 1993; Thomas 1995). However, there had been no genuine attempts to integrate these phenomena into a discourse-level politeness theory. In these academic situations, based on my previous empirical studies (Usami 1993, 1998), the author introduced the concept of Discourse Politeness (hereafter DP). The author believes that discourse-level phenomena play an essential role in pragmatic politeness, in addition to sentence-level politeness of linguistic forms.

"Discourse Politeness: DP" is defined as "the functional dynamic whole of factors of both linguistic forms and discourse-level phenomena that give rise to pragmatic politeness of a discourse" (Usami 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b). DPT can be used in two ways. One is that DP is used when referring to pragmatic politeness that can only be interpreted at the discourse level. But DP is also used to refer to the "DP default" (see Section 3.2.1) of a specific discourse, which is understood to be the dynamic whole of elements functioning for pragmatic politeness.

The DPT explains both the language use that conforms to social norms and conventions and an individual speaker's strategic language use. Both languages with and without honorific systems, such as Japanese and English, have these two kinds of language use. However, elements in DP, such as the frequency of topic initiation and speech-level shifts and DP itself as the functional dynamic of various factors, are more appropriate for constructing a universal theory of politeness to explain languages' politeness mechanism with different grammatical structures.

3.2.1 "Discourse Politeness Default (DP default)"

The notion of DP default is fundamental to DPT and can be illustrated with an example from Japanese:

In Japanese, any utterance is classified as containing polite forms (P), non-polite forms (N), or having no politeness markers described as non-marked (NM) (e.g. incomplete utterances and backchannels) in terms of speech levels. By calculating each speech level's occurrences within a specific discourse, it is possible to determine the overall ratios of the speech levels, indicating the DP default for the speech levels in that discourse, where the speech level with the highest frequency is the "dominant speech level". For example, in a study of sentence-final speech levels (Usami 2001b), the average ratio of polite forms (P), non-polite forms (N), and non-marked utterances (NM) were 6:1:3. Then we can conclude that this is the DP default state of the discourse in question, where the polite form is the dominant or unmarked speech level (i.e. occurring in more than 50% of the utterances[3]). In this case, using a non-polite form becomes marked behavior (see Section 3.2.2). It gives rise to particular politeness effects, such as indicating empathy with the interlocutor(s), that is, positive politeness.

It is important to note that there is a general DP default in each specific situation or context unmarked in that discourse. Furthermore, for each element that contributes to DP in that discourse, there are respective DP defaults. In other words, there are two types of DP defaults: (a) the DP defaults of the discourse as a whole and (b) the DP defaults of individual elements within the discourse that constitute DP, such as speech levels and sentence-final particles. The former is considered unmarked discourse and the latter are deemed unmarked discourse elements. The concept of DP default is vital to DPT. It allows for several linguistic behavior elements to give rise to a dynamic whole with a function distinct from its elements. The average frequency of occurrence of various elements such as speech level shifts and backchannels and their ratio relative to the structure of the discourse and their distribution within the discourse in question, which constitutes a part of the DP of that discourse, are treated as one variable in the unmarked discourse elements, namely as one of the DP defaults of the element in that discourse.

3.2.2 "Marked" vs. "unmarked" behavior

In DPT, identifying the DP defaults of specific discourse types is the first step in understanding the relative nature of politeness. We can systematically investigate relative politeness by examining an utterance movement to and from the DP defaults. Linguistic behavior consistent with the DP defaults is termed "unmarked behavior", while linguistic behavior that deviates from the DP defaults is termed "marked behavior". Marked behavior does not necessarily give rise to marked politeness (see Section 3.2.3) since these are distinct notions in DPT. On the other hand, behavior consistent with DP defaults is always considered an element of unmarked politeness. It is assumed that these DP defaults' elements constitute unmarked politeness. When hearers have the expected linguistic behavior, they may not consider it exceptionally polite. Still, only

3 If any speech level exceeds 50%, it becomes difficult to identify marked forms. The phenomenon is described as "markedness is weak". In such a case, it becomes difficult for a speaker to achieve a politeness effect by manipulating speech levels. One can predict that such effects would be produced by using means other than speech level manipulations.

when they realize that something expected is missing may they feel that what to need is lacking and regard such speakers' behavior as impolite (see Section 3.2.4 for details).

3.2.3 "Marked" vs. "unmarked" politeness

In B&L's theory, politeness is understood as a strategy whereby one redresses FTA, such as requests, which infringe upon another person's face. However, it has been pointed out that in this approach, one cannot adequately explain politeness arising in ordinary conversations where FTAs do not seem to occur.

In ordinary conversation, we find another type of politeness that does not involve redressing face. This type of politeness is associated with expected behavior, which is only noticed if it does not occur and generates impoliteness perceptions. In DPT, this type of politeness is termed "unmarked politeness". This type of politeness is different from "marked politeness" encompassed Brown and Levinson's notion of politeness as linguistic strategies for redressing "face threat".

Unmarked politeness in DPT refers to both the state of the discourse as a whole and language behavior unconsciously expected. Only when those linguistic behaviors do not occur as expected is the discourse or utterance regarded as impolite. When a speaker behaves according to implicit expectations or the DP default in a given situation, he or she displays unmarked behavior, which constitutes unmarked politeness. In contrast, marked behavior that deviates from the expected norm or DP default does not necessarily give rise to marked politeness. Marked and unmarked politeness can be distinguished in terms of how they are recognized.

B&L's theory is considered a theory of marked politeness because it primarily focuses on linguistic politeness strategies used to redress "face threat" in situations where one cannot help but perform some FTA. However, a universal theory of politeness needs to systematically address both marked and unmarked politeness within a single framework, rather than focusing only upon marked politeness as in B&L's theory (see Usami 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b). Although Fraser (1990) mentioned this type of politeness in his framework of "conversational contract", and Watts (1992) also discusses the same type of behavior in the broader context of "politic behavior", both of them failed to develop a comprehensive theory of discourse politeness. DPT systematically addresses both marked and unmarked politeness and takes both the speaker's and the hearer's points of view into consideration within a single framework.

3.2.4 "Discrepancy in estimation value (De-value)" between speaker and hearer

In DPT, the "politeness strategy" is determined based on the speaker's estimation of the degree of "face threat" of his/her act. The actual "politeness effect" is determined by the discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's estimation of the degree of the "face threat" of the speaker's act from the hearer's point of view. The author terms the latter "politeness effect" and distinguishes it from "politeness strategy" in B&L's theory.

The "Discrepancy in estimation" value (De-value) as an index of the actual "politeness effect" is calculated by comparing the speaker's and hearer's estimation of the degree of "face threat" of the speaker's act. The "De-value" is the value assigned to this discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's estimations of the degree of "face threat". A De-value cannot be an absolute numerical value, but in Figure 12.2, it is represented as distributed along a scale from –1 to 1. See Figure 12.2 below, which illustrates the relationship between "De-value" and the "politeness effect".

Extent of discrepancy in estimations of degree of "face threat" (De-value)	$-1 \leqq De < -\alpha$	$-\alpha \leqq De \leqq +\alpha$	$+\alpha < De \leqq +1$
Appropriateness of Behavior	Insufficient behavior (impolite)	Appropriate behavior (appropriate)	Excessive behavior (polite insolence)
Politeness effects	Minus effects	Plus effects Neutral effects	Minus effects

Both Speaker's estimation (Se) and Hearer's estimation (He) are based on the following "Revised formula for estimating the degree of an FTA" explained in Section 3.4.1.

Revised formula for estimating the degree of an FTA

(W(x) = D(S,H)+P(H, S)+R(x) – DSF(S))

DSF(S): Desire for Saving his/her own Face

Discrepancy in estimations (De-value): De-value= Se – He

Se: Speaker's estimation of the degree of "face threat" of the speaker's act.
Expressed as a value between 0 and 1.
He: Hearer's estimation of the degree of "face threat" of the speaker's act.
Expressed as a value between 0 and 1.
α: Acceptable variation.

* Three types of "estimation"
1 "Estimation (expected value)" of the degree of Face Threat of the act performed by the speaker.
2 "Estimate (expected value)" of Strategy selected according to an estimation of the degree of "face threat".
3 An "Estimation (expected value)" about what the "discourse default of the conversation" is.

Figure 12.2: Discrepancy in estimations (De-value), appropriateness, behavior, and politeness effects.

For example, minus politeness effects include so-called “polite insolence” (*ingin-burei*), where unpleasant feelings arise on the part of the hearer, despite the speaker’s use of “polite forms”. “Polite insolence” has received little attention in Japanese honorific research thus far. In DPT, “polite insolence” is regarded as the result of the speaker’s excessive use of polite expressions beyond acceptable variation (+α) from the hearer’s point of view as in the “De-value scale” illustrated in Figure 12.2. In other words, the speaker’s choice of linguistic expressions in the context is excessively polite beyond acceptable difference compared with the hearer’s expectation regarding the appropriate linguistic behavior in the situation.

When considering the actual politeness effects, the DPT incorporates the use of the speaker’s politeness strategies based on his/her estimation of the degree of the “face threat” of the act in question and the discrepancy between the speaker’s and hearer’s estimations of the degree of the “face threat” of the speaker’s act. Hence, as shown in Figure 12.2, when the discrepancy between the speaker’s and hearer’s estimations of the degree of the “face threat” of the speaker’s act is approximately zero or within acceptable variations (0 ± α), it is regarded as appropriate behavior, regardless of the politeness level of the linguistic forms themselves. In other words, the actual politeness effects arise from the discrepancy between the speaker’s and hearer’s estimations of the degree of the “face threat” of the speaker’s act.

In DPT, the differences in the perceptions of prototypical patterns or schemata of specific “activity types” are also regarded as the “DP defaults” of that “activity types” and assume an essential role in the overall theoretical focus. The DPT included the hearer’s perspective and the discourse-level perceptions of both the speakers and hearers, explaining substantial pragmatic politeness. Thus, this approach incorporated the discourse-level relative perception of human interaction as a critical aspect and was the first attempt to systemize politeness at the discourse level in the field. Therefore, this framework was named “Discourse Politeness Theory”.

3.2.5 Three types of politeness effects

In DPT, face-redressing acts are considered a type of “marked behavior”. Three kinds of effects can arise from marked behavior: (a) plus-politeness effects, (b) neutral-politeness effects, and (c) minus-politeness effects. These effects essentially involve giving rise to pleasantness, neutral effects (neither pleasant nor unpleasant), or unpleasantness, respectively. More concretely, showing empathy or closeness is considered plus-politeness, marking a topic change as a neutral effect and sarcasm or deviation beyond acceptable variation from unmarked behavior as minus-politeness. (Usami 1995). The three types of effects produced by a specific utterance will be determined, considering the context.

Neutral politeness effects at the discourse level had not been addressed in B&L's theory, as a notion of unmarked politeness was necessary to examine such effects. Minus politeness effects produced by making no effort to reduce the degree of threat to the hearer's face or using excessive polite forms were also not given any systematic treatment in B&L's theory.

DPT is not only an expansion in scope upon B&L's theory, but it encompasses neutral politeness effects and minus politeness effects, in addition to plus politeness effects, within a unified theoretical framework. DPT systematically explains plus, neutral, and minus politeness effects by introducing the concept of "discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's estimation (De) of the degree of 'face threat' of the speaker's act in question" and the concept of relative politeness.

The discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's estimation of the degree of the "face threat" of the speaker's act, that is, the "De-value" is represented by a symbolic numerical continuum as explained above. In this way, minus politeness effects (or unpleasantness), including "polite insolence" and rudeness, could only be explained by a global discourse-level politeness theory, DPT.

3.2.6 "Absolute" vs. "relative" politeness

A final distinction to be made in DPT is between "absolute" and "relative" politeness. "Absolute politeness" involves labeling particular linguistic forms or strategies as intrinsically more polite than others. For example, the Japanese honorific verb *irassyaru* 'go-HON' is considered inherently more polite than its non-honorific equivalent *iku* 'go'. However, if one uses honorifics to someone with whom one usually speaks quite casually (it means the DP default of that discourse is casual speech), the implication may be sarcasm rather than politeness. Likewise, even if one uses non-polite forms in situations where the DP default is polite forms, depending on the context, the effect can be an increase in feelings of solidarity rather than impoliteness. Thus, in DPT, politeness effects are not produced by just using polite expressions in an absolute sense, but rather are relatively produced by the "movement" toward and away from the DP defaults of the discourse in question. I call this type of politeness "relative politeness".

DPT must include both concepts of "DP default" (Section 3.2.1) as a base parameter and "De-value" (discrepancies between the speaker's and hearer's estimations of the degree of "face threat") (Section 3.2.4) for calculating "politeness effects" (Section 3.2.5). Thus, DPT integrates the interactive and relative aspects of politeness effects by introducing the concept of "relative politeness" defined here. The inclusion of these three concepts into a politeness theory is essential, and thus these constitute the fundamental aspects in DPT.

3.3 Politeness effects produced by deviations from DP defaults: examples from English and Japanese

Discourse politeness has been defined as "the functional dynamic of factors of both linguistic forms and discourse-level phenomena that give rise to pragmatic politeness of a discourse" (Usami 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b). The elements that constitute DP are numerous; however, for brevity, I will focus only on speech levels as an example of a component of DP in Japanese. In the following examples, the speech level (either "polite forms" (P) or "non-polite forms" (N)) that deviates from the unmarked dominant speech level as DP default becomes "marked behavior" at the utterance level.

In the case of conversation between unacquainted people, the "polite form" is the dominant, unmarked speech level as DP default. Therefore, the continued use of "polite forms" maintains unmarked politeness, and the use of "non-polite forms" becomes marked and gives rise to some special effects such as showing empathy, indicating a topic change, and some rudeness, etc. (Usami 1995).

On the contrary, in the case of conversation between friends or married couples where the default or unmarked speech level is the "non-polite form", failure to conform to the DP default by using "polite forms" may give rise to a minus-politeness effect such as sarcasm.

These examples indicate that what essentially gives rise to pragmatic politeness is not the "absolute politeness level of the linguistic form itself" but the "dynamics" of the use of linguistic forms which the speaker deviates from and returns to the "DP defaults as unmarked politeness" in a specific situation (Usami 2001a, 2002a, 2002b).

The same phenomenon can be observed in English. It can be explained using the notion in DPT and suggesting that it is possible to interpret pragmatic politeness in different languages within the same framework.

The following example is taken from Thomas (1995: 156):

(1) [Taken from a short story by James Thurber[4]]
A married couple is trying to decide on a restaurant. The husband says:
'You choose.'

Although it is a direct imperative, Thomas maintains that this utterance is commonly seen as perfectly polite because the speech act is what Leech (1983: 107–108) terms "beneficial to the hearer" (Thomas 1995: 156). This explanation applies to English, but it cannot explain a Japanese translation of this example *Kimi, erabe yo*. No matter how much "benefit for the hearer" the utterance *Kimi, erabe yo* might have if the hearer is of higher social status or is someone the speaker has met for the first time,

4 James Thurber. 1963. *A couple of hamburgers*. Vintage Thurber. Hamilton, London, 103.

there is no way understood as polite. The alternative translation *Erande kudasai* has the minimum appropriate amount of politeness, but it has a higher “politeness level” in linguistic form than the original. Also, it is a request form and not a direct imperative. Therefore, Thomas’s argument does not hold for this example in Japanese, and we can conclude that one cannot translate politeness effects in English directly into Japanese. This example shows that it is impossible to explain politeness in different languages at the utterance level due to the significant influence of the different structures and characteristics of those languages.

Thomas (1995) goes on to discuss her claim that there is no necessity between the politeness level of linguistic forms and politeness (effect) arising from those forms with the following example (Thomas 1995: 156) in which a married couple is becoming irritated with one another:

(2) Will you be kind enough to tell me what time it is?
If you’ll be kind enough to speed up a little.

Thomas explains that these utterances sound like indirect expressions that are inappropriate in the context of an intimate relationship (Thomas 1995: 156). However, she uses Leech’s politeness maxims to explain why the utterance in example (1) is considered polite even though it uses a direct form, but not why the utterance in example (2) is not considered polite even though it uses an indirect expression. Leech’s politeness maxims cannot explain it. Thomas herself comments that “in the context of an intimate relationship, it appears to be an inappropriate indirect expression” (Thomas 1995: 156). Still, she does not explain why she interprets it that way.

DPT can interpret both examples (1) and (2). The unmarked politeness or DP default between English couples can be assumed to be direct expressions because “couples” can be regarded as having an intimate relationship. The direct “You choose” in example (1) therefore constitutes unmarked politeness and is thus sufficiently polite (or perhaps it would not at least be rude/impolite). On the other hand, in example (2) also a “couples” case, since the DP default is also direct expressions, the wife’s use of so-called “polite expression” becomes a marked behavior, and it produced a minus-politeness effect (i.e. sarcasm or impoliteness) in this context. In these ways, DPT can explain both examples (1) and (2) of English couples’ cases with the same principle. The different use of language and its politeness levels between a couple according to situations functions in a similar way in Japanese couples’ conversations.

Thus, DPT became a universal “discourse-level politeness theory” by treating “relative politeness” and discourse-level phenomena rather than sentence-level politeness of linguistic forms. In DPT, the assumption of a “discourse default” based on inter-speaker relations is critical in interpreting individual utterances’ politeness effect.

In the next section, The “new concepts” added in the latest version of DPT, based on the crucial points of DPT described so far, will be introduced.

3.4 New concepts in DPT

The following two points are newly introduced in DPT.
1. Revision of the "formula for estimating the degree of the 'face-threatening act (FTA)'".
2. Introduction of "Face-balancing Principle" considering "Time".

In the following, these two new aspects will be explained more concretely.

3.4.1 Revision of the formula for estimating the degree of a "face-threatening act (FTA)"

In the new DPT, I introduced a "revised formula for estimating a 'face-threatening act (FTA)'". which minus the speaker's own desire for saving his/her own face when estimating the degree of FTA toward the hearer, as follows. By doing so, we can more accurately represent the reality of the interaction, which is to be considerate of the other person's face while also thinking about protecting the speaker's own face. (for comparison, refer to Section 2.3.1(2))

$$W(x) = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R(x) - DSF(S)$$

W(x): The weight of the FTA (x)
D(S, H): The social distance between Speaker and Hearer
P(H, S): The Power that Hearer has over Speaker
R(x): The absolute ranking of the imposition of speech-act (x) in a specific culture
DSF(S): Desire for Saving his/her own Face

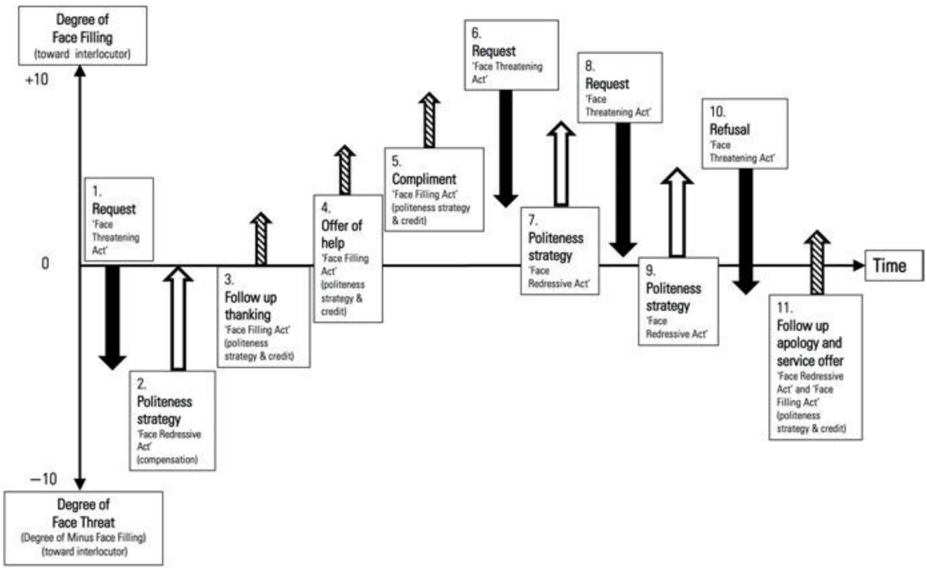
3.4.2 Introduction of "Face-balancing Principle" considering "Time"

Figure 12.3 presents "face-balancing interaction" from a macro-global perspective, considering the concept of "time". The relationship between "face-threatening act" and "face filling act" is figured from one speaker's viewpoint. As shown in Figure 12.3, the vertical axis shows the degree of the "face-threatening act", but in the DPT, if the value is above zero, the term "face filling act" is used, considering sometimes it can even be a credit. The horizontal axis shows a certain period in the relationship between such as friends.

DPT assumes that two people are trying to balance the degree of FTA over a medium to long-term span. For example, by accumulating face-filling acts, the speaker becomes able to compensate for some FTAs by using a lighter politeness strategy than that estimated by the revised formula explained above for the degree of an FTA when a request or other FTA becomes necessary.

It may even be possible to conduct FTAs without any face redressing action according to the contents of FTAs. In other words, the speaker can accumulate what is called “face credit” by face-filling acts, and by doing so, the next time you make an FTA, such as a request, it will be easier to do so in a less polite way than in the general case. Applying a lighter politeness strategy becomes possible if they keep the amount value of the degree of “face filling” higher than the degree of the Face Threat above zero. On the other hand, if the degree of “face filling” goes below zero, the term is changed to “face-threatening”. When doing an FTA, it requires a politer strategy estimated by the revised formula presented in DPT.

However, even if the speaker is not doing FTA, he or she can implement various politeness strategies and accumulate “face credit”, a degree of face-filling acts. By having been accumulated “face credit”, failure to fill up the “face threat” at a certain time does not result in a crucial face-threatening, thus maintaining the relationship. In DPT, these phenomena of interaction are called the “Face-balancing Principle (FBP)”.



0~10: the degree of “Face Filling” toward interlocutor

–10~0: the degree of total “Face Threat”

Figure 12.3: “Face-balancing interaction” from a macro-global point of view considering the concept of “time”: The relationship between “face-threatening act” and “face filling act” from the viewpoint of one speaker.

3.5 Determining DP defaults for research in cross-cultural pragmatics

According to the DPT, after identifying the DP default as unmarked politeness for each conversation or discourse, one can examine the politeness effects of the marked behaviors in that discourse interaction. Accordingly, one can interpret the pragmatic politeness effects arising in a specific conversation relatively, even if there are variations in the discourse content, linguistic forms, and relationships between the interlocutors.

The DP default of discourse is an amalgamation of various elements. To determine the DP default, we have to consider the DP default of the overall discourse and individual components, such as speech level default, backchannel frequency default, the default for the frequency of topic initiation by each interlocutor, default for the request sequence pattern, and so on. Thus, it is necessary to identify the elements that give rise to substantial functions in the DP of representative "activity types" in various languages and cultures. It is then required to determine the DP defaults of both the whole discourse and its components.

Identifying the DP defaults of each element in particular "activity types" in different languages and cultures is a starting point and an important interest topic. However, strict adherence to determining the DP default of the overall discourse and each "activity type" within the discourse and then identifying the individual marked behaviors that deviate from these DP defaults using the newly collected data requires considerable time and effort.

Thus, to simplify this process, one can use the approximate tendencies that emerged in similar "activity types" from previous studies' results as the DP defaults for a specific discourse or activity type. For example, big data proves that "direct expressions" are unmarked in English about married couples' discourse. Considering this way, the above-mentioned utterance (Will you be kind enough to tell what time it is?) in the conversation between the married couple can be interpreted as an example of sarcasm rather than politeness.

4 The application of the Discourse Politeness Theory

This section will discuss the relationship between the DPT and cross-cultural pragmatics research and second language acquisition. Then I will describe the implications of DPT for second language acquisition and intercultural communication by explaining some examples.

4.1 The relationship between the DPT and cross-cultural pragmatics research

Xie (2000) examined request discourse in Japanese and Chinese based on the data from the discourse completion tests (DCT) and the recordings of actual conversations. In the case of the DCT, an analysis of the utterance-level responses showed no significant differences between requests behavior in Chinese and Japanese. However, in actual conversation, the following sequence was typical in Japanese. That is, (a) using attention-getter, (b) confirming the possibility of achievement of verbal request behavior, (c) using supportive strategies (explanation why the request is necessary, etc.), appear before the request utterance itself. On the other hand, in Chinese, the request utterance occurred immediately after the attention-getter without any verbal sequences; thus, the study showed a difference in request sequence patterns between the two languages.

If we interpret these results in terms of DP, we can observe that the DP default as unmarked politeness concerning the request discourse is different in Japanese and Chinese. In Japanese, going through the elaborate sequence before making a request constitutes unmarked politeness; however, in Chinese, the short sequence, i.e., an attention-getter, followed by a request utterance, constitutes unmarked politeness. If Chinese learners of Japanese transfer the utterance sequence which constitutes "unmarked politeness" in Chinese to Japanese, Japanese interlocutors may feel that "requests" made by Chinese learners are abrupt or rude even if the "politeness level of the linguistic forms" in their "requests" is appropriate at the utterance level.

On the other hand, if one follows the Japanese request sequence pattern to request in Chinese, this marked behavior may be viewed as cold and distant or harboring some ulterior motive. Thus, if you consider the differences in the DP defaults across various languages and cultures and identify the DP defaults beyond the utterance level for specific "activity types" before the actual communication, it will be useful in predicting the causes of intercultural miscommunication regarding politeness and can avoid embarrassment. Thus, it will facilitate smoother intercultural communication.

Similarly, by analyzing the differences in the DP defaults of necessary speech acts in various languages and cultures, one can focus on the interactions between native and non-native speakers. Exploring the differences in the DP defaults helps a richer understanding of intercultural miscommunication at the discourse level, not grammatical errors and inappropriate use of honorifics at the sentence level. Ultimately, this understanding may be applied to facilitate smoother intercultural communication.

The DPT and second language acquisition (language learning) are closely related. In terms of cross-cultural interaction, language learners have to identify the DP defaults and learn them to achieve smooth communication with others in the target language and culture. Some studies have already begun to analyze natural conversation data and conversation teaching materials to apply those outcomes to compile conversation teaching materials taking into account the framework of the DPT (Xie et al. 2003; Usami 2005; Suzuki et al. 2005).

4.2 Implications for Second Language Acquisition and Intercultural Communication

In addition to bringing together discourse-level phenomena and politeness theory, the DPT draws on literature concerned with conversational strategies and the teaching of second or foreign languages.

Hymes (1972) expanded on the notion of linguistic competence with his term "communicative competence", meaning the speaker's knowledge of the abstract rules of a language's use. Since then, the importance of discourse phenomena has been emphasized in second language teaching. Many researchers have claimed that grammar accuracy at the sentence level is not enough to enable one to speak a second language properly (Widdowson 1978; Brumfit and Johnson 1979; Beebe 1988; Wolfson 1989). "Conversational strategy", including communicative effectiveness and social appropriateness, is defined as "a verbal behavior that functions to facilitate a smooth, harmonious conversation" (Hata 1988). However, the exact nature and the rules governing the appropriate use of conversational strategies in Japanese have not yet been clarified.

"Politeness" is one aspect of language use that most reflects different cultural perspectives. Thus, polite expressions in the first language may not simply translate to the second language, so their use can be considered a kind of conversational strategy. For example, in Japanese culture, frequent "backchannels" are considered polite since they indicate that the speaker is paying attention. Failure to use backchannels often may cause the speaker anxiety and may even be regarded as impolite. Thus, speakers ensure they are polite by using both sentence-level features (e.g. honorifics) and discourse-level features (e.g. backchannels and interruptions).

Mizutani (1985) points out that the appropriate use of backchannels in Japanese is one of the most challenging things to acquire for most non-native speakers of Japanese. Americans use fewer backchannels than Japanese (Maynard 1989), probably because American culture considers them interruptions. Japanese speakers, however, sometimes feel Americans are not listening to them because they do not hear enough of the expected backchannels. Japanese speakers who are not aware that English typically uses fewer backchannels may think that the American speaker is impolite. On the other hand, it is reported that frequent Japanese backchannels in English conversations are perceived as a sort of interruption and considered impolite. However, this kind of misunderstanding can be minimized if Japanese and English conversational strategies are systematically taught to international students in second language classes.

Appropriate language use in Japanese requires assessing factors such as the interlocutors' social status, age, and social distance as part of the social context. It is necessary for both controls of honorifics and conversational strategies such as topic management. For example, Japanese speakers must carefully consider the appropriate frequency of topic initiation, especially when speaking with a superior. A younger person who initiates topics more frequently than an older one might be deemed pushy and impolite. The situationally appropriate use of rules, such as those for topic management, downshifts of politeness level of linguistic form, and backchanneling may be among the most challenging aspects of Japanese for non-native speakers to acquire. Also, speakers must understand discourse-level phenomena. Such phenomena include rules for turn-taking, rules of topic initiation and development, and narrative structure, many of which cannot simply be transferred from the first to the second language. There is a need to teach socio-cultural aspects of language, such as "communicative effectiveness" and "social appropriateness", which can be fully understood only by examining discourse-level practices (Corder 1983; Brumfit 1984; Omaggio 1986; Snow 1989).

There are countless combinations of relationships among the factors "power", "social distance", and "degree of imposition" (Section 2.3.1(2)), but it is almost impossible to manipulate one of these without affecting the others. However, a significant problem in Japanese language instruction has been the failure to sort out these complex factors. It is emphasized that one should manipulate honorifics depending on the effects of these three factors' configuration when teaching honorific use. It is difficult for non-native speakers of Japanese to learn the appropriate use of honorifics based on such vague instruction.

It is necessary to examine the following three issues for incorporating the use of such conversational strategies into the teaching of second languages,

(a) conversational strategies used in Japanese conversational discourse;
(b) rules governing the appropriate use of conversational strategies; and
(c) the relationship of conversational strategies to politeness.

The DPT should help develop a set of rules for the appropriate use of discourse-politeness strategies and thus contribute to the teaching of Japanese as a second language.

5 Future issues concerning the DPT

Future work on the DPT will focus on validating its assumptions through empirical research and further developing the theory itself. Validating the DPT involves identifying the DP defaults as unmarked politeness for various "activity types" of discourse in different languages. The DP defaults for a particular discourse type are identified by examining the typical examples of that discourse. Thus, identifying these DP defaults is somewhat similar to clarifying the sociolinguistic norms and customs in language use at the discourse level.

However, this research aims not to establish model examples of discourse but rather to focus on the deviations from the DP defaults to develop a better understanding of the relative politeness phenomena associated with these DP defaults. Further, the theoretical development of the DPT will focus on predicting, interpreting, and explaining how politeness functions in human interactions. It is necessary to clarify how the content of the utterances and the speaker's intentions are related to their various effects, such as expressing empathy with others, picking fights, or simply emphasizing the utterances' propositional content. The issues that need to be further studied can be summarized under the following four main themes:

1. Systematizing the relationship of the interactional politeness effects between the utterance content and its linguistic forms' politeness level.
2. Systematizing the process of identifying and predicting the politeness effects (plus-, neutral-, and minus-politeness effects) arising from a marked behavior by considering contexts.
3. Systematizing the politeness effects associated with the utterance sequences.
4. Theorizing about the speaker's "intentionality" of committing (or not committing) FTAs.

6 The DPT as a theory of interpersonal communication

The ultimate goal of DPT is to establish a universal theory to investigate and compare the strategies and effects of politeness in languages with and without honorifics, such as Japanese and English. DPT has many innovative aspects, such as extending the scope of research to the discourse level beyond B&L's theory and considering "politeness" as an interactive phenomenon that includes both speaker and hearer perspectives. DPT has also broadened the interpretation of politeness by introducing the notion of "relative politeness," such as viewing the DP default of a particular activity type of discourse as unmarked politeness. That marked behavior deviating from the DP default produces substantial politeness effects and made it possible to explain a substantial politeness effect by using DP default as the basis for analysis and revealing deviance as marked behavior.

DPT differs from B&L's theory in that it emphasizes the speaker's and hearer's estimations of the degree of "face threat". In DPT, politeness is a term that encompasses absolute politeness, i.e. politeness of linguistic forms, and the relative politeness effects that result from deviant behavior from the DP defaults for various "activity types" of discourse. The purpose of DPT is to systematize the relative politeness effects that result from smooth interpersonal relationships and to investigate the universality of the mechanisms underlying these discourse behaviors and culture-specific politeness strategies that arise from universal communication motivations. In this sense, this theory can be considered an interpersonal communication theory.

DPT aims to be a universal theory of politeness. At the same time, however, this theory includes the fact that speech acts and discourse behaviors are related to cultural norms and practices by introducing the concept of "relative politeness" based on the fact that "DP default" as unmarked politeness varies from culture to culture. Therefore, the first step in applying DPT should be identifying the principal elements and factors that constitute DP defaults and starting with a comparative study of DP defaults of these elements in various languages and cultures.

7 Conclusions

This chapter, entitled "the interface between discourse politeness theory and interpersonal communication theory", reviewed the research on politeness and honorifics and politeness theories in Japan and abroad. After reviewing the research before DPT, the crucial aspects of DPT were explained by focusing on the interactive and dynamic nature of "politeness strategies" and "politeness effects". DPT is a theory that based on the perspective of relative politeness. This chapter discussed some theoretical issues within the DPT framework and introduced its application to the research on second language acquisition and comparative cultural pragmatics. In recent years, with the rapid progress of AI, research on "dialogue systems" of robots and agents interacting with humans has begun to use the DPT framework to clarify the "discourse default of human-machine communication" and optimize system's utterances according to the situation.

DPT, which added the concept of the passage of time, has some new issues to be solved in the future. Other theoretically unresolved issues mentioned in this chapter are not only the problems of DPT but also critical issues for future research in the fields of second language acquisition, comparative cultural pragmatics, and intercultural communication. In other words, all these problems are about systematizing the functions of "interaction", "dynamics", and "relativity" in interpersonal communication. Further development of this theory will produce a more comprehensive theory of linguistic politeness and contribute to the further development of broader interpersonal communication theory. Furthermore, in the future, we can expect to see more active collaboration with the field of artificial intelligence dialogue systems.

Research and technology in artificial intelligence are making remarkable progress today. Influenced by this, DPT also has great potential to collaborate with artificial intelligence research and technology to develop more substantive interpersonal communication theory, including nonverbal behavior. We are now at the intersection between discourse politeness theory and interpersonal communication theory.

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Part V: **Culture and discourse phenomena**

Yoko Ujiie

13 Subjective expression and its roles in Japanese discourse: Its development in Japanese and impact on general linguistics

1 Introduction

A target of discourse studies lies in exploring the exact features of linguistic and paralinguistic processes taking place during the exchange of words between a speaker and a hearer. Since the discourse is an outcome of dynamic changes of the participants' mental states, it is essential to introduce an epistemological approach to investigate detailed processes progressing during discourses. In particular, the use of subjective expressions is recognized to be characteristic of Japanese, and discussions on detailed processes of Japanese subjective expressions are of great importance in studying discourses in Japanese.

There are a number of works that have been devoted to the analysis of Japanese discourses. However, many recent works in related areas have been based on frameworks with European linguistic origins, in some cases even without justification of their relevance in their application to Japanese. Studies on subjective expressions to dig into the internal mental states of speakers and hearers have just begun recently with the help of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics.

If we look back Japanese linguistic research history, however, we readily notice that a highly advanced linguistic methodology based on an epistemic and cognitive approach has been developed within the traditional Japanese linguistics community. The most well-organized theory was proposed by Motoki Tokieda (2007a [1941], 2007b [1941], 2008 [1955]). As we will see in this chapter, the epistemic and cognitive approach based on this theory offers a very useful direction to study subjective expressions in Japanese discourses. It is also worthwhile to note here that the usefulness of this cognition-based approach is not limited to analysis of Japanese. Cognition-based analysis of Japanese honorifics, which includes a typical case of subjective expression, has contributed to compensate for some problems (e.g. referent honorifics/addressee honorifics confusion) left unsolved in European linguistics, as has been pointed out by Comrie (1976), Levinson (1983), and Ujiie (2000). In this chapter we

Acknowledgements: I am very much obliged to Mayumi Usami and Yoshiyuki Asahi, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, for providing the opportunity and generous support to publish this chapter. I am very thankful to Prof. Osamu Wada, Kobe University, for his continuous encouragement and discussion.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-014

present the important roles of this approach and their potential impact on general linguistic analyses.

This chapter comprises of six sections. To make the standpoint of the present chapter clear, we first confirm primary linguistic facts by looking at the basic functions of human language and then we briefly discuss their interaction with community in Section 2.

In Section 3 we introduce *gengo katei setsu* "language acts theory" by Tokieda, which was proposed in the 1940s, much earlier than the emergence of European linguistic approaches. We show that this approach provides a reliable foundation for epistemic and cognitive approach to language.

To investigate the internal processes involved in Japanese subjective expressions in discourses, in Section 4 we discuss words and phrases that have a **s**tructure **e**nfolding a speaker's **m**ental **p**rocesses, i.e. "SEMP", which I have proposed on the basis of an epistemic and cognitive approach as an essential category of words and phrases used in subjective expressions (Ujiie 1974, 1986, 1989a). To understand the characteristic properties of these subjective words and phrases, we first show how these Japanese expressions emerged through a diachronic study. We then use a contrastive approach to find how a similar epistemic and cognitive state is expressed in a different language. These studies provide a platform to clarify the correlation between linguistic expressions and society.

From this standpoint we take up "*no-da*/*desu*" in Section 5 and "*yahari*/*yappari*" in Section 6 and make it clear how they emerged and developed diachronically. As will be described in the respective sections, there have been many articles published so far on subjective expressions in Japanese. However, there have been no detailed studies focusing on the mental processes of a speaker and the present overview is proposed to contribute to a better understanding of subjective expressions in discourse. The final section gives a brief summary and outlook for future research.

2 Primary linguistic fact and relation with society

In investigating characteristics of Japanese discourses, it is worthwhile first proposing our view on "language" before going into various analyses, including contrastive study on discourse practices in Japanese and other languages. In doing so, we focus on primary linguistic fact retaining the essence of character of language. Examination of such basic issues is expected to lead us to a grasp of the universality of human beings' communication and also particularity of communication and discourses based on specific language which is bound by society.

2.1 Primary linguistic fact

Bunge says in his essay 'Philosophical Problems in Linguistics', "On a naturalistic view the world is composed exclusively of concrete changing things: everything else is the invention of particular concrete things such as ourselves" (Bunge 1984: 112). He then proposes that language does not exist in the same way as people exist, namely, in and by themselves: people who are engaged in producing or understanding linguistic expressions are real. It follows that it is of great importance to take the production and understanding of speech to be the primary linguistic fact. He argues that in order to know what exactly language is, one should pay attention not to abstract or ideal constructs as being often done in "pure linguistics", but to the concrete fact of producing and understanding linguistic expressions. A similar view was presented long ago by Tokieda. He pointed out that apart from this primary linguistic fact, there exists no language. Furthermore, he takes language to be a particular person's linguistic act which is undertaken in a particular *bamen* (locale). Thus, he looks into an individual's linguistic act which will be investigated in the next section. These views seem to be partly in line with what von Humboldt (1988[1851]: 49) says, "Language, regarded in its real nature, is an enduring thing, and at every moment a *transitory* one. . . . In itself it is no product (*Ergon*), but an activity (*Energeia*). Its true definition can therefore only be a genetic one."

We now give a glance at the early stage of communication to look into this primary linguistic fact. Linguistic signs have been generated as a result of an accumulation of people's experiences of verbal communication. Through examining the feature of the primary linguistic fact, we expect to be able to learn the nature of language as used in discourse. All natural languages started from so-called "here and now" communication: where a speaker and a hearer are together and exchange their internal states on matters emerging in front of them. In doing so, a speaker used some voice with a particular intonation and the situation greatly helped a hearer to understand what the particular voice meant. This primary language use by human beings is an extension of the communicative acts of animals.

Bühler (1990[1934]: 33) classified linguistic functions into three categories, namely, *Ausdruck* [expression], *Appell* [appeal], and *Darstellung* [representation]. The uttering or expressive function for showing the internal state of a speaker as a gregarious and/or social animal closely connects to the appealing function towards a hearer. We can find these two functions working even when the higher mammals or birds communicate with each other. These two functions are said to be positioned at lower dimensions. Lorenz (1977 [1973]: 160) proved the restriction of their communication as follows: they can communicate only in the domain where the object exists in the same space and time as the sender and the receiver of information. Although human beings have come to be able to communicate in a higher dimension using the representational function, language itself originated from and still continues to contain functions at lower dimensions. This character of communication can be called "situation-tied" or "context-tied".

It is a counterpart of "situation-independent" or "context-free" communication. There must be great differences in language use when discourses are made in different types of communication.

What has allowed human beings to overcome the limitations of "here and now" communication is "the word", which is utilized to represent a concept. A concept is a construct that is created through human conceptualizing processes, and it exists as a result of their experience of surviving and living, productive activities, and social interactions under restricted conditions (Tanabe 1975, 1976). Human beings have the concept and the tool to represent concepts, namely "the word". Animals have only the concrete (first) world while people also live in the abstract (second) world. The second world is regarded as "a surplus" according to Merleau-Ponty (1945: 206). As far as it is constructed by human mental activities, the second world is indirect and not real, that is, not "here and now". Thus, as Bunge (1984) points out everything is invention except the primary linguistic facts.

The representational function of language has been realized by the use of linguistic signs in human language. This is only seen in human language, and it has enormously enlarged the scale of communication. On the other hand, communication using "the word" is abstractive, indirect, and complex. This is because a concept is an invention made through humans' mental abstracting activities from things or matters in the outside and concrete world. Saussure's linguistic work (1916) focused on the domain of linguistic signs as the result of this abstracting activity. Due to its rather excessive focus on formalism, several groups of linguists moved to search for what was excluded in his study. Discourse study, in which cognitive, social, and cultural aspects receive more attention, is considered to be one such field. It can be regarded as an approach to go back to the original point of language use as has been written by von Humboldt (1988 [1851]: 48). It is worthwhile to look back to the real place and time where people communicate. At the same time, we need to notice the difference in ways of performing linguistic functions. For example, what has been encoded in each language, can be different in different languages, which seems to reflect properties of the social groups within which speakers communicate with each other.

2.2 Society as background of linguistic acts

While examining the primary linguistic fact, it has been noticed that linguistic acts are accomplished by a particular person who is a member of a particular community (Tokieda 1955/2008: 23) at a particular time and space. This indicates that language is the act of an individual. In this section, we look at society as consisting of people who function as those individuals.

We have seen the universality of the primary linguistic fact of human language. On the other hand, a group of people or a society eventually gives rise to a particularity of language use. For instance, if a speaker and his/her group have had a long-lived, homogenized lifestyle, the society has a higher potential to have particularities in their language use. Bernstein classified spoken English into two code categories: the restricted code and the elaborated code. Although his writings were criticized in terms of social class issues, his work left us significant suggestions in view of considering a relationship between the community and language use. He states, "A restricted code is generated by the sense of 'we-ness'" (Bernstein 1971: 111). This is very interesting and important because such a restricted code has an appreciable similarity to language use in Japanese.

The social backgrounds for the generation of the restricted code in English and characteristic expressions in Japanese are essentially similar, and they apparently stand on the sense of "we-ness". In such a society, "situation-tied" communication is supposed to be developed more than "situation-independent" communication. In the former, people do not need to describe or explain themselves while the latter needs to make use of the descriptive or representational function of language. Also, Brown (1982) divided the main function of spoken language into listener-oriented and message-oriented types in English. The main intention of listener-oriented speech is "the establishment and maintenance of good social relation with the listener" (Brown 1982: 77).

If the society does not have such a homogeneous lifestyle, there must appear another particularity. In a long-lived homogeneous society, we can easily imagine that a speaker's uttering of his/her internal state can directly appeal to the hearer and make him/her react. From my viewpoint, "the restricted code" seems to be basically produced in any homogeneous society, which is a fundamental model for any language (Ujiie 1989a, 2003), and it has developed, for example, in Japanese society as well. In some other societies, on the other hand, "the elaborated code" has been added to it. In other words, the representational function has been extensively developed to consequently provide a "listener (hearer)-oriented" function or "message-oriented" function. Language in any society or community has both codes as Bernstein says and the difference is in the proportion to which each is relied on or which code is socially more accepted, encouraged, or educated to use. "The elaborated code" and/or "message-oriented" function seem eventually to have led to the development of the argumentative function, which was first defined by Popper (1975: 237). This is an extreme example of humans' development of linguistic functions. Although the argumentative function has been embodied in most of current languages as well, a difference may be found in what sort of functions a particular language system has developed in a rich and efficient way.

In our daily life, we often experience communication being performed with high priority of functions at low dimensions (after Bühler), which is seen as original and primitive language use in any lifestyle. Human communication of this type can be called "situation-tied", and the priority of the expressive function and the appealing function is high while the representational function has low priority. Words can assist to compensate for deficiency in the communication activity to some extent; the sender conveys to the receiver some pieces of information relating to matters emerging in front of them or to the sender's subjective or internal state. Thus, the part of utterance or discourse expressed by words is strongly connected to the situation and there is no need for the possession of a distinct independence from the situation in this type of communication. Namely, speeches are understood in the situation and/or locale and misunderstanding can scarcely occur. Language does not have to be independent in this situation. This feature of possessing the same time and space or, in short, "here and now" is the original point of communication, and we should turn back there when we study language used in discourses. In the course of development, any language starts from this point and becomes independent of this "here and now"-ness, and then eventually acquires different properties. For instance, how and what sort of expressions are generated and developed or specifically encoded by words could be different from language to language. Japanese-speaking society used to have a long-lived homogenized lifestyle (Kamishima 1971: 83) and Japanese has eventually developed characteristic subjective expressions, which in most cases correspond to paralanguage in English, as we will see in the following sections.

We have seen the universality of human communication and at the same time have considered the particularity that reflects the nature of communities where people communicate with each other. We also pay attention to the particularity of participants; speakers and hearers, what they recognize, respectively, at the time within the locale and in the community and/or society. For instance, paralanguage plays a great role in discourse because what participants have recognized most often appears directly as paralanguage in all languages (Kurokawa 1994: 15). In discourses in some languages, particularly in Japanese, frequent use of a variety of encoded subjective expressions is noticed. We will discuss more in the next section concerning the particularity of a speaker in discourse and also a particularity of Japanese.

3 What is "language"?: Position of discourse study

European linguistics has concentrated on the domain of linguistic signs since de Saussure (1916), an approach that Bunge (1984: 109) critically calls "pure-linguistics". In order to overcome the limitations of this approach, several different approaches have appeared largely on the basis of philosophical frames. Discourse study is one of them and it appears to challenge actual linguistic phenomena. In this section, we would like to examine what "language" is so that we make sure of the position of discourse study. Basically, language originates from human communicative acts. Tokieda (2008 [1955]: 20) says that his theory is to retrieve an individual's position to linguistics, since language is in nature a form of a human act and appears as the act of an individual. As Bunge wrote, when we study language, it is important to know that everything is invention except primary linguistic fact. Whenever we go back and pay attention to this point, the direction of our study can be defined readily.

Tokieda's theory, written in 1941, was directly introduced for the first time to the English-speaking research community by Maynard (1993). She made valuable efforts in the dissemination of his theory, and I also referred to her works when translating Tokieda's terms into English. On the other hand, it still does not appear to be well understood by Western linguists, although there is an exception that appeared before Maynard's introduction as we will explain later. Thus, as a person who has continuously studied Japanese linguistics by primarily referring to Tokieda's theory, I will point out the essence of his theory, and also indicate the commonalities between his view and Western philosophers' views, including that of Bunge which we examined in Section 2.1.

3.1 "Language acts theory" by Tokieda

We here examine "language acts theory" (Tokieda 2007a [1941]: 9) which was established in Japan. This theory covers the whole range of linguistic acts and is also called "language process theory". What does "acts" or "process" mean? Tokieda learned the essentials of language through traditional Japanese linguistic studies, which originated in the research of literary works and language by the Motoori School (especially by Norinaga Motoori and Akira Suzuki) in the 18th and 19th centuries (Tokieda 2017 [1940]: 162–198). The main concern in those traditional studies was how to interpret words used in a text. He basically adopted their approach and further elaborated it. As a result, he came to regard language as consisting of concrete acts including mental, physiological, and physical processes. We find that there is some commonality between Tokieda's theory and Humboldt's (1988 [1851]:48) statement that "we must look upon *language*, not as a dead *product*, but far more as a *producing*, . . .". Tokieda said that language consists of the acts of speaking, hearing, writing, or reading. This view also interlinks with what Jackson, a neurophysiologist, said, "Loss of speech is therefore the loss of power to propositionize", and not merely a loss of words (Jackson 1932 [1878]: 159–160). Language never appears or exists anywhere apart from these acts, all of which naturally need a series of procedures including a speaker's production of an utterance and a hearer's understanding of it. Suppose you were to find a paper with the letters of some language written on it; unless you read and understand it, we should say that no language exists there: it is only a paper with some lines drawn on it (Tokieda 1955/2008). This means that our acts of reading indicate at the same time our acts of understanding. Apart from the process of reading, which involves, for instance, mental activities, no language exists there. When we speak, hear, write, and read, our cognitive activities necessarily accompany our actions. It reminds us of what Merleau-Ponty (1945: 208) said concerning the relationship between thinking and language. He said that thinking is like thunder, but we can really possess it by using words to express our thoughts. Thus, we can realize a commonality in discerning language among scholars like Humboldt, Jackson, Tokieda, Merleau-Ponty, and

Bunge as seen above as well as in Section 2.1, all of whom worked in broadly different disciplines.

In Tokieda's theory, a human being and speaking, hearing, writing, or reading are inseparable. Traditional Japanese linguistics, the origin of Tokieda's theory, was heavily involved in interpreting classical Japanese literary works. To interpret a literary work, it is essential to learn how the speaker/writer has undertaken his/her work with his/her internal or mental activity. Tokieda, after elaborating the traditional studies done by the Motoori School, presented his theory, in which language is always inseparably studied together with the writing-self's/speaking-self's mental activity. However, his epistemological linguistic theory has been left for a long time without being critically reviewed. Mainstream recent studies in Japanese linguistics have generally been based on approaches originating in European linguistics. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Tokieda's linguistic approach has gradually gained attention theoretically from a few cognitive linguists in Japan, in parallel with the recent emergence of cognitive linguistics.

3.2 Bamen (locale) and a speaker's consciousness

Tokieda proposed a triangle of three necessary elements for the performance of linguistic acts. While focusing on the concrete situation of communication, his theory always pays attention to the individual and thus to the individual's linguistic acts. On this basis, he described "the execution of language as a phenomenon of mental, physiological, and physical processes" and necessary elements for such execution (Tokieda 2008 [1955]: 21). The elements are basically "a subject (speaker)", "*bamen*" (locale) in which the hearer/addressee is included as a central constituent, and "a matter (material)" about which a speaker talks. In his first publication he used the term "elements for the *existence* of language" (Tokieda 2007a [1941]: 55). After noticing that this terminology is based on a viewer's (not an acting person's) standpoint, he amended it to the above "elements for *execution* of linguistic acts" (Tokieda 2008 [1955]: 21). He excludes standing at a third party's position. When he regards language as an act or process of speaking, hearing, etc., his standpoint is at the speaking-self's and hearing-self's positions. It contrasts with the earlier stage of linguistic research history de Saussure focused on in analyzing language, a collection of abstract and average people's uses.

Among three necessary elements, we here need to focus on *bamen*, a locale, consisting of the hearer and the outside world recognized by the speaker. The point is that *bamen* is neither situation nor space, but a merger of these with a speaker. Depending on *bamen*, the speaker's consciousness differs and so what/how the speaker utters may differ. A speaker's impression, for instance, gained from the hearer may convert or modify what/how he/she utters. Thus, he points out that "words are uttered under a speaker's particular consciousness". Tokieda (2007a [1941]: 62) noted: what a speaker has in his/her mind is expressed neither directly nor neutrally, but “under restriction of the locale” and using *keigo* (honorifics) in the discourse is a “typical example of such restriction”. He thus pointed out the importance of how a speaker recognizes a hearer in a certain *bamen* upon making an utterance. Another important point of Tokieda’s view is that the subject of linguistic acts produces an utterance in his/her own way of grasping the material (Tokieda 2007b [1941]: 110). In other words, how a subject is attached to or attracted by material in the *bamen* is shown in an utterance. It can be said that this view of linguistic acts shares some common ground with the view of a subject’s construal by Langacker (2006: 18).

In our analysis on utterances, to be described in Section 4, we point out the importance of “how to grasp a matter” together with “focusing a speaker’s consciousness”. This is to emphasize a speaking-self’s viewpoint rather than a viewer’s standpoint. To distinguish this view from “scene”, which may be used from a viewer’s standpoint, we adopt the term “locale” for this *bamen*. We here notice the importance of a speaker’s focus in his/her consciousness associated with a locale. We will discuss in more detail the focus of a speaker’s consciousness in Section 4.

3.3 Objectified and subjective expressions in Japanese

In traditional Japanese analysis, words are classified into *shi* and *ji*. A prominent scholar of traditional Japanese linguistics, Akira Suzuki (1824), called *ji* “a voice of mind and/or heart” (Tokieda 2017 [1940]: 94). Tokieda (1953) elaborated these terms and renamed them “objectified expression” and “subjective expression”: an objectified expression is made through peoples’ conceptualizing process and on the other hand a subjective one does not contain this process and functions as a direct expression of the speaker’s mind and/or heart. Thus, we could say that an objectified expression has a referent but a subjective one does not have. Objectified words include nouns, verbs, adjectives, some adverbs, and some auxiliary verbs, while subjective words include interjections, conjunctions, some adverbs, particles, and some auxiliary verbs. Tokieda said that what is subjective is always expressed together with an objectified part. An objectified expression is always accompanied by a subjective expression. The subjective part cannot express itself apart from the objectified part. This principle applies to utterances, sentences, and texts. Any expression consists of a mixture of objectified and subjective expressions. Communication is a flow of information starting from the expression of messages by a sender to the termination by understanding of them by a receiver and its repetition. There is always the conveyance of both of what is objectified and what is subjective and finally a subjective part brings all together in a form of a close (Tokieda 2008 [1955]: 65–67). This should be a very basic principle to observe in discourse study. Tokieda demonstrated the validity of this principle in an analysis based on this theory of Japanese literary works such as *Kumo no Ito* written by Ryunosuke Akutagawa (2008 [1955]: 70–71).

His theory has generally not been thoroughly understood by most of contemporary Western linguists. An exception is found in studies on Japanese honorifics, although they seem not to have known of Tokieda's original analysis (Comrie p.c.). Japanese honorifics are classified into two types: *ji*-honorifics (addressee honorifics) and *shi*-honorifics (referent honorifics) by Tokieda (2007b [1941]: 143). Tokieda noted what a speaker has in his/her mind is expressed "under restriction of the locale". He showed as a "typical example of this restriction" the use or nonuse of the addressee honorific *desu/masu*.

(1) a. *Kore* *wa* *kudamono* ***desu*** *ne?*
this TOP fruit COP.POL SFP
'This is a fruit, isn't it?'
b. *Ie,* *yasai* ***desu*** (*yo*).
no vegetable COP.POL SFP
'No, it's a vegetable.'

(2) a. *Kore* *wa* *kudamono* *(da)* *ne?*
this TOP fruit COP SFP
'This is a fruit, isn't it?'
b. *Uun,* *yasai* (*da/yo*).
no vegetable COP SFP
'No, it's a vegetable.'

(1a) and (2a) correspond to the same English expression, and so do (1b) and (2b). In Japanese the same speaker may use either (1a) or (2a), depending on what he/she reads from his/her *bamen*. The content of information presented in sentences (1a) and (2a) is the same, and the contents in (1b) and (2b) are also the same. However, when the *bamen* is official, unrelaxed, or not private for a speaker, he/she uses (1a) or (1b), while if it is unofficial, casual, or private, he/she expresses (2a) or (2b). It may look similar to the difference in the forms of address *vous* and *tu* in French, but there exists a great difference.

This difference has been explained unambiguously by Comrie (1976). By first noticing that Japanese honorific *desu/masu* (*desu*: following a noun, nominative or an adjective, *masu*: following a verb) have no referent, he, referring to so-called T/V problem, pointed out that *vous* and *tu* have referents (Comrie p.c., Ujiie 2000). Tokieda pointed out that *desu/masu* honorifics are a speaker's direct expression of what he/she has in his/her mind towards the addressee/hearer, and he classified them as subjective honorifics, while he classified all other Japanese honorifics as objectified honorifics which are generated through a speaker's conceptualizing process. Tsujimura (1967) renamed these two, respectively, as addressee honorifics and material honorifics. This renaming seems to help some European linguists in understanding the two different sorts of Japanese honorifics. Comrie's finding is the first and, as far as I know, the only example in which Tokieda's classification is properly understood and accepted in the European linguistics community. This argument has been extensively introduced by Levinson (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) as follows: "For in these European T/V systems, as in all systems based on the speaker-referent axis, it is not possible to express respect to H without *reference* to him or her, in contrast to the South Asian speech levels mentioned above" (Brown and Levinson 1987:180). Even within the Japanese linguistic community, this classification has not been properly understood for long.

4 Japanese enfolded expression of a speaker's mental processes: Generation and role in discourse

To understand the characteristic properties of these subjective words and phrases, it is indispensable not only to examine their current uses in practical discourses, but also to look into their emergence processes. It is expected that a diachronic study would reveal the motive force and social requirements for the generation and development of subjective expressions. In the following, we first describe the result of such a diachronic study to show how these Japanese expressions have been created and developed. On the other hand, it should be interesting to see how these subjective contents are expressed in other languages, taking it for granted that we all as human beings have similar epistemic or cognitive activities. In contrasting these Japanese expressions to English, we find that similar cognitive activities are mainly presented by using paralanguage or (pseudo-) interjectionalized expressions. In addition, similar mental processes can be expressed or interpreted by using subordinate clauses or cleft sentences disregarding whether such patterns are used in daily life or not. Our studies based on both diachronic and contrastive approaches will provide a platform to clarify the correlation between linguistic expressions and society. This is because the phenomenon of encoding or not encoding a particular mental state explicitly in a form of word or phrase reflects the nature of community where people have desires to present internal and/or mental contents by using real words for communication.

4.1 Japanese subjective expression

Apart from *desu/masu* described in Section 3, there are other characteristic expressions encoding a speaker's cognition in Japanese. Let us take a glance at some examples of such Japanese expressions to show a speaker's mental processes.

(3) *Teikiken* ***wa*** *hakkiri omisekudasai.*
season tickets TOP clearly show me.IMP.POL
'***Speaking of*** season tickets, please show them clearly.' (3-E) (Healey (p.c.))

(4) cf. *Teikiken o hakkiri omisekudasai.*
season tickets ACC clearly show me.IMP.POL
'You must show your season tickets clearly.' (Healey (p.c.)) (Ujiie 1987)

(5) ***Yappari*** *koko wa atui.*
ADV here TOP hot
'***As I expected/ As you said/ As people say***, it's hot here.' (5-E)
(Healey 1975) (Ujiie 1994)

(6) *Tigau* ***n(o) -da/desu.***
wrong NMLZ COP/COP.POL
'***What I want to/ should say now is that*** you are wrong.' (6-E) (Ujiie 1986)

The uses of *wa* in example (3), *yappari* in (5), and *n(o)-da/desu* in (6) are known to be expressions difficult for foreigners to learn to use properly and also difficult to translate into foreign languages. This is because they are expressions which are unique to Japanese to show a speaker's subjective mental processes in an enfolded way. In contrast with examples (3), (5), and (6), the speaker's thought is expressed in a non-enfolded way in example (4), and this can be properly understood by non-native Japanese learners. When we concentrate on a speaker's consciousness and/or mental processes, these example sentences are converted into English as shown in (3-E), (5-E), and (6-E) respectively. A speaker's mental processes are shown in these short words/ phrases in Japanese while English needs, except using paralanguage, more complicated expressions, such as gerundial phrases, subordinate clauses, or pseudo-cleft sentences to express similar mental processes.

Subjective expressions have been extensively developed in Japanese, and there are a number of examples which are encoded, explicitly, in the form of a word or a phrase. To provide a satisfactory explanation to, for example, foreign learners of Japanese, it is essential to explain that a speaker selects these words and phrases reflecting his/her continued interaction with a hearer. Insofar as discourse study is to investigate a speaker's consciousness and mental processes changing through discourse progression, analysis of the content of these subjective words/phrases is of central importance.

Native English speakers would express similar subjective consciousness and cognition in some cases by uttering words with a stress on a predicative part. The difference between Japanese and English expressions in such a case is whether or not the speaker's consciousness and/or cognition are encoded in a form of a simple word or phrase. Diachronic study in Japanese shows that it has taken a fairly long time, such as a century, to encode the speaker's consciousness and/or cognition as one word or phrase or to substantially change the original meaning, as shown in Ujiie (2013) and as will be examined in Section 4.3. Such encoding phenomena are considered to indicate a process and a result of subjectification. Subjectification (Traugott 1989, 1995: 31–54) has been seen not only in English and other languages but also throughout the long history of Japanese (Tokieda 1950: 205) (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2001; Langacker 2008; for recent discussions on Japanese, see Sawada 2011). This would support the hypothesis that human beings always want to utter the individual's subjective and internal states, and their emergence is a natural result of people's communication in the form of discourse. People use subjectified words/phrases without awareness of their subjectivity. Within the similarity of language changes as observed in many languages, new words and phrases can be generated through semantic and/or functional transformation utilizing existing words. This is seen also for Japanese in that some of *ji* (subjective words) have been transformed from *shi* (objectified words) (e.g. *yahari* in Section 6). This language change seems to have resulted from people's discourse activities, in which the desire of a speaker and a hearer for uttering the contents of his/her mind; subjective states are strengthened through dynamic process of exchanging words and stimulating mutually their minds.

Thus, development of independent words and phrases encoding the speaker's subjective states seem to indicate that such word and phrases have been used increasingly frequently over time for satisfying the desire of presenting what a speaker would like to express. As the use of these expressions becomes conventional, they eventually become established as subjective words/phrases.

Communication is basically an exchange of messages between a sender and a receiver. Especially in a discourse, the message expressed by the sender must be properly understood by the receiver. The speaker intends to propositionize in order to make the hearer understand. A desirable discourse is supposed to be a collaborative activity between counterparts, in which both intend to accomplish the sender's propositionizing activity.

Neurophysiologist Jackson (1932 [1878]) says that the proper language use is to propositionize, not just to use voices exclamatorily. Through his investigation on aphasia, he pointed out that language, mental activity, and action are tightly connected. Making a proposition is a speaker's subjective act. ". . . speech is part of mind and there is not an abrupt and constant separation into mind and speech" (Jackson 1932[1878]: 199). This reminds us of the fact that Tokieda regarded a sentence as the smallest unit expressing a speaker's thought and also that Merleau-Ponty (1945: 208) pointed out that expression is always creative.

In the following section, we will first look at examples of expressions using words/phrases highly subjective and characteristic to Japanese and then survey the process of generation of a few Japanese subjective expressions which are very often used in practical discourses.

4.2 Japanese enfolded expression of a speaker's mental processes

Through the author's study on a variety of Japanese words/phrases used for expressing the speaker's subjective mental state, it was found that there is a characteristic form of expression to encode a speaker's cognition. The reason why we regard it as characteristic is seen in the word/phrase form where mental processes are embedded. Such a form is called SEMP which stands for the **s**tructure of word/phrase that **e**nfolds a speaker's **m**ental **p**rocesses as shown in Section 1. English needs the use of a particular tone of voice (with stress added) or subordinate clauses to describe mental processes equivalent to what are expressed by SEMP in Japanese.

Examples of SEMP include words and phrases based on particles such as *wa* and *no*(*-da/desu*), conjunctions such as *demo, dakara* (Ujiie 1973), predicative adverbs such as *sekkaku, sasuga, masaka, doonimo, namazi, semete, kaette, syosen*, etc. and adverbials such as *taka-ga, -datera-ni, -no-kuse-ni*, etc. (Ujiie 1986, 1988). To see how the speaker's mental processes are enfolded in SEMP words/phrases, let us consider a couple of examples of predicative adverbs. When a speaker utters something, he/she often pursues it by referring to or connecting with matters which have been recognized just before the utterance. It can be expressed in one word/phrase with SEMP. This fact shows that this sort of expression enfolds a speaker's cognition and presupposition in his/her own context. So, if a hearer already knows or can easily infer the same content and context, the discourse held with this speaker can proceed most effectively. It, in fact, happens within a familiar group or within a homogenized community.

With what matter has his/her cognition been connected or correlated prior to the utterance? According to our survey of SEMP words/phrases, entities connected immediately before the utterance are consequently categorized into the following groups:

Group I. a speaker's personal experience and/or knowledge

Group II. general or common cognition or notion formed in the community

Group I is for the case where a speaker connects what he/she has perceived or recognized with his/her earlier expectation or anticipation that has emerged through his/her personal experience or knowledge. Group II is for the case where he/she connects his/her perception or cognition with a common notion or idea widely known in his/her own group. We consider example (7) below as an example for group I.

I. Connecting with a speaker's personal experience and/or knowledge

(7) ***Yappari*** *koko* *wa* *atui.*
ADV here TOP hot
'It ***is*** hot here.' (7-Ea)
'It is hot here, ***you see!?***' (7-Eb)
'***As I expected***, it is hot here.' (7-Ec) (Healey 1975: 246, Collick 1983)

In English you may say (7-Ea), using paralanguage (putting stress on '*is*'), or (7-Eb), with (pseudo-)interjective expressions. In addition, similar mental processes can be expressed or interpreted by using subordinate clauses, as in (7-Ec), or cleft sentences as in (6-E), although such expressions may not be used in daily life. Thus, such complicated cognitive processes, in which something recognized by the speaker is connected with his/her personal experience or knowledge, can be encoded in a simple word or phrase with SEMP in Japanese. From another viewpoint, the expression using SEMP has a feature resembling the concept of restricted code in English, which has been introduced as a counterpart to the elaborated code (Bernstein 1973). This is because restricted code means a mode of "language use" readily understandable only to members of the same social group/network to which the speaker belongs. The most noteworthy point here is that a complex cognitive process which may need complicated, elaborated expression is encoded in Japanese in a single word of SEMP (Ujiie 1989b).

Let us consider an example of an adverbial phrase as an example for group II.

II. Connecting with a common notion or idea in a speaker's own group/community

(8) ***Takaga*** *hisyo* *de-wa-nai-ka*
ADV secretary COP-TOP-NEG-Q
'He/She is ***only*** secretaly.' (8-E)
'He/She is, ***even if we evaluate highly***, ***only*** secretary, isn't he/she?' (8-Ea)

When a speaker wants to say that a secretary has not as much status as a principal or an M.P., the word *takaga* may be chosen. *Taka* was originally a noun and means an amount, value, or limit of something. Thus, the adverbial phrase *takaga* implies 'after estimating its value' and is always used negatively as in (8-Ea). The estimation is usually made on the basis of a common notion or an idea well accepted within a speaker's own group. The sentence means 'he/she is at best, or no more than, a secretary', implying, for example, 'even if he/she exhibits power to some particular people, such as his/her group members, that is all'. This may be uttered to show a speaker's consciousness or unpleasant feeling with regard to the secretary, or his/her own desire to look down the secretary. The following is another example of SEMP for group II.

(9) *Otoko* ***no*** ***kuseni*** *darasi(ga)nai.*
male GEN in spite of.ADV slack
'He is slack, ***as might not be expected of*** a man.' (9-E)

Kuse, the central part of adverbial phrase *no-kuse-ni* is originally a noun and means 'a habit'. The sentence implies 'A man is expected to have such a habit/tendency as being brave, but in spite of that, he is slack.'

There are similar words/phrases, such as *daterani, huzei-ga, gotoki-ga, made-site*, and so on. After examining these adverbial phrases, it has been found that they all either follow or modify a noun showing a group the person is a member of and emphasize a negative evaluation in terms of age (generation), sex, occupation, or status in society. We should pay attention to the fact that Japanese has developed or had to develop a way to categorize things in terms of notions accepted by the majority of the group or community. It is reasonably presumed that this primarily resulted from people living within a homogeneous society (Ujiie 1989a, 2003).

4.3 Generation of enfolded subjective expression and its role in discourse

Our main concern in discourse study is to describe in concrete terms the dynamic linguistic acts between a speaker and a hearer which reflect both their direct perceptive activities of external matters and their internal cognitive activities. As far as Japanese discourse is concerned, it would be reasonable and important to focus on subjective expressions to grasp what a speaker intends to express and what role these expressions play in the discourse. For this purpose, we will carry out more detailed investigation on words/phrases with SEMP. In the following two sections, we choose SEMP words/phrases and examine how they have been generated diachronically so that we can infer their roles/functions in discourse.

We will see that there are various routes for the generation of these SEMP words/phrases. We first examine *no-da/desu* in Section 5 as an example to see the extension and transformation of the function of the particle *no*, and then in Section 6 examine the adverbial expression *yahari/yappari* as an example to see the change in function of words from an objective expression to a subjective expression. Another path of generation of subjective enfolded expressions is to integrate a phrase as seen in examples such as *taka-ga*, *no-kuse-ni*, and so on, as described earlier. Thus, the generation of subjective expressions is considered take place through the variation of existing linguistic forms. The variation can occur in such different ways as (a) extension of the function of a particle, (b) transformation of the meaning of a word, and (c) formation of a phrase. The first case can be regarded as a result of the nature of an agglutinative language like Japanese. The others could occur in languages other than Japanese as well. After seeing the generation processes of SEMP words/phrases, we discuss their roles in discourse through analyzing their variety of usages.

5 *No-da/desu* expression

In this section we will discuss a speaker's cognition encoded in *no-da/desu* expression. While examining its generation process, we will focus on cognitive aspect of uttering this expression. In our analysis, we first see diachronically how subjective *no-da* was generated. Then we discuss how *no-da/desu* and all related phrases and sentences are classified. One of important aims of our study is to reach a unified explanation of the function of this enfolded subjective expression.

There are a number of studies published on *no-da* expressions conducted using lexical, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic approaches. For example, Noda (1997) analyzed numerous *no-da/desu* usages and categorized them from the viewpoint of the speaker's scope and mood. Najima (2007) discussed how the hearer understands the speaker's *no-da* utterances by applying Wilson and Sperber's (1993) relevance theory. A Japanese-English contrastive study on *no-da* expressions was published by Ootake (2009). Studies on the grammatical functions of *no* were discussed by Ujiie (1969) and Horie (1999). Ijima (2010) reported an elaborate overview of previous studies on *no-da* expressions and a precise examination of *no-da* sentences. In most of these prior works, however, little stress has been placed on the speaker's locale.

To obtain a unified understanding of subjective *no-da/desu* expressions, we classify them on the basis of the diachronic evolution of *no-da/desu* usages. The approach taken in this section is substantially different from previous approaches mentioned above in two major points. (1) *No* in *no-da/desu* is classified syntactically as that of a *tōzoku-joshi* 'funnel-like particle', which functions to nominalize the part preceding *no* and connect it to the following words (*da/desu* in the *no-da/desu* case) (Ujiie 1969). We focus on 'nominalizing' function of *no* from an epistemological viewpoint, so that we confirm that speakers have strong desires to express their subjective states. (2) *No-da/desu* is used to present the speaker's subjective mental processes which have emerged in the speaker's mind before utterance. Subjective *no-da/desu* expressions thus provide a typical example of SEMP. As we will see, there are a variety of usages with different degrees of subjectivity which have developed and been conventionalized through changes in such subjective usages.

In the following, the generation and changes of subjective *no-da/desu* expressions are overviewed and various usages are classified and discussed in terms of the degrees of subjectivity. Through this analysis, we discuss how effectively this utterance plays a role in Japanese discourse.

5.1 Generation of *no-da* expression

In order to grasp the variety of stages of generation and development of *no-da* expressions, we will first illustrate in Figure 13.1 the result of a diachronic survey of uses of *no-da*/desu expressions which Yoshikawa (1950) and Ujiie (1970, 1992) carried out. The original function of *no* is genitive or possessive, connecting noun 1 and noun 2 as shown in:

(10)	*huyu*	*no*	*tuki*
	winter	POSS	moon
	winter (noun1)		moon (noun 2)
	'a wintry moon'		

Variation is found to occur from the end of the 16th century. In the earliest stage of variation, the function of *no* was extended to nominalize the part shown by verbs or adjectives and connect this to a particle such as *wa*, *ga*, *ni*, or *o*, as seen in the following examples.

Stage A:

(11)	*[yomu]*	***no***	*o*	*yameru.*
	read	NMLZ	ACC	stop
	'stop reading'			

(12)	*[hon o yomu]*	***no***	*ga*	*suki.*
	reading a book	NMLZ	NOM	like
	'like reading a book'			

(13)	*[Koko de hon o yomu]*	***no***	*wa*	*yoku*	*nai.*
	eading a book here	NMLZ	TOP	right	not
	'Reading a book here is not recommended'				

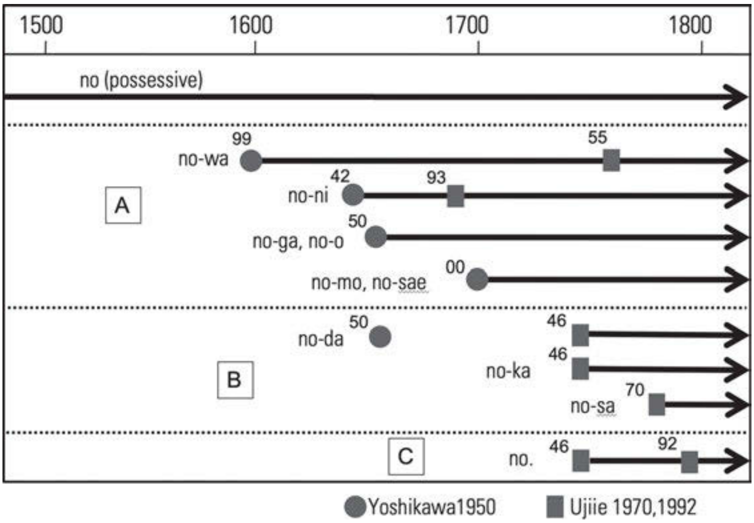

Figure 13.1: Generation of *no-da/desu* expression.

Square brackets [ ] in the examples show the part nominalized by the speaker, metaphorically corresponding to the upper part of a funnel-like shape. These usages appeared between the end of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century, as shown by a survey based on the data of five texts from 1599 to 1700 (Yoshikawa 1950).

Then in the next stage B, a phrase or clause nominalized by *no* started connecting to other copula/auxiliary verbs such as *da*/*desu* or sentence-final particles such as *ka*, as shown in the following examples:

Stage B:

(14) [*Kono hon o yomu*] ***no*** *-da/-desu*.
reading this book NMLZ COP/COP.POL
'I am/ You are/ He/She is supposed to read this book.'
'I decide/(have) decided to read this book.'
'You should read this book.'

(15) Dialogue between speaker 1 and speaker 2:
a. Speaker 1: *Kono hon o yominasai*.
this book ACC read.IMP.POL
'Please read this book.'
b. Speaker 2: *[Kono hon o yomu]* ***no*** *(desu) ka?*
reading this book NMLZ COP.POL Q
'Should I read/ Am I supposed to read this book?'

In this particular dialogue, speaker 1 may use example (14) instead of (15a) to express the meaning of 'You should read this book'. *No-da/desu* first appeared in a text written before the middle of the seventeenth century (Yoshikawa 1950). Based on my data of eleven texts from 1693 to 1872, *no-da/desu*, together with *no-ka* and also *no-sa* began to appear frequently from the middle of the eighteenth century (Ujiie 1970, 1992). We here clearly recognize the generation of *no-da* expressions. This result also clarifies that defining *no* from a syntactic viewpoint as *tōzoku-joshi* 'funnel-like particle' is appropriate.

In the following stage of variation (Stage C), we notice that sentence final particle *no* appeared first in texts in 1746, nearly at the same time as the appearance of *no-ka*. The sentence-final particle *no* appeared in three texts from 1746 to 1792. *No* came to be used as a sentence-final particle not just for nominalization but in place of *da*, *ka*, and *sa*, as shown in speaker 2's utterance in the following example:

Stage C:

(16)	a.	Speaker 1:	[*Kono hon o yomu*]	***no***	*(desu -ka)?*		
			reading this book	NMLZ	COP.POL-Q		
			'Am I supposed to read this book?'				
			'Are you reading this book?'				
	b.	Speaker 2:	*Soo,*	[*kono hon o yomu*]	***no***	(*sa/da*	*yo*).
			so/yes	reading this book	NMLZ	SFP/COP	SFP
			'Yes, I have decided to read this book.'				
			'Yes, you should read this book.'				

Thus, grammatical function of *no* has been extended from genitive or possessive *no* to a nominalizer for a word (verb) (e.g. (11)), phrase/clause (ex. (12) – (15)) and then even for a whole sentence (e.g. (16)). From a cognitive point of view, nominalizing is regarded as the result of a speaker's own activity to focus on a particular part of the content, namely, the part preceding *no*, which can be a phrase, a clause, or even a sentence, and in the last case *no* functions as a sentence-final particle.

Figure 13.1 depicts the generation and development of *no-da* expressions originating from possessive (or genitive) *no*, which has been driven by the extension of the grammatical function of *no* as a nominalizer. It is significant to note that not only all *no-da* related expressions but also the usage of *no* as a sentence-final particle has also been generated through the extension of the grammatical function of *no*. This variation is reasonably understood if the nature of an agglutinative language like Japanese in which the particle has a vast potential of variation in its syntactic functions, is taken into account.

5.2 Classification of *no-da* usages

Nominalizer *no* shows that a speaker has featured a relevant part of the utterance. This is used as a result of a speaker's mental establishing/determining action prior to the utterance. When a speaker perceives a concrete event, it would be recognized or directly installed in his/her mind as an objective matter. If he/she becomes conscious of a matter/event and wants to mention it to a hearer, he/she must pass through the process of establishing his/her cognition and transforming it into words. *No-da* is therefore regarded as SEMP word as mentioned earlier. To know how nominalizer *no* was used, a survey on numbers of written discourses has been carried out (Ujiie 1992). As the first text, *Shunshoku Ume Goyomi* written by Shunsui Tamenaga in 1832–1834 is selected, in which all kinds of *no-da* expressions except sentence-final particle *no* appear.

In the following, we will see how this basic function of *no-da*/*desu* expressions is used in practical discourses by examining five representative usages. We notice that there are two groups of usages having quite different characters; Usages 1 and 2, and Usages 3–5. In the first two usages, *no-da/desu* is used on the premise of that the part preceding *no* exists as a fact or a confirmed matter for both the speaker and hearer. For example, when the speaker sees the hearer going somewhere and wants to know where he/she is going to, we say '*Doko e iku no-desu ka?*'. That is, on the premise of that the part preceding *no* (the hearer is going somewhere) exists as a fact, we never say '*Doko e iki masu ka?*' On the other hand, Usages 3–5 are used only after the speaker establishes a matter/idea in his/her mind independent of whether or not the hearer notices it. These usages are regarded to have higher subjectivity than Usages 1 and 2. The latter usages (3–5) seem to have been extended from the former usages (1 and 2) and conventionalized through frequent use in discourses in society. In our discussion a particular focus is placed on the extension of usage towards subjective expressions. Our survey has shown that all *no-da* expressions in *Shunshoku Ume Goyomi* (1832–34) (60 examples) can be classified as belonging to one of these usages, and some example sentences are cited in the discussions below.

Usage 1: Asking/Confirming something with a hearer

When the speaker wants to ask about some detail of a matter which exists as a fact in common to both the speaker and the hearer, he/she can ask a question by using an interrogative (e.g. *nani* 'what') together with *no-da* or can confirm his/her supposition by using nominalizer *no* together with an interrogative particle (e.g. *ka*). The interrogative particle *ka* in *no-ka* works as predicate component like *da*/*desu* as is seen more explicitly in *no-desu-ka*. Therefore *no-ka* is regarded as a version of *no-da* expressions. A couple of examples of this usage are shown below.

[*Umezi* has covered a cotton towel over *Yonehati*'s lap.]

(17) Yonehati: *Oya,* ***nani*** *o suru no da.* (102)
Oh!? what ACC do NMLZ COP
'Oh, *what on earth have* you done?'

[After having heard *Otyoo*'s crying in her dream]

(18) Oyosi: *Kore Otyoo-boo* ya, koresa yume o mi-ta
Hey little *Otyoo* SFP hey dream ACC see-PST
no ka(.) Me o samas-i na. (113)
NMLZ Q Eye ACC wake up IMP
'Hey, little *Otyoo*, are you dreaming? Wake up!'

In the first example, the speaker wants to know more detail on a common topic (a hearer's action), or actually the reason of her action. In the second example, the speaker wants to confirm her supposition with the hearer. Nominalization is used to exactly point out the question itself or the speaker's assumption to be confirmed. This usage has been found to appear most frequently within the texts used in our survey (33 examples within all 60 no-da expressions).

Usage 2: Explaining to a hearer

The *no-da*/*desu* expression is also used to either in a reply to another's question or in an explanation associated with a clause showing the reason/cause. Since the exact focus of the utterance is known in a question or in a causal clause, nominalization is used to convince the hearer to understand the speaker's will or belief.

[*Tanziroo* met *Otyoo* in the street. After he (*Tanziroo*) knew by her (*Otyoo*'s) reply that she is now on the way to *Itihara*, he asks her.]

(19) a. Tanziroo: *Sosite Iitihara kara kyoo wa* ***doko***
then Itihara from today TOP where
e iku ***no*** *ka*
LOC go NMLZ Q
'And then where are you going today from *Itihara*?'

b. Otyoo: *Kyoo wa... Zyoosenzi sama e mairu*
today TOP Zyoosenzi temple LOC go.POL
no ***-de*** *arimasu yo*
NMLZ COP be.POL SFP
'Today I'm · · · visiting the *Zyoosenji* temple.'

<When *Tanziroo*'s fiancée *Otyoo* blamed him, saying 'you are now a couple with *Yonehati*'. >

(20) Tanziroo: *Nani sooiu wake demonai ga,*
Oh, no, such meaning not particular.AUXV but
...karekore sewaosi-tekureta ***kara***
this and that care-for me.PST because
tui nanisita ***no-da.***
by chance do something.PST NMLZ-COP
'Not really. But because she took care of myself, we eventually started it (living together).'

In the first example (19 b), being asked by *Tanziroo*, *Otyoo* answered to it to demonstrate that '*Zyoosen-zi sama e mairu*: visiting the *Jōsen-zi* temple' is her plan already established, by using *no* (*-de arimasu yo*). In the second example (20), it is certified by a causal clause showing that the preceding part of *no-da* is a fact or already established matter.

Usage 3: Informing a hearer of a fact or confirmed matter

We will see here three modes in informing a hearer of something. Notifying is the basis of all these modes. However, depending on what he/she focuses on and/or intends to do in his/her locale, modes of the same expression differ from each other. Let us see in the following three typical functional modes of this usage.

a Notifying of what only the speaker knows

The following discourse is cited from *Kitchen* by Yoshimoto Banana (1988). The heroine, *Mikage* met her friend (*Yuuiti*)'s 'mother' and was astonished by 'her' beauty. Shortly after his 'mother' left, *Yuuiti* told *Mikage* as follows:

[to *Mikage*]

(21) a. Yuuiti: *Ano* *hito,* *otoko* *na-**n-da*** *yo*. (19)
the person male COP-NMLZ-COP SFP
'What I want to say now is that the person is male.' (21-E)

b. (Description of *Mikage* is continued)
Watasi *wa* *meo-mihiraita* *mama* *mugonde*
I TOP eyes-opened wide leaving in silent
kare *o* *mitumete* *simatta.*
he ACC stare.CONJCT completed
'I only stared him in silent while leaving my eyes open.'

(22) cf. *Ano* *hito* *wa* *otoko* *da*
the person TOP male COP
'The person is male.' (22-E)

Yuuiti decided to let *Mikage* know the fact that his 'mother' is in fact his father. This is in the situation that *Mikage* met his 'mother' for the first time. She was told that his mother would come back home to see *Mikage* and she never had any suspicion about a prospective event. When *Mikage* was only amazed by 'her' beauty (without knowing that it is because of plastic surgery), *Yuuiti* said (21a). In other words, we could say that *Yuuiti*'s focus in the locale is on *Mikage*'s amazement. Thus, he decided to add information and told her (21a). His utterance is not a reply to a question, but a kind of response to this locale. The speaker tells the hearer information that only the speaker's side knows by using *no-da/desu*. The speaker's mental state and process are expressed in an enfolded way in (21a), the content of which cannot be conveyed by a fact-descriptive expression such as (22). To illustrate the difference, this enfolded part is explicitly described in (21-E), although this may not be used in daily life in English-speaking community. It could be also categorized as an extended use of *no-da/desu* for 'explaining'(Ujiie 2011).

As we see (21b), the hearer said nothing and only waited for the speaker's word such as 'It is a joke'. However, since he did not say so, the discourse had an interruption.

b Persuading a hearer

We use again citations from *Shunshoku Ume Goyomi*.

[*Sinzoo* (a senior attendant) speaks to *Sigeri* (a little girl) while making a cup of tea.]

(23) Bantoo Sinzoo: *Sigeri Ya, kakituke o totte-ya.* . . .
Sigeri hey daily menu ACC fetch-SFP.IMP
Kasiwaya ga kitara, . . . *soo iu* ***no-da*** *yo.* (68)
Kasiwaya NOM come.COND so tell NMLZ-COP SFP
'Hey, *Sigeri,* go and fetch a daily menu. · · · When *Kasiwaya* (a lending library) calls in, . . .what you should tell him is what I just told you.'

[*Sinzoo* continues her words while making a cup of tea.]

No-da is used here to have a hearer act following the speaker's direction or in making a suggestion. On the assumption that the hearer has no idea what to do, the speaker uses *no-da/desu* in order to make the hearer act. This assumption is the speaker's focus in this locale. Thus, she states what is going to happen (*Kasiwaya ga kitara*) and how to act (*soo iu*) then the part preceding *no-da* is a confirmed matter in her mind. When an instruction is given from an adult to a child such *no-da* is often used.

The following expression is heard very frequently in Japanese-speaking communities:

(24) *Sizukani suru* ***no***. / *Sizukani suru* ***n/no-desu***.
quiet do NMLZ quiet do NMLZ-COP.POL
'What I want to/must say now is that you should be quiet.' (24-E)

(25) cf. *Sizukani sinasai.*
quiet do.POL.IMP
'You must be quiet.' (25-E)

(25) is an expression without *no*, and this shows only a plain request or order. For instance, when (25) did not work efficiently, the speaker utters (24). The idea or notion nominalized by *no* (*Sizuka ni suru*) shows an established matter for a speaker. (24) is uttered to have a hearer act to follow the speaker's request in this locale. That is, the hearer is making noises in a circumstance where people are supposed to be quiet. The speaker's mental establishment is done on his/her side and the hearer is requested to understand it. In such a case, *no-da* enfolds a speaker's considerably complicated mental processes. Therefore, if one wants to translate it into a foreign language, for example, English, it is necessary to use a clause or pseudo-cleft sentence as seen in (24-E).

We notice again that hearers of (23) and (24) make no particular reply in words. They only act to follow the speaker's directions, taking for granted that those words are right. Thus, it is one-way dialogue.

c Asserting oneself

(26) *Tigau* ***no*** ***-da/desu***.
wrong NMLZ COP/COP.POL
'What I want to/should say now is that you are/it is wrong.' (26-E) (Ujiie 1986)

(27) cf. *Tigau.* / *Tigai masu.*
wrong. wrong AUXV.POL
'You are/It is wrong.' (27-E)

When a speaker wants to tell a hearer that the hearer is wrong, which has been confirmed in a speaker's mind, he/she utters (26) instead of a plain sentence (27). For instance, when a hearer misunderstood a speaker's notion and criticized him/her, a speaker would utter (26). This is not necessarily an utterance to reply directly to a hearer's words. This may be uttered, for example, when an undesirable situation is going to appear because of the hearer's misunderstanding. In such a case, this utterance may focus on informing a fact or confirmed matters in a speaker's mind. However, the degree of acceptance or understanding by a hearer's side and the degree of confirmation or establishment by the speaker's side determine whether *n(o)-da/desu* utterance is used for asserting, appealing, or registering.

This utterance is also regarded as a confirmed reply towards a particular locale. A hearer can only guess what the content is, and it is hard to catch the content correctly when he/she has no background to understand the utterance. This is the reason why *n(o)-da/desu* utterances are difficult to understand for a hearer who has a different background or knowledge.

We have seen so far Usage 3: "Informing a hearer of a fact or confirmed matters" while classifying this usage into three subcategories: a. notifying, b. persuading, and c. asserting. In grasping utterances in this usage in practical discourse problems may arise because the interpretation of the utterance left to the hearer. Hearers may have no background idea or no knowledge about how to act either, for example, when (21a), (23), (24) and (26) are uttered. The enfolded subjective expression is premised on a speaker's focus of consciousness in the locale; which is not expressed explicitly. This is why it is referred to as an 'enfolded' expression. Hearers conjecture or act to follow the speaker's will, taking for granted that speakers' words are right or obligatory.

Enfolded subjective expressions in Japanese are considered to have been produced within the practice of discourses within a condensed, homogenized society in Japan. Their development also must have been enhanced by the characteristics of society. Thus, Japanese subjective expressions are considered to have the same properties as Bernstein's restricted code and have grown up and spread as natural language.

It is noteworthy that examples of Usage 3 are considerably more subjectively used, comparing to Usages 1 and 2. We see an even higher degree of subjectivity in the following two groups of usages in which a speaker uses *no-da* towards the speaker himself/herself.

Usage 4: Expressing a speaker's resolution

(28)	a.	Yonehati:	*Saa*	*odekakenaharu*	***n-da***. (77)	
			now	go out.POL	NMLZ-COP	

‘Well, I am going out!’/ Well, I decided to go out, you see?!’

b.	Msazi, Umezi:	*Umaku*	*itte-kinee*	*yo*.	
		well	say-come back.IMP	SFP	

‘Go and talk to him well!’

Concerning the usage of *no-da*, the following could be uttered through the same mental process: *Saa dekake-ru* <u>*n-da*</u>. The part preceding *n-da, o-dekake-naharu* (an objectified honorific of *dekake-ru*, in this case, showing self-respect) ‘going out’ is the content on which she made up her mind by encouraging herself. Making up one's mind is nothing but the establishment of a matter or an idea in one's mind. This utterance with *n-da* shows that it is decided by the speaker with her strong will. This *n-da* is used for virtually talking to the speaker herself. Although the speaker (*Yonehati*) here uses an honorific (*o~naharu*) for her own action, she never uses the subjective honorific (addressee honorific) (*n*-) *desu*, since her utterance is not addressed to a hearer but to herself.

Usage 5: Expressing something a speaker notices

(29)	a.	Tanziroo:	*Maa*	*nannisitemo*	*hi*	*o*	*kosiraeyoo*. (116)
			well	do anything.COND	fire	ACC	will make

‘Well, before everything I will make a fire.’

b.	Yonehati:	*Oya*	*honni*	*samukutte*	*samisii*	*to*
		what	really	cold.CONJCT	lonely	QUOT
		omottara,	*hi*	*ga*	*nai*	***no-da*** *nee.*
		felt.COND	fire	NOM	not exist	NMLZ-COP SFP

‘Oh, I really felt cold and lonely, now I noticed that you *do not* have a fire here.’

The speaker, *Yonehati*, noticed the reason why she felt cold only when the hearer mentioned a fire. As a result she persuaded herself of it, with a little surprise, based on the reason or cause. *No-da* is used here to show a speaker's comprehension, notice, or awareness emerging immediately before making the utterance. The part preceding *no-da, hi ga nai* 'you have no fire', shows what the speaker noticed and *no-da* itself shows that she persuaded herself of it after noticing it. Since noticing something and persuading herself is her own mental activity, this example also has a style of talking virtually to the speaker herself.

In both Usages 4 and 5, the speaker is talking primarily to the speaker himself/herself. We should pay attention to this characteristic use of *no-da/desu* because it is highly subjective. It seems to be an extended usage developed from Usages 1, 2, and 3 in the course of frequent use in discourses in different locales.

5.3 Role of subjective use of no-da/desu expression in discourse

As we have seen so far, subjective *no-da/desu* expressions as shown in Usage 3 (Informing a fact or confirming a matter to a hearer), in particular, is a typical example of SEMP. The fact that the content proceeding *no* is made through a speaker's mental processes is clearly seen. The *no-da/desu* expression is used in a particular locale and sometimes not for directly responding to the words said by the first speaker. Nevertheless, as far as a hearer understands its specific features, he/she normally reacts to a speaker's utterance. Since *no-da/desu* is a SEMP expression, a hearer can only immediately perceive the speaker's mental processes when he/she has long lived in a social group or culture similar to the speaker's and understands the speaker's intention. On the other hand, when a hearer does not properly perceive or understand the reason why SEMP expression is used, he/she does not reply nor react to the speaker's expression. For instance, suppose there are three speakers, A, B, and C at a coffee shop. Customer A wants a cup of hot chocolate, and says as follows:

(30)	a.	*Kokoa*	*(o)*	*kudasai.*
		chocolate	ACC	give me.IMP.POL

'I will have a cup of hot chocolate.'

Shop assistant B might say as follows:

b.	*Kokoa*	*wa*	*ari-masen*	/	*atukatte-i-masen.*
	chocolate	TOP	be-not.POL		serve-be-AUXV. POL

'We do not serve chocolate here.'

Or another shop assistant C might say as follows:

c.	*Kokoa*	*wa*	*(atukatte- i)*	*nai*	***no-desu***
	chocolate	TOP	serve-be	not	NMLZ-COP.POL

'What I should explain to you now is that we do not serve chocolate here.' (30c-E)

Paying attention to the speaker C's mental processes, which are regarded as the same as Usage 3a (notifying what only the speaker knows), this utterance may be translated as shown above (30c-E). This reply implies that C has no way to serve chocolate while grasping A's desire. This contrasts with B's reply (30b), simply telling that they do not serve chocolate. In English-speaking society, the following reply is usually used by a member of service industry:

'I'm afraid we do not serve chocolate here.' (30c-E2)

(30c-E) is pseudo-cleft sentence and (30c-E2) is compound sentence and both correspond to Japanese utterance (30c), which is a simple sentence. When he/she appropriately perceives the situation, a shop assistant would reply by using the form of *no-desu* or 'I'm afraid' in English. Depending on which reply, B's or C's, he/she hears, customer A may feel and react differently. B's is a reply to A's order on a simple, literal expression level. However, A may perceive that B did not respond to his/her intention yet understands the reality that the shop does not sell chocolate. On the other hand, when A heard C's reply, he/she would be satisfied with the communication with C.

When *no-da/desu* is used, a hearer needs to guess what the speaker focuses on by inferring from all knowledge either previously presented or detected from the locale. The utterance with *n(o)-da/desu* is efficient to express subjective contents and, on the other hand, may occasionally disturb the smooth flow of discourse when the hearer does not have relevant background knowledge.

6 *Yahari/Yappari* expression

When a speaker notices that some event has happened, he/she often makes an utterance by connecting the recognized content to another thing such as a matter which he/she had noticed before the utterance, or an idea already being accepted in common in his/her community. In other words, the recognized content is connected to a related thought such as desire, expectation, anticipation, and so on which has been established in his/her mind just before, or even long before the utterance. The occurrence of such connecting action in the speaker's mind strengthens his/her motivation for uttering and also affects the way of expression. Let us look into one of such expressions characteristic to Japanese, *yahari/yappari*, and examine its generation process. This is expected to enable us to clarify how this word has acquired the capability of expressing subjective state of the speaker.

Subjective or modal adverbs such as *yahari/yappari* are very frequently used in Japanese discourse and offer a very interesting research topic from the viewpoint of discourse analysis and a speaker's mental state in discourses. There have been many papers published on these particular words since Itasaka (1971a, 1971b), in which he pointed out that *yahari/yappari* is practically used when a speaker wants to express, in a softened way, the appropriateness of his/her notion relying on a norm already established in the outside world. On the other hand, Watanabe and Kawabata respectively discussed syntactic functions of a number of "predicative adverbs", to which *yahari/yappari* is regarded as belonging, and proposed a more precise classification of those words by using "inductive adverbs" (Watanabe 1971) and "relational adverbs" (Kawabata 1983). Their works, however, have scarcely received attention from pragmatists. Many papers basically followed Itasaka, considering pragmatic functions of this adverb (e.g. Nishihara 1988). Maynard (1991, 1993) proposed a framework of discourse modality which enables an explanation of the pragmatic functions of *yahari/yappari* and argued its characteristic role as a discourse modality indicator to foreground a speaker's subjectivity. Takeuchi (2003) dealt with *yahari* as a discourse connective and argued its procedural function (Blakemore 1987, 2002) in discourses. Hasunuma (1998) pointed out the expressive function, which had first been described by Traugott (1989) as a result of studying diachronic change of words. Her work also mentioned the usefulness of diachronic study to understand the motivation of expressive development. A variety of subjective uses of *yahari/yappari* were also described by Ujiie (1974, 1986, 1992, 1989a, 1989b) from the unique viewpoint of a speaker's mental processes. Recent papers have investigated issues of interpretation into other languages such as Spanish (Miyoshi 2017). Although some of previous works have revealed interesting aspects of this word, there are some aspects that have been neglected so far and also there has been no systematic study of their diachronic development as subjective expression. In the following, we describe first the results of a diachronic study of *yahari/yappari* and discuss the background and process of generation and development of subjective expressions.

6.1 *Generation and variation of expression using* yahari/yappari

We carried out a survey of descriptions on *yahari/yappari* which appeared in 35 editions of 22 different Japanese dictionaries published during the period from 1899 to 2010 (Kanō 2012). In addition, we investigated several literary works written between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Ujiie 2013). The diachronic variation of *yahari/yappari* usages observed through these studies is briefly described below and also summarized in Figure 13.2 (Ujiie 2012, 2013).

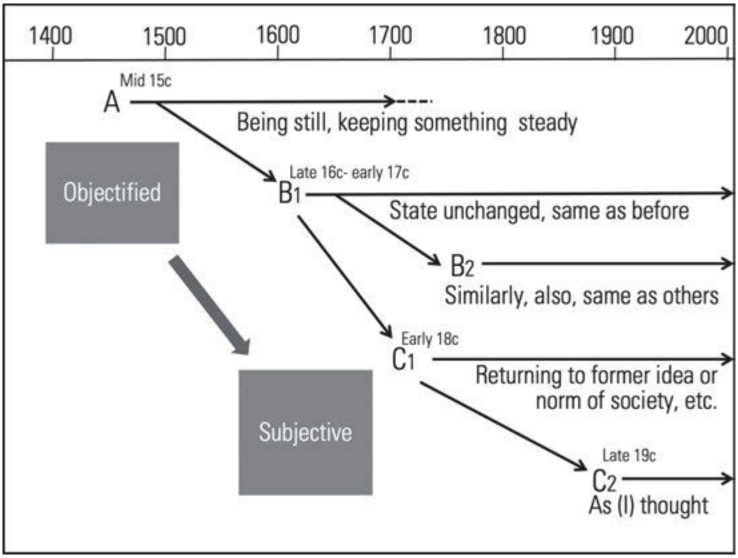

Figure 13.2: Generation of subjective expression of *yahari/yappari*.

Stage A

Yahari or yappari was used at least in medieval colloquial Japanese as indicated by Stage A in Figure 13.2, as an objectified word to mean 'being still, motionless, having something still, or not moving something' as seen first in an annotated text *Hyakujōshingi-shō* in 1462 (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 1972). There, the word is used as an adverb qualifying verbs like 'be', 'keep', 'leave', 'place (a part of body)', or 'put on (clothes)', as seen in the following example:

(31) *Omote* *oba* <u>*yahari*</u> *oite* *te* *o*
face ACC ADV put.CONJCT hand ACC
atikotisuru *wa* *warui* *zo.*
move here and there TOP wrong SFP
'It is not good to move your hands around while keeping your face *still*.'

This use vanished and cannot be found in modern Japanese, though it seems to have lasted until the eighteenth century as seen in the following example:

(32) a. Tokunobyooe: *Kore* *Ohatu* *zya* *nai* *ka.*
hay Ohatu AUXV not Q
Kore *wa* *dou* *zya*
this TOP how COP
'Oh, you are Ohatu, aren't you!? It's really coincident to meet you here.'

[*to*	*amigasa*	*o*	*nugan-tosure*	*ba*]
QUOT	braided hat	ACC	take off.IRR-be about to	COND

['when he is about to take off his braided hat while saying so.']

b. Ohatu:

Aa,	*madu*	***yahari***	*kitei*	*san*	*se.*
ah	anyway	ADV	keep wear	IMP.POL	SFP

'Ah, before anything else, please *keep* it on.'

Sonezaki Shinjū (1998 [1703]: 19)

Stage B1

In the next stage B1, *yahari* begins to take on the meaning of 'thing is unchanged' as first seen in text *Kōyaku-neri* around 1600, which is a script of Japanese traditional *kyōgen* comedy (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 1972).

(33) a. Speaker 1:

Sate	*dokoni*	*tuke-te*	*suwa-suru*	*zo.*
now	where	put-CONJCT	absorb-CAUS	SFP

'Now, where shall we put and make it (the medical ointment) absorbed?'

b. Speaker 2:

Yahari	*senzonoohodi*	*no*	*tohori*	*oyayubi*
ADV	grandfather	GEN	following	thumb
no	*hara*	*ni*	*tuke-te*	*suwaseu.*
GEN	inside	LOC	put-CONJCT	let us absorb

'Let's put it on the ball of the thumb and make it absorbed, by following what our grandfather used to do.'

In this example, *yahari* functions as an adverb qualifying *no tohori* (in the same way as indicated) to show 'things unchanged' or 'the state unchanged'. Basically, it is an objectified word to show the state of something unchanged or same as before. In Japanese dictionaries, no clear description was seen for long until 1900, then the paraphrase 'things unchanged' appeared and it continued. The paraphrase 'same as before' appeared first in *Daijiten* only recently in 1936.

Stage B2

In the next stage B2 which appeared in the eighteenth century, this meaning of 'unchanged' has further extended to mean 'similarly' or 'same as others' as seen in the following example:

(34) a. Saihu-moti (accountant):

Mukasi	*wa*	*siromono*	*o*	*kasita*
old days	*TOP*	*money*	*ACC*	lent
ueni,	*dai*	*oba*	***yappari***	
in addition	fare	ACC	ADV	

kasita-hou	*kara*	*torini*	*mawatta*
lent-side	*from*	*to collect*	walked around
soo	*da*	*ga*	. . .
hear	*COP*	*but*	

Sorekarairai-ki (1784:83)

'In old days apparently a lender, on top of lending money, *also* visited the debtor to take it back. . ..'

b. Karinusi (debtor): . . . *kaketori* *ga* *atira* *kara*

kaketori	*ga*	*atira*	*kara*
lender	*ACC*	the person concerned	from
kara	*kitekurere*	*ba*	
from	come to my place	COND	
umai	*mono*	*da.*	
nice	things	COP	

'. . .It would be nice if a lender himself would come to take it back.'

In (34a) *yappari* modifies the part of [(*kasi-ta hoo kara*) *tori ni mawat-ta*]. This usage is not necessarily limited to present the similarity or unchanged state in temporal sense. This has been extended to cover the similarity and sameness of multiple entities in synchronic comparison. This use very often appears in current Japanese discourses in which three or more people participate, as shown in the following:

[After hearing A's opinion]

(35) a. B (speaker 1):

Watasi	*wa*	*anata (no iken)*	*ni*	*sansei*	*desu.*
I	TOP	you (your opinion)	with	agree	COP.POL

'I agree with you.'

b. C (speaker 2):

Watasi	*mo*	***yahari***	*sansei*	*desu.*
I	too	ADV	agree	COP.POL

'I *also* agree with you.'

In Japanese dictionaries, the paraphrase 'same as others' appeared first in *Sanseidō Shin Kokugo Chūjiten* only very recently in 1967. It means that authors or contributors of dictionaries noticed this usage only very recently in spite of its long use.

Stage C1

The use extended in Stage C1 to present 'same as former', 'previously considered', 'same as previously presented idea/notion', or 'same as a fixed notion such as a speaker's belief, common sense, or norm of the community'. This stage of use is considered to provide a transition period leading to the subjective use. This use is currently heard and seen on many occasions as shown in the following example:

(36)

Kasiko-soonimiete	*mo*	***yahari***	*kodomo*	*wa*	*kodomo*	*da.*
Clever-appear.CONJCT	CONC	ADV	child	TOP	child	COP

'Although he looks clever, he is a child *after all*.'

It may be interesting to note that when the speaker looked at the child, he/she thought of things/ideas different from what is said in his/her social group, but finally he/she came back to the point to support it. To express this confirmation, he/she uttered what follows *yahari*. This indicates that *yahari/yappari* in this stage is beginning to be used to represent the speaker's own concern to the content in his/her mind. This in turn indicates that a novel function of expressing the speaker's state of mind is beginning to develop for this word.

This type of use is first seen around the beginning of the eighteenth century. The following example is cited from a text called *Tōroku* which was written in 1706 (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 2002).

(37)

Yoroku	*to*	*ie-ba*	*honroku*	*mada*
additional record	QUOT	say-COND	main record	more

aru	*yooni*	*kikoeru.*	***Yahari***	*tooroku*	*to*
exist	look like	sound	ADV	attested record	QUOT

iu	*ga*	*odayakade*	*yoi*	*zo.*
call	ACC	mild	desirable	SFP

'If you call it *yoroku*, it sounds that there exists a main record besides. Rather, you had better call it *tooroku as I/you first mentioned*, since it sounds quiet.'

As an English equivalent, 'after all', first appeared in Japanese-English dictionary *Jitsuyō Waei Shin-jiten* in 1906. 'After all' was then took a position as an equivalent of *kekkyoku*, and this word (*kekkyoku*) was adopted first as a paraphrase of *yahari* in *Dainihon-tosho Kokugo Jiten* in 1963. However, *kekkyoku* gives only a one-sided interpretation because it focusses on the final status of the event and does not point out the speaker's mental processes over time nor go back to his/her previous notion, belief, or knowledge.

Stage C2

The next stage C2 is the one where the subjectification is established through presentation of a speaker's own cognition in the form of SEMP. Although the adverb in C1 is often accompanied with a concessive clause, the adverb in C2 directly shows what a speaker confirms without explaining previous notions, common norm, etc. In spite of this simple form, a hearer understands or conjectures what it means. It clearly qualifies not a verb but a predicate which shows most strictly the speaker's mental state. This word in this stage functions grammatically as a predicative/modal adverb. As we have already seen in Group I in Section 4.2, just before uttering the speaker instantly connects what he/she has just recognized to what he/she had previously perceived or recognized in his/her mind. We can examine this case by using the following example:

(38) ***Yappari*** *kyoo* *wa* *atui*.
ADV today TOP hot
'***As I expected/ you said/ people say***, it is hot today.' (38-E2)
(Healey 1975) (Ujiie 1994)

We can also translate it into English as the following:

'It ***is*** hot today.' (38-E1)

(38-E1) uses a particular stress or tone on the be-verb while (38-E2) uses a subordinate clause. In other words, in English you may say (38-E1) by using paralanguage or you can state more explicitly by using a complex sentence as shown in (38-E2). Such mental processes, for which you need a subordinate clause in English, are encoded in a simple word with SEMP, *yahari/yappari* in Japanese.

The degree of 'subjectivity' has increased in comparison with that in Stage C1. An example for the most subjective phase appeared in a literary work in latter half of the nineteenth century, nearly two centuries after the first appearance of Stage C1.

In our survey of the Japanese language dictionaries (Kanoo 2012, Ujiie 2013), on the other hand, the first description of Stage C1 use was merely a paraphrase for it. A proper description with an example sentence appeared only in *Jikai* in 1954, and a more detailed description appeared just recently in *Dainihon-tosho Kokugo Jiten* in 1963. This subjective use is very common now and most frequently appears in discourses. In Japanese-English dictionaries, a paraphrase of its use as a subjective expression is seen first in *Saishin Concise Waei Jiten* first in 1967 and more detailed description including an example for Stage C2 like (38-E1, E2) appeared first in *Kenkyūsha Waei Chū-jiten* in 1983.

6.2 Subjective use in discourse

In the following we consider that the use of *yahari/yappari* in Stage C1 and C2 is also found to involve different levels of subjective contents. We examine in more detail the development of subjectivity of this word by using three categories as follows.

Category (i): with an expression of 'same as what is compared' (e.g. 'as I heard')

[after having found or confirmed a result]

(39) *Kiiteita* *toori* ***yappari*** *dame* *da*.
Having heard same as ADV useless COP
'It/He/She is useless, which is *the same as I heard*'.
'*As I heard*, it/he/she is useless.'

We can notice that what is compared with by using *yappari* is shown in a separate clause when translated into English.

Category (ii): independent use

[in the situation same as above]

(40) ***Yappari*** *dame* *da*.
ADV useless COP
'*As I heard/ I thought/ you told me/ people say*, it/he/she is useless.' (40-E)

The part of 'As I heard/ I thought/ you told me/ people say,' is unsaid in Japanese unlike (40-E). However, a hearer can conjecture one of these possible notions depending on the situation or context. When a hearer is close in any way to a speaker, his/her guess may be right or close.

This can be called 'independent use' since a comparison target to be suggested by *yappari* is omitted. Independent use is very characteristic in indicating the speaker's very persistent connection or commitment to former information and/or notion which he/she was previously considering. When *yahari/yappari* is used in this way in a discourse, analysis inevitably needs to look into a speaker's mental processes.

Even further change is concurrently going on as is shown in the following example.

Category (iii): stand-alone use

(41) a. Speaker 1: *Dame* *deshita*.
useless COP.PST.PLT
'It/He/She, was useless.'
b. Speaker 2: ***Yappari*** (*soo* *desita* *ka*).
ADV so COP.PST.PLT Q
'It is (*as I wondered*).'/ 'Is it (*as I wondered*)?'

This is used even when speaker 2 did not consciously expect what speaker 1 said. In such a way, *yappari* is now used as stand-alone statement when a speaker received some information and accepted it 'within expectation' including the case that he/she didn't foresee it. In the case of 'within his/her limit of expectation', translations such as 'it/that figures' (Maynard 1991) can be used. This *yappari*, however, is used only after something happened, for example, after the speaker had some new information. We could say that people tend to consider things along with information that they just have perceived, or in other words, a newly perceived cognition often reminds the speaker of some other strongly related matters. *Yahari/Yappari* in this category is used as an interjection, which is the utmost of showing a speaker's subjective state (Ujiie 2012).

The development process of subjective *yahari/yappari* is shown in Figure 13.2. As we already discussed, this word was originally just an adverb qualifying a verb as an objectified expression, as indicated by A in the figure, although this usage vanished in the eighteenth century. The usage as indicated by B1 and its extension B2 emerged, and they are still in current use. This stage of use is also considered to have played a great role leading to the stage of literally subjective expression C. Through the process of changing from the meaning of 'compared with the previous state of something' in stage B1 and 'compared with some others' in stage B2 towards the meaning of 'compared with a notion previously settled or a former belief' in stage C1, subjectivity has been enhanced, and eventually the stage of literally subjective expression C2 has appeared. The extension of the meaning of *yahari/yappari* towards subjective content, or the subjectification process, has taken place until now and is even still in progress. This progress has been associated by the broadening of grammatical function as a sentence adverb and as an interjection for indicating the speaker's subjective state such as concern and interest.

The usefulness of *yahari/yappari as* a discourse marker in practical discourse analysis is consistent with its functional nature. In the course of our study on the generation and development process of *yahari/yappari*, it became clear that the various uses of this word basically have the meaning of 'same as something' in common. When we pick up the following discourse example including *yahari/yappari* in stage C1, it can be noted that what a speaker says is still connected with, in this example, a previous notion of going to attend a meeting.

[On Monday]

(42)	a.	Speaker 1(1):	*Doyoobi*	*no*	*atumari,*	*iku?*		
			Saturday	GEN	meeting	go.Q		
			'Are you joining to the meeting on Saturday?'					
	b.	Speaker 2(1):	*Uun,*	*itiou*	*ikou*	*to*	*omotteiru.*	
			er	For the present	will	QUOT	think.PRS	
			'Well let's see, for the present I think I will join.'					

[On Friday]

(43)	a.	Speaker 1(2):	*Asita*	*no*	*atumari,*	*issyoni*	*ika*	*nai?*
			tomorrow	GEN	meeting	together	go.IRR	how about
			'Shall we join together tomorrow's meeting?'					
	b.	Speaker 2(2):	*Uun,*	***yappari***	*ikanai*	*koto-ni*	*sita*	
			uh-unh	ADV	go.NEG	NMLZ-QUOT	decided	
			'Well, I decided not to go *in the end*.'					

c. Speaker 1(3): *E!,* *sou* ***na*** ***no****?*
Er! so COP NMLZ.Q
'Er!, you are not. . .?'

Yahari/Yappari in this case contains a process of returning to a speaker's former thought, and after confirming it, (43b) is uttered. Thus, it sounds irresistible to the hearer (speaker 1). It plays a role to force a hearer to accept a speaker's will so as to complete the discourse on the same topic. Another example is given in the following:

(44) a. Speaker 1: *O-miai* *nokotodakedo,* *donna* *hito* *ga*
POL-marital talks speaking of what person ACC
sukina *no?*
like NMLZ.Q
'Speaking of the arrangement for your marriage, what sort of lady do you like?'

b. Speaker 2: *Haa,* ***yappari*** *sitoyakana* *hito* *ga*
er ADV ladylike person ACC
ii *desu.*
desirable COP.POL
'Er, I prefer a graceful lady, *as it is said/ people say*.'

Here, *yahari/yappari* implies that speaker 2 has a thought about a lady to whom he would like to get married, and during his thinking he has eventually reached to an expected norm of his community. It also plays a role to make a hearer (Speaker 1) accept it so as to complete a discourse on this issue unless the hearer clearly has an opposing opinion.

Through examination of the variation and development of lexical meaning and grammatical function of *yahari/yappari* in this section, we have found not only its capability of representing a speaker's subjective state/content but also its power in discourse to make a hearer accept a speaker's subjective concern. Such properties, pragmatic capability and power of words can be seen in common for the words which enfold a speaker's mental processes. When a hearer heard utterances involving those words/expressions with SEMP, he/she would have to halt once and infer contents of a speaker's mind which enfolds his/her mental processes.

7 Conclusion

For re-examining the property of language in discourse, we introduced "language acts theory" developed by Tokieda. He regards language as an individual's act among others in a community. It is here essential to realize what internal/mental activity the speaker/writer has had during his/her utterance or writing. Tokieda pointed out that when a speaker utters something, he/she is always under a particular consciousness that is associated with *bamen* (locale). In our discussion we have confirmed the importance of noticing a speaker's focus in his/her consciousness associated with a locale.

Tokieda classified Japanese expressions (words and phrases) from an epistemological viewpoint and named respectively objectified and subjective expressions. What this classification means, however, has not been properly received by European linguists before Comrie and Levinson. Cognitive analysis of Japanese subjective expressions such as addressee honorifics has contributed to compensate for some unsolved problems in Western linguistics. When any utterance or proposition is made by a speaker, subjective expression occupies its essential part for the sake of delivering the speaker's mental state directly to a hearer.

We focused on subjective expressions, in particular SEMP expressions, which have developed extensively in Japanese. We took up as examples subjective *no-da/desu* and *yahari/yappari* and clarified through respective diachronic processes, how these expressions have become to be used for utterance with a speaker's particular focus in his/her consciousness. The enfolded subjective expression is premised on the focus of a speaker's consciousness within the locale. Since the focus itself is not verbally expressed, the hearer understands that something is enfolded in the speaker's utterance and only conjectures what it is. Mental states enfolded in these expressions can be represented, for instance, in English by using a pseudo-cleft sentence or a complex sentence as discussed in detail on *no-da/desu* and *yahari/yappari*.

When a speaker makes *no-da/desu* or *yahari/yappari* utterance, the hearer presupposes the existence of an enfolded part. After conjecturing what it is, the hearer replies or reacts. The smaller the psychological distance between a speaker and a hearer, the more quickly and more precisely a hearer can conjecture. It is most efficient for a hearer to find what consciousness or focus makes a speaker use these expressions for reacting relevantly and making the discourse progress smoothly.

As our diachronic study has indicated, generation and development of subjective enfolded expressions, or the subjectification process, has emerged through the practices of discourse in Japanese. It suggests that they have been fostered in the Japanese community, which can be characterized as a condensed homogenized community. In this line they are regarded to have the same property as the restricted code by Bernstein. It is considered to be difficult for a non-native Japanese learner (hearer who has a different linguistic background) to comprehend that such a simple word/phrase enfolds the speaker's mental processes. When the existence of SEMP expression in Japanese is realized, one would wonder if there is any way of expressing similar mental states and/or activity in other languages. We notice similar mental states being expressed primarily by using paralinguistic means, which is basically usable in any natural language. Then, the following question emerges: Why are they encoded in independent words/phrases in Japanese? The most important factor for answering this question is found in the existence of necessity and people's motivation for such expressions in the society. In a homogenized society, there have been circumstances that encourage the members of the society to be conscious of others' minds. The fact that many subjective words/phrases have been generated through the extension of the grammatical functions of existing words is understood coherently with the background argued above.

We have focused on characteristic nature of subjective expressions in Japanese discourses. Diachronic and contrastive studies have contributed greatly to our cognition-based approach to subjective expressions in Japanese. As has been indicated by this approach, an utterance shows how a subject of linguistic acts is attached to a material in the *bamen*. It has been shown that a way of representing the subject's desire, dissatisfaction and a variety of mental states has been cultivated through the generation and development of subjective expression. In future research, new findings are expected to come out by extending the research targets including other words/phrases in Japanese as well as expressions in other languages. Further efforts to cross-link different research methodologies and approaches will lead to deeper and unified understanding of languages.

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Senko K. Maynard

14 Style, character, and creativity in the discourse of Japanese popular culture: Focusing on light novels and *keitai* novels

1 Introduction

We use language to express emotion, engage in interaction, share humor, enjoy creativity, speak in different styles and voices, and so on. This broad view of language use is something I have maintained over the years (Maynard 2000, 2007), and when exploring the discourse of Japanese language, this multiple use perspective seems to fit well. This is due, in part, to the cultural forces we face today, i.e. the dominance of the language of popular culture.

Starting from the mid-1990s in Japan, the kind of entertainment products in which dramatic persons with stereotyped features, i.e. "characters", playing central roles has gained popularity. Consuming works such as manga, anime, and video games, fans classify characters according to their traits, creating a database through catalogue, storage, and display. The database provides information where users can find, glorify, and sometimes worship their own favorite characters. Consumers creating their own worlds of desire based on such a database are those who Azuma (2001, 2007) once called "database animal" consumers. These consumers are often more immediately obsessed with a kind of love and fascination for the sometimes eccentric and alluring images of characters.

One genre that has enjoyed increasing attention within the popular culture movement is light novels. Light novels have been defined by writers and critics in slightly different ways. For example, Shinjo (2006), himself a light novel author, defines the light novel as the novelistic method that "specializes in an effective presentation of characters by strategically using illustrations that immediately define these characters" (Shinjo 2006: 203, my translation). Enomoto (2008), author of many how-to books on light novels, lists the following features of light novels; (1) printed under a light novel label, (2) features anime-and-manga-like illustrations, (3) characters are prominent and key, and (4) likely to contain an element of fantasy.

Following Maynard (2012), I define light novels as entertainment novels with anime-like illustrations that mainly target junior high school and high school boys, young adult males, and otaku consumers. It should be noted my analyses are based

Acknowledgements: My sincere thanks to the editors of this volume for their support during the manuscript preparation. I also would like to thank John Haig for his insightful suggestions at the time of proofreading.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-015

on light novels published prior to 2009. Since 2010, however, the genre and the market of light novels have undergone changes. Some of the light novels have enjoyed the readership of both men and women in their 40s, some even in their 50s (Iida 2020). Light novels generally include the following features.

1. Works are produced in the context of game-like-realism.
2. Stories rely heavily on their characters.
3. A character database is created.
4. Visual information plays an important role and is integrated into the text.
5. The stories frequently appear as a series.
6. As popular culture entertainment, they often appear on multiple media platforms.

Historically, although the origin of light novels can be traced to young adult novels, the 1990 publication of the *Sureiyāzu* series by Hajime Kanzaka (available as Kanzaka 2008) marks the first year of the light novel boom (Shinjo 2006). The narrative style adopted in this series is known to have influenced the works to follow. Although over the past 30 years, different styles have been adopted by light novel authors, the basic features observed in the *Sureiyāzu* series are recognized as representative of the typical light novel style. For example, identifying the *Sureiyāzu* series as the prototype for the light novel, Enomoto (2008) lists its features as introduction of catchy and impressive characters, written in easy-to-read Japanese, and the development of an exciting plot with twists and turns.

Another sociocultural development in the past 30 years in Japan is the popularity of mobile communication. The years between 2000 and 2010 have seen significant changes in the way the Japanese language is created and consumed. While the popularity of manga, anime, games, and light novels has sustained, a new method of writing novels has gained purchase in the publishing industry. In 2007, a *keitai* novel was the best seller in literary genre. It was a mobile-phone novel, created earlier via a *keitai* novel website, *Mahō no Airando* [Island of Magics].

Keitai novels are originally produced, posted, and read on Internet websites accessed via mobile phones or PCs, with some later published as books. Although the visual effect of digital *keitai* novels and their printed forms differ, published versions provide a more stable analytical resource. Since published novels also reflect the most popular works, they can be recognized as being representative of the genre.

Most *keitai* novels, while depicting student lives at junior and senior high schools, explore girls' ideal love relationships in confessional narratives. In terms of the *keitai* novels' appeal, many works exalt the importance of friendship as well as embellish the innocence and sadness associated with young romance. Some of the more recent *keitai* novels feature narrators and participants in their thirties, and the themes are no longer limited to romantic relationships.

The *keitai* novel is a self-narrative where the first-person narrator is presented as the hero or heroine, telling a self-revealing story in a conversational narrative style.

The narration of *keitai* novels requires a state of the self-being-told-by-self. The "I" as a narrator, featured with varying characters and character-related attributes, performs as if the narrator were the embodiment of speaking selves.

In the discourse of popular culture including light novels and *keitai* novels, certain aspects of language and communication have gained prominence. Obviously, the communicational features associated with popular culture are observed elsewhere in Japanese. The frequency and intensity of characteristic features observed in light novels and *keitai* novels as given below beg for focused investigation. Further inquiries on the applicability of these features to other genres must await future scholarship.

1. Speech styles denied in the past have gained recognition. Styles traditionally considered vulgar or simply colorful dialects or deviant varieties now appear in spoken and written discourse, and with greater impact. The entertainment industry takes advantage of traditionally underused conversational folk language with rich variation commonly used by the masses, particularly youth and young adults.
2. Given the importance of characters associated with dramatic persons and narrators, personal and interpersonal features play significant roles, diminishing those aspects associated with propositional and informational content.
3. Multiple meanings are packed in the language through rhetorical figures, and a subversion of the literal reading is often expected.
4. Frequent reproduction and incorporation of other voices are observed. The work often contains an assemblage of other works (i.e. pastiche and bricolage) and quotation of other products (i.e. intertextuality).
5. Language is often creative, emotive, and playful. Popular culture products are predictably entertaining.

This chapter explores the discourse of light novels and *keitai* novels by incorporating multiple frameworks and tools such as conversation analysis, variation studies, a multimodal approach, humor studies, and rhetoric. The approach is in line with my past and current studies (Maynard 2000, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2019, to appear). I should note that a detailed analysis of light novels is available in Maynard (2012), and I discuss the world of *keitai* novels in Maynard (2014). In this chapter, I focus on both as representatives of popular culture discourse.

In this chapter I explore three prominent features, i.e. conversational written style, manipulation of characters and characteristics, and creative use of language. Again, these features are not necessarily exclusive to these two genres (see Maynard 2017, 2019), but examining and contrasting with other genres is beyond the scope of this chapter.

These three features can be understood with communicational and psychological implications. A conversational tone is central in the written discourse of light novels and *keitai* novels. Traditionally, literacy, espousing the correct use of language, separates spoken versus written styles. The anti-establishment sentiment of popular culture and its various sub-cultures, however, is accommodated by prioritizing spoken language over written language. In conversational written style, simulated conversation highlights the spoken quality where spoken and written language smoothly integrate. In terms of the manner of communication, the spoken language supports a direct interactional relationship between creator and consumer. In light novels and *keitai* novels, the consumer is encouraged to engage in the direct communication, thereby narrowing the distance between consumer and creator

The centrality of character is not independent from what is happening in Japanese society. For years, the ubiquity of the character has attracted attention from psychologists, sociologists, and cultural critics. They generally raise the question of why the character phenomenon is so pervasive in Japan, and how it impacts the psychological and social makeup of Japanese society. Senuma (2007), discussing how a Japanese youth finds a sense of self within a group, points out that unlike traditional ways, young people define themselves as a character or multiple characters. It seems undeniable that characters presented through media have strongly influenced the general public's acceptance of and familiarity with the character culture (Aihara 2007; Senuma 2007). Thus, traditional senses of personality and identity do not fully account for the current conceptualization of self.

Likewise, Doi (2009) asserts that the contemporary desire for the multiple has allowed people to resonate with transitory and mutable characters, rather than with a stable character, or one's deeper sense of identity. Doi contends that "the young generation today constructs the image of one's self and personality not as a coherent self in the way that the term identity denotes, but as a patchwork of fragmented elements that can be expressed by the term characters" (Doi 2009: 23–24, my translation).

The conversational written discourse and the availability of multiple characters provide both the creator and consumer of light novels and *keitai* novels a renewed sense of space in which each engages in linguistic creativity. Each enjoys a newly recognized freedom, unbound by traditional rules and expectations. Spoken language also facilitates a playfulness, creating a greater space for entertainment.

These thoughts imply a certain view toward the concept of self as it emerges through language. The discourse in light novels and *keitai* novels reveals certain ways the language is created and appreciated, but more significantly, suggests how the self, specifically the language-enacting self, is endorsed. For example, easy transitions between styles provide a resource for the emergence of multiple speaking selves. Thus, the self is seen as multiple, with the ability to transfer among several selves. A Japanese person's sense of self is experienced as being dividable and divided (Maynard 2016, 2017, to appear).

We invite different voices reflecting different selves into our own. Manipulating multiple aspects of the speaking self is one of the critical skills in Japanese interaction. It is in this psychosocial context of multiple and shifting selves that the concepts of character, characteristic, and character-speak become important, to which I turn in the next section.

2 Character, characteristic, and character-speak

Given the observed significance of character in Japanese popular culture, and recognizing its potential for analysis, in Maynard (2016) I introduced the concepts of "character", "characteristic", and "character-speak" as interpretive tools. These concepts are utilized in this chapter as well.

Character in essence refers to the recognized image of personhood with attitudinal traits developed in popular culture discourse. It includes, but is not limited to, the widely recognized types within the popular culture database and media. Traditionally, characters in popular culture include stereotypes such as the princess-character, old-scientist-character, diva-character, youth-gang-character, middle-aged-man-character, housewife-character, and so on.

I use the term characteristic to capture the features of the character. Characteristics are character-related attributes and traits stereotypically manifested in a given context. A characteristic flashes only briefly in discourse yet does not singularly define the character. A characteristic is transient, surfacing briefly to reveal a specific aspect of one's character.

Character and characteristic differ in terms of focus, but the latter is a constituent of the former, and thus they inherently integrate and overlap. Although not mutually exclusive, characters and characteristics differ sufficiently enough to justify their separate terms. For example, a stereotyped attribute of an old man is temporarily borrowed as a playful act, i.e. a case of an old-man-characteristic, while in another discourse it may represent a stable character-personhood, i.e. an old-man-character.

Characters and characteristics are created and manipulated through character-speak, consisting of multiple verbal and visual signs. Character-speak establishes, supports, changes, and transforms characters and characteristics. Devices used as character-speak are not limited to grammar, but extend to rhetorical and interactional aspects. It involves all levels of language and communication, including script, phonological structure, voice quality, lexical selection, morphology, syntax, styles, variations, rhetorical figures, discourse organization, and conversational management. In short, character-speak refers to all modes of interaction.

The concept of character-speak involves a rich creative use of fictionalized variation and rhetoric. Fictionalized variation in popular culture can be associated with regional dialects, social registers, and generation-associated styles, as well as gender-evoking speech varieties. These variations are primarily chosen for expressive and playful effects to form and manipulate characters and characteristics. Rhetorical figures such as puns and irony function as character-speak as a means for establishing a creative and humor-loving character or characteristic. In addition, from a broader perspective, character-speak includes manipulations such as intertextuality and inter-genre expressivity as well as the interplay between verbal and visual signs (Maynard 2008). All of these expressive meanings enhance the realization of characters and characteristics as they gradually take shape in the discourse of Japanese popular culture. In this chapter, due to space restriction, I discuss a limited number of examples of character-speak selected from the data.

Given the popularity of the character phenomenon in Japan, it is not difficult to find works surrounding this topic in Japanese language studies. Two important works should be mentioned, "role language" (*yakuwarigo*) proposed by Kinsui (2003) and further developed by a number of linguists (Kinsui (ed.) 2007, 2011), and "utterance character" (*hatsuwa kyarakuta*) discussed by Sadanobu (2011). Role language, narrower in scope, is specifically linked to a certain stereotyped character. The features I focus on include not only Kinsui's role language, but also broader discourse phenomena and features. My focus also includes phenomena where dramatic persons or narrators temporarily take on characteristics.

Sadanobu (2011) proposes a character-related approach by introducing terms such as utterance character and expression character. He discusses linguistic expressions that cover phenomena broader than Kinsui (2003). For example, the interjections *huun* 'uh huh' and *hee* 'I see' are associated with child speech while *hoo* 'I see' and *haa* 'I get it' activate the adult utterance character. Although Sadanobu's broader perspective on the character phenomenon offers insight, his approach remains in basic agreement with Kinsui (2003). Sadanobu (2011) points out that the concept of "role" is purpose-driven and is unstable because it changes depending on the social context, and accordingly, he insists that it is inadequate as an analytical tool for the character phenomenon. Still, Sadanobu recognizes that Kinsui's role language in principle overlaps with his utterance character approach. As a result, again the scope of features discussed is narrower than the phenomena discussed in this chapter. Differences between these and my approaches are discussed further in Maynard (2016, 2017).

At this point I should discuss the nature of the meaning associated with character-speak and how it is interpreted. In my view, linguistic and pragmatic features of the character-speak operate as signs that involve icon, index, and symbol. However, character-speak operates most prominently as an indexical sign. This is because the expressive meanings foregrounded by character-speak are more social, psychological, and emotional than referential. Following Peirce (1992 [1868]), an indexical sign operates as representamen associated with an object, and its meaning is mediated by way of the interpretant through multiple semiotic accumulations and repetitions. An indexical sign, bearing a contextual and mutual relationship with an object, is a sign indexed to the pragmatics of language in the Peircean sense. This contrasts with an icon that exhibits similarity to an object, and with a symbol where the sign and object connection is arbitrary and based solely on convention.

In the Peircean semiotic system, a sign (i.e. representamen) is in relation to its object on the one hand, and to an interpretant on the other. This position differs from the Saussure's (1916) signifier-signified sign system, which sorely misses the third element, the interpretant. Character-speak as indexical sign is particularly sensitive to this interpretant-centered semiotic mediation. The expressive meanings the character-speak realizes are not based on stable referential information, but are temporarily linked to the interactional encounter, both in terms of physical and imagined space, and more concretely to place (*ba*) in my Place of Negotiation theory (*ba kōshō ron*) (Maynard 2000, 2002). They are especially sensitive to the recipient's recognition, acceptance, or rejection. Additionally, expressive meanings of the character-speak are indexically associated with the popular culture of which they are a part and by which they are endorsed.

In sum, the meanings associated with character-speak are dynamic and context-mediated. Seemingly unstable interpretations of characters and characteristics are due in part to this nature of the indexical sign itself. Creators of light novels and *keitai* novels take advantage of this manner of signification where readers experience creation, transformation, and manipulation of images of dramatic persons and narrators with recognizable characters and characteristics.

3 Conversational written style

A conversational written style, the first feature of light novels and *keitai* novels, mimics direct speech. Dialogue in light novels and *keitai* novels, for example, incorporate features known in naturally-occurring spoken language, often with exaggeration. Naturally-occurring conversations do not necessarily communicate referential meanings, for example, false starts, hesitation markers, fillers, disengaged interactions, pauses, joint creations of speech, and so on (Maynard 1989, 1993, 2009). Utterances may be incomplete or misunderstood. These naturally-occurring features in light novels and *keitai* novels create a sense of verisimilitude. Through a manner of delivery, speakers send varied social, psychological, and emotional messages. Dialogue in these novels offers a locus where multiple voices are negotiated and vividly dialogized (Bakhtin 1981).

In light novels and *keitai* novels, the narrator often speaks through internal monologue in casual and often self-revealing conversational styles. Conversation and narrative segments are sometimes highly integrated, and a portion of speech is directly quoted while the rest may appear as a part of narration. These strategies heighten a conversational tone to the written discourse. The off-the-cuff conversational style simulates casual story telling. More detailed analyses on the conversational written style, particularly with respect to the phenomenon of "fluid orality" are available in Maynard (2016).

In what follows I discuss false start and jointly created speech as well as conversation modification, all of which enhance the conversational written style.

3.1 Conversation features

A false start *suma* in (1a) illustrates how the simulated dialogue resembles natural speech. Lawrence starts to say *sumanai* 'thanks' with a sense of apology, but after a pause realizes his wrong choice. He then rephrases with *arigatoo* 'thank you', a more straightforward expression of gratitude.

(1) a. *"E? Aa soo ka, suma...... iya."*
what ah so Q tha...... not right
'What? Ah, that's right, tha......not right.'
b. *(...) Rorensu wa aratamete itta.*
Lawrence TOP again said
'Lawrence said again'.
c. *"Arigatoo".*
thank you
'Thank you'. (Hasekura 2006: 266)

In naturally-occurring interaction, speech is jointly created (Iwasaki and Ono 1999; Maynard 2001, 2009) and the simulation of this interaction adds an air of authenticity to the narrative. In (2), (2c) and (2d) are created jointly by two speakers, adding to the liveliness of the conversational written style.

(2) a. *"Zin mo Ayano no koto, sukippoi si.*
Zin TOP Ayano GEN fact like and
Zikan no mondai zyan?"
time GEN question COP
'"Looks like Jin likes you, Ayano. It's a matter of time, right?"'
b. *"E, nani ga?"*
uh what NOM
'"Uh, what do you mean (by 'a matter of time')?"'
c. *"N, kokuhaku?"*
well confession
'"I mean, a confession of love?"'
d. *"......Nara sareta."*
that was done
'"Yes, he confessed to me."' (Himi 2011: 31)

False starts and jointly created speech add to an undeniable conversational tone observed in light novels and keitai novels.

3.2 Conversational modification

As another case of the conversational written style integrating speech and narration, we find examples where modification takes on features of conversation. Instead of a subordinate clause, the modification may appear as complete sentences with or without question marks, or final particles. In some cases, *teki*, *kei*, and *mitaina* are inserted between the modification sentence and its modified noun. These connecting phrases add a meaning of resemblance that can be translated as 'like' or 'as if'.

This structure of conversational modification deviates from traditionally recognized clausal modification, and it executes the conversational interaction more vividly. Voices of the speaker come alive, communicating the speaker's multiple aspects, such as demographic information, feelings, and attitude toward the partner. (3) offers a case of conversational modification accompanied with *tekina* 'like'.

(3) *Miharu ga atasi ni "Baka zyanee no?"*
Miharu NOM I DAT fool COP SFP
tekina sisen wo okuru toki to onazi kao da kara.
like gaze ACC send when with same face COP since
'Because that's the same face when Miharu makes eye contact with me by saying something like "You idiot' (Misaki 2011a: 29)

Conversational modification may also appear immediately before a noun, as in (4). In this case, the direct speech in the command form, *tikayoruna* 'don't come near', is attached to the noun, *oora* 'aura', without an expected quoting connector such as *to yuu*.

(4) *Hitome o hikitukeru miryoku ga ari*
eye gaze ACC catch charm NOM there is
nagaramo, tuneni tikayoruna oora ga tadayotteite,
while always don't come near aura NOM float
soo kantanni wa kare ni tikazukenai.
so easily TOP him to cannot approach
'Although he is eye-catchingly attractive, he carries this aura of saying "Don't come near me," and it is difficult to approach him.' (Kanoko 2012: 9).

Conversational modification, by retaining direct speech, creates a sense of verisimilitude, firmly grounding the conversational written style in light novels and *keitai* novels.

4 Manipulating characters and characteristics

The second feature involves the use of language variations as character-speak. Their frequency and intensity make the discourse in light novels and *keitai* novels much richer and entertaining.

4.1 Dramatic persons' characters

In ordinary use of the Japanese language, variation in style is mostly associated with demographics, social status, occupation, and other socio-cultural factors. In popular culture discourse, where characters play major roles, variation provides a critical tool for establishing characters and embellishing certain characteristics. For example, a dramatic person who speaks in *kuruwa kotoba,* the speech of prostitutes, geisha, and other entertainers during the *Edo* period, is identified as a seductive and coquettish character. In (5), the main character, who is the wolf princess, converses in *kuruwa kotoba*, with the self-referencing form *watti* 'I'.

(5)	Watti	no	sirio	wo	kairo	to	issyonisuru
	I	GEN	tail	ACC	body-and-hand warmer	as	treat as the same

denai.
COP
'Don't use my tail as your body-and-hand warmer.' (Hasekura 2006: 14)

In (6), Hideyoshi Kinoshita, a schoolboy, speaks in the way TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi, a feudal warrior during the *Sengoku* period, might have spoken, with an old form of copula *zya*. This dramatic person takes on this variation consistently; such speech is effective because the context is that Hideyoshi is in charge of war strategies against rival class members. Speaking in this manner effectively enhances Hideyoshi's position as a feudal-warrior-like character.

(6)	a.	Moo	kanari	herohero	zya	na.
		already	considerably	beaten	COP	SFP
		'Well. I'm considerably beaten'.				
	b.	*Koreizyoono*	*sentoo*	*wa*	*muri*	*zya*.
		beyond this	battle	TOP	impossible	COP
		'Our battle cannot go on beyond this'.				(Inoue 2007: 66)

4.2 Narrators' characteristics

In light novels and *keitai* novels, character-speak appears in narrative segments primarily to add characteristics. Occasional borrowing of regional dialects is an apt case in point.

The Kansai dialect associated with stereotypical Kansai attributes is commonly borrowed. Miyake (2005) reports that the Kansai dialect spoken in otherwise non-Kansai discourse adds positive impressions to the speaker such as being fun-loving, interesting, rhythmical, familiar, and warm. The speaker is also thought to bring about a relaxed tone to the interaction where participants are encouraged to speak more openly.

In this roundabout way, a strategic use of dialect in non-dialect discourse can serve as a means of self-presentation, a tool for presenting one's characters and characteristics.

This resonates with Tanaka's (2011) characterization of dialect as *kosupure* 'costume play'. Tanaka emphasizes that dialect is enjoyed, similar to how popular culture fans enjoy the costume play, as a positive communication feature. In fact, it is not uncommon to find stereotypical features associated with a specific dialect being played out in the media. Likewise, dialect-evoked characters and characteristics prominently appear in the discourse of Japanese popular culture. Stereotypes include the funny Osaka dialect, the cute and feminine Kyoto dialect, the cool Tokyo dialect, the warm Okinawa dialect, the country-bumpkin Tohoku dialect, and the manly Kyushu dialect (Tanaka 2011). Speakers of these dialects bear associated characters, and when dialects are temporarily used, associated characteristics are added to the character. A similar phenomenon is discussed as borrowed style (*karimono sutairu*) in Maynard (2004, 2012, 2016, 2017).

In (7) and (8b), the narrator uses the Kansai dialect *kettaina* 'strange' and *aho* 'foolish', respectively. This story is told by Kyon, a high school student who speaks and narrates in otherwise Tokyo youth language. The deviation to Kansai speech adds Kyon's fun-loving or funny characteristic, which is incorporated into his overall character.

(7)

Nandatte	*ore*	*wa*	*konna*	*kettaina*	*koto*	*ni*
how come	I	TOP	such	strange	incident	into

makikomareteiru	*n*	*da*?
am involved in	NMLZ	COP

'How come I'm involved in such a strange incident?' (Tanigawa 2003: 250)

(8) a.

Zyoohoo	*toogoo*	*sinen*	*tai?*	*Hyuumanoido*
information	integration	thinking	system	humanoid

intaafeesu?
interface
'It's a thinking system of information integration? Humanoid interface?'

b.

Aho	*ka*.
foolish	Q

'Foolish, right?' (Tanigawa 2003: 124)

Another variation used to add a characteristic is *yankii* language. The word *yankii*, itself, refers to groups such as delinquent junior and senior high school students and dropouts. *Yankii* are often members of motorcycle gangs known for their outrageous and illegally modified motorcycles and automobiles. They dislike going to school, resist mainstream social values, and yet respect hierarchical relationships within the group (Nagae 2009).

Hayamizu (2008) suggests a strong association between *yankii* culture and *keitai* novels in that both represent young people who are generally indifferent to upward mobility. It should be noted that *yankii* are not necessarily crime-prone and are more complex than meets the eye; the *yankii* culture maintains dual values of machismo as well as innocence (Saito 2009).

In terms of speech style, *yankii* language takes on a rather blunt style. What is particularly interesting in *keitai* novels is that the heroine, who narrates the story, uses *yankii* language as a part of her character-speak. For example, in (9b), the narrator uses explosively emotive blunt expressions, usually unexpected in a feminine style. The crude choice of *mimisen demo siteyagaru* 'they are wearing ear plugs' instead of the expected *mimisen demo siteiru* clearly channels a *yankii* voice. *Yankii* language provides opportunities to build anti-social, unconventional, and self-revealing female characteristics.

(9) a.

......Nan	*daroo,*	*kono*	*yoyuu*	*wa.*
what	COP	this	relaxed attitude	TOP

'......What is it, this relaxed attitude of his.'

b.

Kono	*hutari,*	*atasi*	*ni*	*naisyode*	*mimisen*
these	two	I	DAT	hidden from me	ear plugs

demo	*siteyagaru*	*n*	*zyanai*	*ka*	*tte*	*kurai*
or something	wear	NMLZ	COP	Q	QUOT	degree

heikina	*kao.*
confident	face

'The two of them are there with confident facial expressions and that makes me wonder if they are wearing ear plugs or something.' (Yū 2009a: 74)

Incorporating dialects also enhances the narrator's characteristics. *Zyanaka to desu batten* 'it's not OK but' and *wazurattesimattoo to desu* 'ended up suffering' in (10a) and (10b) respectively are similar to the Kyushu dialect. As questioned by the narrator herself in (10c), the authenticity of this dialect is unclear. Yet by incorporating a regional dialect, the narrator's unusual emotional state, perhaps more playful and revealing than usual, is suddenly brought to the fore. Here, the unexpected and brief use of the dialect by an otherwise non-dialect speaker encourages a more emotional reading. The temporary shift to a dialect provides the narrator's characteristic that supports her overall character.

(10) a.

Iyaa,	*daizyoobu*	*zyanaka*	*to*	*desu*	*batten.*
no	fine	COP	NMLZ	COP	but

'No, it's not OK, but.'

b.

Atasi	*koinoyamai,*	*wazurattesimattoo*	*to*	*desu*	*yo*	*anta.*
I	love sickness	suffer	NMLZ	COP	SEP	you

'I'm telling you, I've ended up suffering from love sick.'

c. *Nanigo* *da* *yo*. *Ahahaha*. *Mada* *buttonderu*.
what language COP SFP aha ha ha still out of my mind
'In what speech variety am I speaking? *Aha ha ha* (laughing). I'm still out of my mind.' (Fujiwara 2008: 241)

Stylistic shifts in terms of politeness levels observed in internal monologues also reveals the narrator's characteristics. In fact, the narrator may frequently shift among different politeness and formality levels corresponding to the enacted multiple characteristics. These shifts are often connected to *tatemae* 'principle, public face' and *honne* 'private thoughts and feelings'. In general, Japanese expressions used to express *honne* are direct and self-revealing, whereas formal and distancing styles are selected when maintaining *tatemae*. This distinction is particularly useful when sharply different characteristics play a major role in light novels and *keitai* novels.

In (11) the primary dramatic person who narrates the story plays the role of a well-bred high society lady-like girl, although in truth, she is wild and audacious. And this dichotomy is communicated through a self-revealing stylistic choice. The blunt command form *hayaku ike* 'go quickly' appears in (11b) when the narrator suddenly stops using the very polite style she just used in the preceding conversation of (11a). In (11a), the feminine final particle *wa* appears and the expression *oisoginatte* 'please hurry' offers a respectful suggestion instead of a blunt command. The blunt language characterized by an abrupt and very curt style reveals the narrator's otherwise hidden *honne*, adding a *yankii*-like characteristic to the well-bred heroine character.

(11) a. *"Ii* *no* *yo*, *darenidemo* *matigai* *wa* *aru*
all right SFP SFP anyone mistake TOP there is
wa. *Saa*, *moo* *zyugyoo* *ga* *hazimaru* *wa* *yo*.
SFP come on soon class NOM start SFP SFP
Oisogininatte."
hurry
'"That's all right. Everyone makes mistakes. Come on, the classes are going to start. Hurry, please."'

b. *Saa*, *hayaku* *ike*!!
so quickly go
'So, hurry up!!' (Misaki 2011a: 38)

Character-speak is used to foreground multiple characters and characteristics of both dramatic persons and narrators. From a psychological perspective, these features are implicitly connected to how speaking selves emerge in the experience of creating and consuming light novels and *keitai* novels.

5 Creativity

The third feature, creative use of language, captures the innovation found in light novels and *keitai* novels. Creativity involves all aspects of human life, and we are aware that the creative act involves breaking, reforming, and transforming established patterns. Through creativity, we construct alternative worlds and generate multiple ways of seeing and feeling. Language is a primary tool for this creativity (Maynard 2007), and we witness this in light novels and *keitai* novels. Their discourse deviates from what is expected, adding multiple perspectivized meanings. Offering new perspectives to the ordinary may invite humor. Humor is often the result of playful verbal interaction such as *tsukkomi* 'sharp and criticizing comment', or rhetorical figures such as irony, puns, and *mojiri* 'parody or parodic rephrasing'. Creative use of language is generally expected and appreciatively consumed by the fans of these genres. In this section, script, *tsukkomi*, as well as rhetorical figures of irony, puns, and *mojiri* are focused as character-speak associated with creative, humorous, and entertaining characteristics.

5.1 Script

As maintained by the multimodal approach to discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Maynard 2008), visual signs can add important messages to printed pages of light novels and *keitai* novels. This occurs in Japanese scripts, for example, when *katakana* or *hiragana* temporarily appears where normally unexpected. Any deviation to *hiragana* or *katakana* generally encourages the reader to focus on the sound. Such a choice also communicates emphasis, irony, or it may signal that the meaning is unclear or incomprehensible. Overall, unexpectedness in written discourse alerts the reader that a special reading is afoot.

For example, temporary shifts to *katakana* are associated with (1) adding special meanings to the phrase, (2) highlighting specific functions such as conversational acts or interactional moves, (3) focusing on a phrase often adding a critical or sarcastic attitude, and (4) focusing on sound as when the word is incomprehensible (Maynard 2012). Shifting to *hiragana* from *kanji* or *katakana* can add a sense of Japanese tradition and culture. It also creates an impression that the speech is child-like since a child might not know difficult *kanji*.

I should mention that although shifting to *katakana* is observed in contemporary popular culture discourse, this shift itself is not necessarily recent. According to Sadanobu (2009), a word *hiyaku* 'leap' is found in the 1933 novel by Fumiko Hayashi titled *Sakana no Jobun*. The word *hiyaku* is spelled in *katakana* instead of the expected *kanji*, encouraging an emphatic, somewhat sarcastic reading.

By making use of different perspectives and attitudes that visual signs of orthography convey, the same word may be creatively transcribed in three different ways.

Kanji focuses on the meaning of the word, *hiragana* adds feminine, traditional, and *uchi* 'inside, in-group' Japanese qualities, and *katakana* reminds the reader of the *soto* 'outside, foreign' perspective. Such an example is found in Sakuraba (2009: 9) where the word *kane* 'money' is presented first in *kanji*, second in *hiragana*, and lastly in *katakana*, where the concept of money is approached from three different perspectives. *Kanji* emphasizes the core meaning of *kane* 'money', whereas *hiragana* nuances a traditional Japanese reading, and *katakana* adds a sense of distance or introduces a parodic effect.

A case of creative script is observed in (12). In (12a), the phrase *tatuse* 'position' is presented in a combination of *kanji* and *hiragana*. The shift to *katakana* in (12b) illustrates the speaker's unfamiliarity with the word.

(12) a. *"Sate, isoide modoru ka Kore de karera ni*
now quickly return Q this INS they DAT
sinaretara, boku no tatuse ga nai."
die on me I POSS position NOM COP
'"Now, should we hurry back? If they die on me, I'll be in an awkward position."'

b. "*Tatuse*?"
(your) position
'"Excuse me, you say *tatuse*?"'

c. *Erumesu ga kiita.*
Erumesu NOM asked
'Asked Erumesu.' (Shigusawa 2000: 19)

5.2 Tsukkomi

The prioritization of language play and humor has become increasingly evident in post-modern Japan (Inoue 1997). Inoue (1997) contends that Japanese society has become less hierarchical and more equal and informal. Such a change may be captured by the term "Osaka-nization of society", i.e. Japanese society as a whole has become more like that of Osaka. Inoue predicted more than two decades ago that Japanese society would, as in the case of Osaka, value a person of wit, one who could make puns, quips, and offer other humorous commentary. The key words associated with humor and play are *boke* and *tsukkomi*.

Originally used in *manzai***,** stand-up comedy performed as a double act between the jokester and his straight partner, *boke* is the seemingly innocent but silly partner and *tsukkomi* is the smart one who criticizes and calls attention to the *boke* partner's silliness. *Tsukkomi* also refers to the role performed or the expressions used by the *tsukkomi* partner who butts in and corrects the *boke*'s errors. *Tsukkomi*, broadly interpreted, simply refers to sharply pointing out the other's inappropriate language or behavior. Particularly interesting is that when correcting, the *tsukkomi* partner uses expressions that completely negate the *boke*'s thoughts and actions. This process generally generates a laugh. Since *tsukkomi* delivers a different perspective, it often brings in a lighter touch to an otherwise tense moment.

In light novels and *keitai* novels, narrators sometimes use *tsukkomi* to express an internal response toward what is happening as well as toward the narrator himself or herself (i.e. self *tsukkomi*). This offers humorous relief, allowing the reader to share in the *tsukkomi*'s tension-breaking effect. This is more prevalent in comical stories where the narrator himself or herself often behaves in humorous ways.

In (13), Kyon, the narrator, adds a *tsukkomi* comment in (13b) in response to Haruhi's less than sufficient introduction given in (13a).

(13) a. *"Syookaisuru wa. Asahina Mikuru-tyan yo."*
introduce SFP Asahina Mikuru SFP
'"Let me introduce her. This is Mikuru Asahina."'
b. *Sore dake itta kiri, Haruhi wa damarikonda.*
that only said since Haruhi TOP fell silent
Moo syookai owari ka yo.
already introduction over Q SFP
'After saying just that, Haruhi fell silent. The introduction is over already?'
(Tanigawa 2003: 58)

In (14b) the narrator makes a self *tsukkomi* by pointing out her seemingly inappropriate yet irresistible romantic feelings.

(14) a. *Sararito hakareta sono tanomosii kotoba ni dokinto*
nonchalantly said those manly words with throbbing
mune ga uzuku.
heart NOM throb
'Those nonchalant but manly words make my heart throb.'
b. *Konna zyookyoo da to yuu noni,*
this circumstance COP QUOT say despite
tokimeite doo suru.
be thrilled what do
'What am I doing here? To be romantically thrilled under this circumstance.'
(Kanoko 2012: 187)

5.3 Irony, puns, and mojiri

Irony is basically a rejection of the literal reading of an expression. It is an intended infelicitous speech (Tsuji 1997) in that it violates the expected speech act. To signal that an expression is meant as irony, an echo marker (Sperber and Wilson 1981) or an irony signal (Tsuji 1997) is necessary. One signal is excessive politeness. For example, Seto (1997: 139) cites *gorippa* 'extremely fine, great' and *oeragata* 'extremely respected people' as expressions that are typically ironically interpreted. In addition to the narrating voice, another side of the narrator introduces a second, humorous voice, resulting in a double-voiced discourse.

In light novels and *keitai* novels, the mixing of the excessively polite style encourages an ironic or sarcastic reading. The use of excessively admiring *gorippani* 'perfectly' in (15b) and the polite phrase *okotoba* 'words' in (15c) signal that they are meant as irony. Likewise, the out-of-place respectful form *odosite kudasatta* 'he kindly threatened me' and the humble form *ohanasisite sasiageyoo* 'I'll (humbly) offer a favor of telling a story' encourage the ironic interpretation. In this way, in (15), a tension-filled moment is resolved through humorous expressions, adding fun-loving and entertaining characteristics to the narrator.

(15) a. *"Tyanto kangaete hanase yo. Matigaeta koto ittemiro,*
well think and talk SFP wrong thing say
syootisinee zo."
get mad SFP
'"Think well before you speak. If you say something wrong, I'll get really mad."'

b. *Totemo gorippani odosite kudasatta*.
very perfectly threaten gave favor of
'He so perfectly (and kindly) threatened me.'

c. *Ryuuki no okotoba doori tyanto atamawougokasi*
Ryūki GEN words following well think
kitinto ohanasisite sasiageyoo to, iki o
appropriately tell do favor of QUOT breath ACC
suikomu.
take in
'So following Ryūki's advice, I think hard and I'm determined to appropriately (and humbly) tell a story, and I take in a breath.' (Yū 2009b: 130)

Humor is also created with puns as shown in (16). *Boketu hotta* 'dug a grave' in (16b) is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to dig one's own grave'. In (11c), instead of *boketu* 'grave' the narrator mistakenly uses *oketu* 'one's rear end'; a punning humor is created through this egregious mistake. Then, in (16c) and (16d), the punning confusion lingers on.

(16) a. *Do doo siyoo! Kiitya dame zyan!*
what do ask wrong COP
'Wha, what should I do! I shouldn't have asked!'

b. *Simatta* *boketu* *hotta*!!
oh no grave dug
'Whoops, I'm in big trouble!!'
(. . .)

c. *Ka kangaero*! *Oketsu* *kaihidekiru* *wadai* *o* *nanika*!
think one's rear end avoid topic ACC something
'Th, think hard! Some topic that I can avoid *oketsu*.'

d. *Aa* *tigau*! *Oketu* *zyanakute* *boketu*!
ah wrong one's rear end COP grave
'No, it's wrong! Not *oketsu* but *boketsu*!' (Misaki 2011b: 10)

Another kind of creativity can be found in the use of *mojiri*, a parodic rephrasing. *Mojiri*, is a type of language play where one changes the original well-known words and phrases for the purpose of parody (Kitahara (ed.) 2003). In a broad sense, *mojiri* is a strategy for creating something new that is similar to the original, and yet different; it involves mimesis and innovation.

Mojiri has a long tradition in Japanese literature. According to Amagasaki (1988), during the *Edo* period the *mojiri* versions of *tanka* and of essays have appeared as *kyõka* 'crazy or parodic *tanka*' and *kyōbun* 'crazy or parodic essay'. In fact, there was a fad during the *Edo* period to produce *mojiri* versions of well-known literary works of earlier periods.

One such example is *Ise Monogatari (The Tales of Ise*). Instead of the original story, *Nise Monogatari* 'lit. the imitation tale' was produced between 1704 and 1711. Here the phonological change occurs from *i* to *ni* (*Ise* is a place name while *nise* literally means imitation). The original story starts with the sentence *Mukasi otoko arikeri* 'Once there was a man'. In *Nise Monogatari*, the man introduced turns out to be a little odd, i.e. *Okasi otoko arikeri*. 'There was a funny/strange man'. Here, the only change made is the phoneme from *mu* of *mukasi* to *o* of *okasi*, and yet the *mojiri* version undoubtedly anticipates a story surrounding a funny, if not a strange, man. *Mojiri*, like other rhetorical figures, calls attention to the creative use of language itself. In fact, the reader, when faced with a *mojiri* version, is intensely interested in seeing how well the *mojiri* version tracks with the original.

(17) is an example of *mojiri* appearing in a *keitai* novel. Well-known Japanese singers' names are changed slightly for a humorous effect. Without citing actual proper names, the reader understands the kind of music the narrator likes. (Accurate names are: Yazawa Eikichi, Kitajima Saburō, and Wada Akiko.) The *mojiri* we find here is not as elaborate as those in known classic works, but the cleverness is evident. It entertains the reader perhaps to the effect of causing a minor chuckle, and in the process, it foregrounds the narrator's humor-loving and entertaining characteristics.

(17) a. *Yazawa Eikisi to Kitazima Sabiroo no sunnbarasuiito*
Yazawa Eikisi and Kitazima Sabiroo GEN sweet
besuto songu ga haitteiru aipoddo ga nai!
best songs NOM recorded iPod NOM there isn't
'My iPod is gone, the one that I play great sweet songs by
Eikisi Yazasa and Sabiroo Kitazima!'

b. *Wada Mikiko zyoo ga haitteiru aipoddo ga nai*!
Wada Mikiko lady NOM recorded iPod NOM there isn't
'The iPod with songs by Mikiko Wada is gone!' (Misaki 2011a: 20)

Creativity witnessed in light novels and *keitai* novels is a part of the character-speak. Dramatic persons and narrators who engage in manipulating script, *tsukkomi*, and rhetorical figures reveal creative, humorous, and entertaining characteristics that contribute to the realization of such characters. Creators and consumers of light novels and *keitai* novels have access to varied resources available in the Japanese language which facilitate and encourage the experience of their multiple selves. Construction of multiple selves through language provides freedom to experience their selves beyond the traditional senses of identity and associated ideologies.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the discourse of Japanese popular culture, focusing on examples selected from light novels and *keitai* novels. Using the concept of character, characteristic, and character-speak, I have explored three features, i.e. style, character, and creativity. These features are not products of coincidence. Rather, together they reflect the current state of contemporary Japanese language culture, specifically how language is used in light novels and *keitai* novels.

We noted that expressions observed in light novels and *keitai* novels often deviate from established or recognized language use, creating a more playful and entertaining discourse. And such a discourse tends to bear features of conversation. The focus on speaking in written novels foregrounds interactional aspects of the dramatic persons and narrators linked to characters and characteristics. In this process, the world of light novels and *keitai* novels is populated with stereotyped characters with transient and often shifting characteristics, all designed to entertain. And to go a step further, the phenomena of multiple characters and characteristics point to the emergent multiplicities of self-construction among creators and consumers of light novels and *keitai* novels.

The content of this chapter touches only the tip of the iceberg in the discourse of Japanese popular culture. Although limited, I hope I have illustrated the importance of incorporating multiple analytical and interpretive perspectives to account for the phenomenon of Japanese popular culture that cannot be denied if one is interested in understanding the contemporary language culture in Japan.

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Shoji Azuma

15 Sociopragmatics of political discourse

1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics is generally considered as a discipline which studies the linguistic resources in speech communities and provides a systematic account of how societal variables influence linguistic choices. Sociopragmatics, on the other hand, is a discipline which examines how each individual uses linguistic resources in everyday social practices to produce and interpret meaning, often changing and affecting personal relationships. Understandably, the disciplines have areas of overlap (Takada, Shiina and Onodera 2011). One of those areas where the two disciplines merge together is the study of political discourse.

If we define political discourse broadly, almost any discourse may be considered political discourse (Shapiro 1981), because any discourse may be more or less related to general issues such as power, conflict, control, and domination. However, in this study, we limit our discussion to formal political contexts and political actors, in particular, politicians and political supporters. Furthermore, with the possibility of analysts' political bias in mind, we try to maintain descriptive perspectives in which linguistic analysis (not political analysis) is our focus and goal (Geis 1987; Wilson 2001).

In his study of political speeches, Charteris-Black (2005: 1) points out that "the most important type of behavior by which leaders mobilize their followers is their linguistic performance. In democratic frameworks it is primarily through language that leaders legitimize their leadership." In other words, eloquence and persuasion through linguistic skills are crucial ingredients for any successful politician (e.g. Shea and Burton 2006; Lim 2008). The performance of rhetoric has been developed in the West as an art since Aristotle's Rhetoric, and it is one of the most important subjects to be mastered by public figures. Mastery of rhetoric in turn can become a powerful asset used by politicians to gain the support of voters. In his thesis on "the rhetorical presidency" among U.S. Presidents, Tulis (1987: 4) states:

> Since the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, popular or mass rhetoric has become a principal tool of presidential governance. [. . .] Today it is taken for granted that presidents have a duty constantly to defend themselves publicly, to promote policy initiatives nationwide, and to inspire the population. And for many, this presidential "function" is not one duty among many, but rather the heart of the presidency – its essential task.

Acknowledgements: I would like to express my appreciation to Robert Wood for his valuable comments. This research was supported in part by the Hakuho Foundation Japanese Language Research Fellowship. A part of this research was also funded by the Faculty Fellow Award of the University of Utah (2021).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-016

One of the most vivid and dynamic examples of rhetoric as a key function for presidency is seen in the 2008 U.S. Presidential election where Obama delivered rhetorically elaborate, highly inspirational and effective speeches during the presidential campaign. Excellence in the art of rhetoric was critical for a candidate like Obama, who had virtually no name recognition at first, in order for him to finally win the election. Repeated incidences of concepts or themes such as *hope* and *change* were carefully crafted in his inspiring *Yes We Can* campaign slogan, and the nation was drawn to *American Exceptionalism,* which elicited support from the audience and convinced listeners that Obama could restore the U.S. to greatness (e.g. Azuma 2009; Ivie and Giner 2009; Capone 2010). Clearly, in the Western tradition of rhetoric and the art of persuasion, this linguistic strategy with abundant overt and explicit words is highly valued and rewarded.

In the typology of communication styles developed by Hall (1976), the tradition of rhetoric as the most powerful device can be characterized as a *low context* communication style in which things are expected to be clearly and logically stated without anything unsaid. In this communication style, issues are fully detailed and spelled out in communication, messages are much more specific, and there is a great deal of focus and importance put on what is actually said or stated. Examples of this low context culture are said to be found in Germany, the U.S., and England, among others.

On the other hand, in many Asian cultures such as Japan and China, another type of communication style prevails, namely, *high context* culture. Typically, this culture is a collectivistic one and makes many assumptions about commonality of communications, views, and knowledge among members of their society. Thus, in this high context culture, non-verbal elements (e.g. social status, situation, gesture, posture, facial expressions) are more important than the actual words that are communicated. The verbal message is indirect; one talks around the point and embellishes it. In the Western low context culture, communication is essentially seen as a way of exchanging information, ideas, and opinions. On the other hand, in the high context culture, communication is seen as engaging with others and building relationships.

This line of typological differences leads us to re-examine the assertion, characteristic to the Western low context culture, that politicians strive to legitimatize their status in leadership by refining their linguistics skills in eloquence and persuasion. In the high context culture, such as in Japan, eloquence and persuasion might be viewed negatively as an unnecessary, or even worse, undesirable trait for politicians. A skillful eloquent speaker might be viewed suspiciously as someone who is not trustworthy and who is hiding his or her real intention behind superficial language skills. In his description of the Japanese linguistic context, a noted linguist Shibatani (1990: 390) explicitly states that “persuasion of others by means of linguistic skills is largely discouraged”. A leading scholar of the history and culture of Japan, Reischauer (1977: 136) states that “[t]he Japanese have a genuine mistrust of verbal skills, thinking that these tend to show superficiality in contrast to inner, less articulate feelings that are communicated by innuendo or by nonverbal means”. In his discussion of "rhetorical vacuum" in Japan, Morrison (1972: 89) claims that "the art of persuasion has had no tradition in Japan as in the West."

An intriguing question is then, what course or strategies are available for Japanese politicians to gain approval and support from the people, given that the people may have a "genuine mistrust of verbal skills" or the convincing power of language in a high context culture? It has been shown that traditional politicians have relied heavily on the strategy of distributing materialistic benefits and wealth to their constituents in exchange for support and votes (e.g. Yomiuri Shinbun Seijibu 2001; Takase 2005). However, this strategy presumably works only when enough materials and wealth are available for distribution. If not, under a sluggish economy, for example, politicians are instead required to distribute disadvantages and deficits. Our question then becomes, how, under such circumstances, do politicians talk in a high context culture? Are there any culturally universal traits with respect to the "language of persuasion"? In what follows, after an examination of speeches in the early stages of the development of public speaking in the history of Japan, we consider the language of political speeches in contemporary Japan.

The primary data for the present study are audio-recorded actual speeches delivered by the speakers themselves. Given that speeches are intended to be orally given (i.e. spoken) to the audience, it is important to examine them as dynamic spoken words rather than static written text. In the post-war period when recording technology has been readily available, it is not difficult to obtain spoken data (e.g. audio or audio-visual materials), but it had been a challenge to locate tape-recorded data from the pre-war period until recently when a series of standard playing (SP) records was discovered from a collector's list and became available for researchers (Aizawa and Kanazawa 2012). Thus, in this study, we use actual recorded spoken materials as the primary data for analysis.[1]

2 Dawn of public speech: Frame of lecture

In the history of Japan, the Meiji Restoration (1868) is considered to be the starting point of modernization, when Japan abandoned its prolonged policy of *sakoku* 'the closed country' or self-seclusion for 200 odd years and opened its doors to the world. In this Meiji era, today's commonly understood meaning of public speaking was first introduced to Japan by Yukichi Fukuzawa (1834–1901), who coined the term *enzetsu* 'speech' for the English word "speech" during the civilization and enlightenment movement of the era (Ito 1968; Okabe 1973). How did politicians talk in speeches to audiences a century ago? The audio archive (Aizawa and Kanazawa 2012) includes speeches of several prominent politicians from the era.

1 For studies using the Diet Record, see Matsuda (2008). See also Feldman (2000) for a study on editorial cartoons.

2.1 Shigenobu Okuma

Let us first examine Shigenobu Okuma (1838–1922), who was a politician in the Japanese Empire (1868–1947) and two-time prime minister of Japan. Okuma is one of the most highly respected politicians in Japanese history, being instrumental in the modernization of Japan by instituting social, cultural, political, and economic reforms. The following examples are taken from his 1916 speech entitled *Kensei ni okeru yoron no kõryū* 'The rise of public opinion in constitutionalism'. The utterances show the linguistic characteristics of his speech style as well as his view about politics.

(1) *Yoronwa subete tisiki aru kaikyuuniyotte mitibikaruru mono de aru. Koko ni oite seizika wa kokumin no sidoosya to natte kokumino mitibiki yorono mitibiku aru baai niwa yorono seesurutoiutikara ganakute wa naran de aru.*

'Public opinion is without exception to be led by the social class of intellectuals. Because of this, politicians have to have the power to become the leader for the people, guide the people, and in some cases suppress the public opinion'.

(2) *Kizyuu naru kokkao sayuusuru hooritu o sayuusuru kagi o da hiretu naru yahi naru inken naru tomogaraniwatasite soo site wazawai o ukete soo site wazawai nikurusinde syuzyu no huhee o tonayuru to wa nanigoto zo.*

'What is it to make complaints after suffering through giving the keys to setting a course for the precious country to mean, dirty, and dishonest people?'

In (1), Okuma explicitly makes claim to the directionality of public opinion, which is to be formed by the social class of intellectuals so that the general public follows them. In other words, Okuma has knowledge, information and authority, and as such, he ought to have social power and *control* people's acts and minds (Van Dijk 2001). Here, the feudalistic, stratified society of Japan is assumed or even reinforced, even though the Meiji era is supposed to be the dawn of democracy in Japan. The sentence final expression *naran de aru* 'must' also implies social status difference. The more polite and respected form would be *naranai no de arimasu* 'must', but Okuma's non-polite form in (1) shows the attitude that he is indeed in high position and is entitled to lead the audience with authority. In (2), Okuma, in his almost scolding tone, proclaims that people should not cast their votes carelessly to end up suffering through and complaining about the terrible consequences of their voting action. Interestingly, the sentence final expression *nani goto zo* 'what is it' is the expression commonly reserved for a speaker in high status to utter to his inferiors in an accusing and denouncing manner. Furthermore, the repetition of morphemes such as *sayuu suru*, *naru*, and *soo site* sets a sophisticated and oratorical tone for the utterance. In other words, the utterances indicate the legitimately given social status difference between the intelligent speaker and the common people. For Okuma, the speaker has the power and authority to direct or control the audience. We may characterize Okuma's speech style as one based on the concept of *power* (Brown and Gilman 1960) or hierarchical relationships, and it is *framed as a lecture* that is given unidirectionally and hierarchically from the speaker to the audience. Here, we use the term *frame* (e.g. Goffman 1974; Tannen 1984, 1993; Lakoff 2004) in the sense much like a picture frame, which provides context for the images in the picture. The frame tells us how to interpret what is said in conversation. The sentence final expressions (e.g. non-respect forms) give rise to a frame, in particular, of a lecture in Okuma's authoritative manner.

The Japanese linguistic characteristics reflecting assumed social differences and expectations has long been noted by linguists such as Ide (1989), who proposes the concept of wakimae 'discernment' in her study of linguistic politeness. According to her, wakimae means essentially conforming to socially expected norms. This wakimae behavior is commonly observed in Japanese discourse where every sentence indicates a speaker's perceptions about the relative positions of participants and the formality of its context. In other words, there is no neutral form such as in English, and every speaker is expected to use a form which follows the socially prescribed norms in a given situation. In the Meiji (1868–1911) and Taishō (1912–1926) eras when Okuma spoke, it is quite plausible that the status-based wakimae behavior was commonly practiced by the highly stratified society of the time. The general public more or less accepted, complied with, and even found Okuma's style "natural" (Van Dijk 2001).

2.2 Yukio Ozaki

The speech style in the frame of a lecture, which follows the *wakimae* convention at the time, is also observed in the speech of Yukio Ozaki (1852–1959). Ozaki is a noted democratic politician who was elected to the Japanese House of Representatives a total of 25 times (a world record!) for 63 years (1890–1953). He is considered the "father of parliamentary politics" or "god of constitutional politics", and served as Minister of Education, Minister of Justice, as well as mayor of Tokyo. He is also known as a prolific writer and speaker (e.g. Yūben Gakkai 1924; Dai Nihon Yūben Gakkai 1925; Ozaki 1946). Observe the following statements from his speech titled *Hutsū senkyo ni tsuite* 'On general election', which was delivered in 1928.

(3) *Koko ni oite sunawati zen ni nobeta hukeeki to iukoto o tyuusin kadai to site kono senkyo nitoohyoo sita ra yokaroo.*

'(I) recommend (people) to vote based on the aforementioned issue of the economic recession at this point'.

(4) *Mosi zaibatu ga dasu dake no kane o ippan zinmin ga dasunara ba karera to iedomo kanarazu ippan zinmin no kata o motte zaibatsu no teki to naru de aroo ga ima wa soo natte oran.*

'If the general public mobilizes the same amount of money as *zaibatu* ('business conglomerates' such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi) does, the general public may become an enemy to the *zaibatu*. However, it is not the case at this time'.

In (3), after going over various issues of interest for the election, Ozaki directs the audience to focus on the issue of recession and cast their vote on the issue. His speech is information-oriented and logical arguments are delivered. Being a prominent intellectual, Ozaki's self-assigned role here is to enlighten the audience by selecting the right issue for them to discuss and recommending they give serious consideration to the issue when it comes to voting. Interestingly, this hierarchical and authoritative orientation is coupled with the linguistic wording. For example, the conjunction *sunawati* 'ergo' sounds intellectual or educated compared to its more common counterpart of *tumari* 'therefore'. The word *zen* 'before' is an *on* reading (original Chinese reading) instead of *mae* 'before', the more common and typical *kun* reading (native Japanese reading) of the Chinese character. The *on* reading (not *kun* reading) carries the tone of being intellectual, educated, formal, official, and of a socially high class. The sentence final expression *yokaroo* '(I) recommend' entails the relationship of an authoritative speaker giving advice to his juniors or followers. These linguistic features substantiate the frame of a lecture. Ozaki is indeed giving a lecture on voting to his audience. Additionally, in (4), the conditional expression of *mosi nara ba* 'if' makes the utterance logical and reason-oriented. The sentence final expression of *oran* 'is not' is an expression reserved for a superior addressing his inferior or junior. The more common and polite form would be *orimasen* or *imasen*, but Ozaki deliberately avoids the form and uses the socially high-ranking, extraordinary expression of *oran*. This again sets the frame as a lecture from the social class of intellectuals to the general public.

Next, observe an utterance from his speech titled *Tadashiki senkyo no michi* 'Road to the right election' which was delivered in 1930.

(5) *Kaku no gotoki baai ni oite kaku no gotoki hutoo no kaisano soosei suru to iu koto wa tasika ni hitotu no ayamati de aru kara kono ayamati o ba yahari toohyoo o irenai toiu hataraki ni yotte basse nakereba naran.*

'This grave mistake has to be punished by not casting a vote because it is surely a mistake to claim such an unjustifiable dissolution of the parliament under such a condition'.

The repetitive sequence of the formal expression of *kaku no gotoki* 'like that' sets the tone of the statement as logical, formal, educated, and informative. Note also the sentence final expression of *naran* 'must' in *basse nakereba maran* '(we) must punish (them)'. Unlike its more common polite counterpart of *narimasen* or plain *naranai*, the expression *naran* is extremely authoritative, and it is almost as if it were uttered by a feudal lord to his servants. Again, the linguistic features cast his speech in the frame of lecture. Both Okuma and Ozaki are certainly not casual conversationalists but orators of the most superior order.

As Japanese society matures and develops during the course of its democratization, we may expect a more or less reduced level of the lecture frame, or less authoritative style, which may rely on something other than power or socially expected role differences (e.g. elite politicians versus low- or middle-class audiences). As far as linguistic forms such as sentence final expressions are concerned, this prediction is borne out. Results of quantitative studies (e.g. Maruyama 2016; Tanaka 2016), based on audio data (Aizawa and Kanazawa 2012) as well as other available corpora (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2005), converge to a general trend. The frequency of *keitai* 'polite form' or 'respect form' increases, and the frequency of *jōtai* 'plain form' decreases over time. This means that politicians have increased their use of polite expressions when addressing the public. At least we can safely say that the extreme oratorical style of Okuma and Ozaki has now vanished from the political arena of contemporary Japan. This raises the question, then, what is the contemporary style (beside *keitai*), if it is not the extreme case of the lecture frame? In what follows, we examine speeches by several contemporary politicians and non-politicians.

3 New development in public speech: Involvement

3.1 Past Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi

In the post-war period, politicians started using more polite forms thereby becoming less authoritative. However, their speech still continued to be too formal, official, distant, bureaucratic, and procedural. Their utterances were often long, boring, and complicated, with a specialized abstract lexicon that the audience had difficulty following and understanding. For example, Noboru Takeshita (1920–2000), one of the most influential prime ministers, was nicknamed *gengo meiryō imi fumei* 'clear in words, unclear in meaning' (Maynard 1994). This nickname shows that the people were frustrated with his style of speaking which was full of words but difficult to decipher.

At the turn of this century, Japan welcomed a very different type of prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi (1942–), who had a unique set of political strategies and agenda (e.g. destruction of the faction system, economic reforms, and privatization of the postal service) (Mikuriya 2006; Kurashige 2013; Goto 2014). Koizumi is the fifth longest serving prime minister (2001–2006) in the history of Japan. His politics aside, his speech style was distinctively different from other prime ministers. In particular, as a prime minister with charisma, he was trenchantly against complex and ornate rhetoric, and he mastered the use of television and the popular press to make a direct appeal at the grassroots level that had never happened before in Japanese politics. The political scientist Uchiyama (2007, 2010) uses the term *prime minister of pathos* to describe the characteristic feature of Koizumi's style. Uchiyama (2010: 3) argues that Koizumi "sought to win voter support by means of striking, simply phrased statements (*wanfurēzu* ワンフレーズ, that is 'one-phrase') and a 'dramatization' of politics that cast conflicts in terms of good versus evil. Such techniques appeal more to people's emotions = pathos than their reason = logos."[2] Without question, this so-called *one-phrase politics* helped Koizumi to appeal to the people as a new type of politician, one who aligned himself with the people on an equal basis. His speech consists of simple, straight, plain, concrete, conversational, spontaneous, and emotionally rich language, unlike his predecessors' high-class language, which is complex, formal, abstract, rehearsed, and logical (e.g. Azuma 2006, 2009; Iwami 2009). In June 2001, Koizumi enjoyed an approval rating of 85 percent as an unusually popular prime minister.[3]

After leaving office, Koizumi maintained a low profile for 7 years, but he returned to national attention in 2013 as an advocate for abandoning nuclear power in the wake of the Fukushima nuclear disaster. The speech he made at the Japan National Press Club (November 12, 2013) was very skillful, effective, and convincing according to Yamada (2013). In this section, this particular speech is examined to find out his linguistic strategies (Nihon Kisha Kurabu 2013).

Before commencing an analysis, we should briefly discuss relevant conceptual tools. As we have observed, the speech style of Okuma or Ozaki was essentially characterized as the frame of a lecture, where a speaker's authoritative power was assumed and maintained, and the audience naturally accepted the status difference as the socially expected norm or *wakimae* 'discernment'. The hierarchical relationship between a speaker and the addressee was the fundamental governing principle in the speech. Conversely, Koizumi broke this mold of power (unequal status) and strove to establish a new relationship based on solidarity (human connection) with the audience.

Following the theoretical perspective that conversation is *a joint production* between speaker and addressee (e.g. Bakhtin 1981; Gumperz 1982; Duranti 1986, 1991), the sociolinguist Tannen (2007) advances the concept of *involvement* as an achievement in conversation. Tannen (2007: 27) describes involvement as "an internal, even emotional con-

2 In their discussion of the role of emotion in political argumentation, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 15) states that "[a]rguments can in fact be made stronger by coupling appeals to *logos* with appeals to *pathos*, as the latter might better achieve adaptation of the argument to the audience."
3 Reed, McElwain and Shimizu (2009: 18) states that Koizumi was so popular that the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) "found itself actually making money on sales of Koizumi posters, Koizumi dolls and anything with Koizumi's image on it."

nection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories and words." Involvement sends a meta-message (Bateson 1972) of rapport and both interlocutors (i.e. participants in conversation) share and experience the production of meaning. For our purpose, we consider this concept of involvement to be crucial in order for a politician to make a speech appealing and persuasive, which, in turn, can secure a voter's support. Tannen (2007) lists several strategies of involvement including narrative, details, repetition, and dialogue. In the analysis of Koizumi which follows, we will focus on the strategies of narrative, details, and dialogue.

3.1.1 Story telling

Narrative or story telling is itself an involvement strategy (Ekstrom 2000; De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012; Azuma 2016). For example, in her dinner table conversation study, Tannen (1984) reports that speakers whose styles were "high-involvement" told more stories than their "high-considerateness" style friends. Furthermore, speakers with "high-involvement" spoke more often about their personal experiences and accounts of their feelings in response to events recounted.

In his 50-minute speech at the Japan National Press Club (November 12, 2013), Koizumi went over his arguments against the country's nuclear power program, urging its immediate halt and a shift to more environmentally friendly energy programs. The core of Koizumi's anti-nuclear argument is that it is irresponsible for the government to promote nuclear power generation when it cannot secure space for nuclear waste disposal. Interestingly, in the middle of reciting formal facts in an information oriented speech, he suddenly inserts his personal story for an extend period of 8 minutes – a story about his recent tour of the Onkalo repository, the final disposal site for highly radioactive waste in Finland. Observe the start of the story.

(6) *Huinrando no Onkaro ikimasita yo watasi. Sekai de yuiitu genpatu kara deru kaku no haikibutu o syobun suru basyodesu yo. Maa Onkaro to iuno wa Huinrando go de dookutu toka kakureya to ka iroiro aru yoo desu kedo mo. Tomokaku kaku haikibutu o saisyuu syobun suru tame nitukurareta tika desu yo.*

'I visited Onkalo in Finland. (It) is the only place in the world to dispose radioactive waste from nuclear power plants. Well, as I understand, Onkalo means a cave, a hiding place or something like that. In any case, it is an underground space that is built to dispose nuclear waste'.

In (6), switching from the preceding rather formal discourse, Koizumi started his own personal story about this trip in an informal spontaneous style. Several linguistic characteristics contribute to the mode of vivid, lively story telling. For example, in the first sentence, the subject of the sentence, *watasi* 'I', is postponed to the end of the sentence. The second sentence ends with the informal sentence final particle *yo* 'isn't it'. The third sentence starts with the hesitant, conversational *maa* 'well' and ends with the conjunction *keredomo* 'though' making the sentence a grammatically incomplete sentence.[4] Again, the fourth sentence ends with the sentence final particle *yo*. Embedded with this informal spontaneous style, Koizumi's personal story shifts the tone of the speech from a logical-scientific or technical one to a more human-like interaction concerning a particular experience with time and place. This shift to storytelling prompts the audience to get involved in the speech as they start forming the image of the place. Interestingly, if the purpose of the story were to report the mere fact that he visited Onkalo, he could have stopped the story right there and returned back to the main course of argumentation in the speech. However, Koizumi continues his story by elaborating and giving details of the trip.

Specific details may not be necessary to the core information being conveyed, however providing specific details is another effective involvement strategy. Observe the continuation of the speech in (7).

(7) *Sosite ma nizikan kurai kakete Herusinki kara soko de boogo huku herumetto soobi o site yonhyaku meetoru tika ni orite iku wake desu. Moo iriguti kara ganban desu. De naka haitte iku no ni nee erebeetaa jya nai n desu. Erebeetaa aru no ni doosite are notte ikenai no ka naa to omotta ra are wa bussi yoo no erebeetaa de ningen wa noranai n da to. Yappa kurumade iku n desu.*

'And well, (it) took about two hours from Helsinki, and there (we) descended 400 meters underground equipped with a helmet and a protection suite. Well, the hard rock continues from the entrance. And it is not an elevator that (we) use to go into the tunnel. When (I) wondered why (we) do not use the elevator, (I was told) "that is the elevator for transporting materials and not for humans to ride". As I guessed, after all, (we) use a car to descend'.

As Chafe (1984: 1099) argues, *concreteness* and *imageability* associated with particularity contribute to involvement. Details such as the travel time in the number of hours, distance in meters, an actual list of equipment, the method of transportation, and the reason why one form of transportation is used over the other, are apparently excessive information, but as far as involvement is concerned, these details are vital and integral pieces of information. In response to specific details, the audience can imagine a scene in which the described characters, objects, and actions, and their ideas and feelings associated with them, are generated. It is through the creation of this shared world of images that ideas are most effectively communicated and under-

4 *Maa* 'well' can be a discourse marker of "well as a frame" (Jucker 1993). According to Jucker (1993: 446), it is like "a signpost that directs the addressees to renegotiate the relevant background assumptions."

standing is fully achieved. When this happens, the audience is firmly and deeply involved in the story, the speech, and, consequently, with the speaker himself.

3.1.2 Constructed dialogue

Another interesting feature of Koizumi's speech is that he reproduces and includes a series of quasi dialogue-like exchanges between him as a speaker and another person (a tour guide at the site). In (7), his inner speech or question as to why they do not take the elevator is stated as part of the dialogue, and the following adjacent sentence takes the form of quote from the person. In particular, the fourth sentence has the quotative construction marked with the sentence final *to* 'that' to introduce the guide's explanation as in *ningen wa noranai n da to* 'that humans do not ride'. Embedding this quasi dialogue in speech is another strategy of involvement. For this quasi dialogue, Tannen (2007: 17) suggests the term *constructed dialogue* in the sense that the dialogue in the conversation is constructed, not reported, even though it appears to take the form of reporting. Tannen (2007: 17) states that "[f]raming discourse as dialogue is not a 'report' at all; rather it is the recontextualization of words in a current discourse". Given that every utterance is fundamentally dialogic between participants (e.g. Bakhtin 1981), the framing of dialogue is appealing to the cognitive style of the audience. In addition, by animating the voice of the other, the speaker can create a sense of physically being at the location of the event with the audience, and this allows the audience to go through the same experience and to have feelings jointly with the speaker. In other words, constructed dialogue is another effective and powerful strategy of involvement.

Observe the following part of the speech where Koizumi takes full advantage of his constructed dialogue between him and his guide in the trip down to the disposal site. Notice the frequent appearance of the sentence final quotative particle *to* 'that'.

(8) *Kore de moo kimatte iru no ka to. Iya iya mada saisyuu sinsa ga nokotte iru n da to. Nan da. Saisyuusinsa tte no wa ne ganban de tokoro dokoro ni mizu ga morete iru tokoro ga aru n desu. Hora asoko ni mizu ga morete iru daroo. Aa soo ka are ga mizu ka to. Mizu ga morete iru ka inai ka o mada kanzen ni sirabenakya ikenai n da to. Zyuumannen motu ka dooka o sirabenakya ikan to.*

'(I ask) "Has this been decided"? (He replies) "Not yet, the final examination has to be met." (I ask) "What is it"? The final examination is, as I understand, there are places where water is leaking and coming out. (He replies) "Look. That is the place where water is leaking". (I say) "I see that, that is the water, isn't it"? (He says) "(We) have to make a complete examination whether or not the water still leaks". (He says) "(We) have to examine whether or not the facility can last a hundred thousand years"'.

The dialogue between Koizumi and the guide is not likely to be an accurate "report" of what the real dialogue was, and in this sense, it is a constructed dialogue. However, casting ideas as dialogue rather than statements is a discourse strategy for framing information with a real sense and feel; this casting, in turn, contributes to the creation of involvement and effective communication. As the audience listens to the constructed dialogue, they are prompted to image the experience in their own way, becoming immersed in the story, even an imaginary participant. What emerges as the result of involvement is a joint venture of sense-making between a speaker and the addressee. The audience becomes part of the speech event, contributing to an understanding of the text in a collaborative way with the speaker.

If we follow the conceptual tool of *footing* (i.e., representations of participation roles) in Goffman (1981, 2007), the speaker is generally expected to play three participant roles: an animator (who simply voices a speech or the so-called soundbox), an author (who is involved in composing a speech), and principal (who takes responsibility for his words). Goffman (2007: 397) states that "when one uses the term 'speaker', one often implies that the individual who animates is formulating his own text and staking out his own position through it; animator, author and principal are one." For example, in Koizumi's speech, it is Koizumi who comes up with the content of the speech (author), speaks or performs (animator), and takes responsibility for his words (principal). However, in the collaborative speech of constructed dialogue, interestingly the audience may well become principal of the speech, given that the sense-making is jointly performed by the speaker and the audience. In other words, it is possible that not just a speaker, but also each member of the audience, can be a principal when involvement is reached.

Another aspect with Koizumi's constructed dialogue is the feature of prosody and voice quality (Gunthner 1999). Instead of static, dull, monotonous tone, Koizumi performs the constructed dialogue as a dynamic event with the sense it is actually developing in front of the audience. He uses loudness, pitch, pausing, duration, pacing, and other elements of voice quality to enhance the performance. For example, with respect to pausing, he varies the size of pausing throughout the speech. Observe the following part of the speech that includes pause lengths in brackets (unit: second, pauses that are longer than 100 ms. are noted).

(9) *Sikamo zyuumannen go nanzo de moo hitotu <0.29> kangaenakya ikenai koto ga aru to. <0.18> nan da. <2.40> Hoosyanoo to iuno wa <1.68> kiken nanda keredomo <1.56> iro ga nai. <1.19> Nioiga nai. <1.57> Tikazuite mo kore ga <0.40> hoosyanoo bussitu ka wakaranai. <2.77> Sore o <1.38> zyuumannen go no ningen ga <0.54> kono Onkaro ni kite <nan da korya to omotte <3.19> hatasite <1.52> hottoite kureru ka na to <0.92> sotto sitoite kureru ka na. <1.04> Ningen tte iu no wa kookisin ga tuyoi to <1.63> kanarazu wakaran mono ga aru to hori dasoo to suru to.*

'(He says) "Furthermore, there is one more thing to consider when it comes to the time of a hundred thousand years from now." (I say) "What is it"? (He says) "Radioactivity is dangerous and people should stay away from it. However, it is colorless, odorless and as such people do not recognize radioactive waste even if they get close to it. Will people after a hundred thousand years leave the waste site as it is, wondering what it is indeed"? (He says) "Humans are full of curiosity." (He says) "Humans will certainly try to excavate it when they find something unfamiliar to them."'

This constructed dialogue is presented in a dynamic manner with the aid of prosody as well as non-verbal gestures. For example, an extended pause of more than 3 seconds appears after *nan da korya to omotte* 'thinking what it is'. Note the very informal, exclamatory form of *korya* 'this' instead of the more common and formal *kore wa* 'this TOP'. This shows that the speaker is involved personally in what he has to say. The long pause signals the speaker's intensified personal involvement, which consequently leads to the addressee's involvement in sense-making.

Koizumi's varied pausing becomes clear when it is compared with Yukio Ozaki whose pausing is relatively brief without much variation. Observe a part of Ozaki's speech titled *Futsū senkyo ni tsuite* 'On general election' (1928) along with the information that includes pause lengths in brackets (unit: second, pauses that are longer than 100 ms. are noted).

(10) *Kore ga sunawati <0.35> hutuu no <0.31> baai no kaisan de aru. <1.07> sikaru ni <0.17> waga kuni <0.44> kono tabino kaisan ni wa <0.74> mada sono izen ni seihu to gikai ee seihu to hantaitoo to ga gikai ni oite syoototu site oran. <0.40> Nanra no mondai o mo gisite oran. <1.82> Sikaru ni <0.14> totuzen <0.32> kore o kaisan sita. <0.51> Kore wa ziken nasi ni <0.59> (inaudible) ga saibansyo ni <0.37> kakekonda to <0.24> iu to <0.13> onasi <0.56> ihoo no <0.26> koto de ari doozi ni <0.15> kitigai no <0.20> syosa de aru.*

'This is namely dissolution under the normal circumstance. However, regarding the dissolution this time in our country, the government and the national assembly, well the government and the opposition party have not been at variance. They have not discussed yet. Nevertheless, (they) suddenly dissolved the parliament. This is unlawful just like (they) went into the court without any incident, and at the same time this is a crazy behavior'.

Note that pauses in (10) are mostly short and this gives an impression that Ozaki's speech is monotonous without any dramatic and lively effect compared to Koizumi's modulated pace.

Generally, Japanese politicians or high-ranking government officials avoid emotion in public, and they do not want to show too much expression. Naturally their appearance tends to be static, and gestures are minimal. However, Koizumi's non-verbal behavior is unusually dynamic with frequent outspread arms and direct eye contact with the audience. By animating his voice in a dynamic and lively manner as well as using gestures, Koizumi creates a rhythm and sound that shape the meaning of the dialogue being presented.

So far, we have examined speech styles among politicians who are expected to be professional speech-makers. However, the art of political rhetoric is not reserved exclusively for politicians. In particular, in recent political rallies, the participation of non-politicians has been increasingly observed. Thus, in the section that follows, we will examine how non-politicians talk at a public political event, in particular the 2014 Tokyo gubernatorial election.

3.2 Tokyo gubernatorial election: Non-politicians

Tokyo held a gubernatorial election on February 9, 2014 to replace outgoing Governor Naoki Inose. During a two-week campaign (January 23 through February 8, 2014), a field of 16 men competed to become chief executive of the city of 13 million people. The vote had been seen as a test of popular sentiment on nuclear power. Thus, the stark difference among the men was their stance on whether or not Japan should re-start nuclear power programs. Public support for nuclear technology had fallen sharply since a *tsunami* caused the Fukushima nuclear plant meltdown in March 2011. Unfortunately, turnout in Tokyo was low at 46% as the capital, like much of Japan, was crippled by its heaviest snowfall in decades.

Mr. Yoichi Masuzoe, a former health minister and pro-nuclear candidate, won 2.1 million votes, more than the combined total of his two nearest rivals. He was backed by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who wanted to restart Japan's 50 nuclear reactors which were closed after the Fukushima disaster. Mr. Masuzoe's closest rivals were two anti-nuclear candidates: Mr. Kenji Utsunomiya, the former head of the Japan Federation of Bar Associations, who came in second and received .98 million votes; and past Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, backed by popular fellow past Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who came in third and received .96 million votes. The anti-nuclear vote was said to have suffered because voters could not agree on one candidate due to the division of the camp between Utsunomiya and Hosokawa. Also, the results suggest that voters did not focus solely on nuclear issues. Even though the anti-nuclear Hosokawa was defeated, the alliance of the two past prime ministers, both in their 70s returning from their retirement, drew enough attention to the nation's energy policy to be a referendum on it.

Interestingly, Hosokawa was also supported by prominent figures, including the actor Bunta Sugawara, the novelist and Buddhist nun Jakucho Setouchi, and Donald Keene, an eminent U.S. scholar of Japanese literature, who became a Japanese citizen in 2012 after the Japanese earthquake disaster. In what follows, we will examine street speeches by Bunta Sugawara and Jakucho Setouchi, observing involvement in the forms of the audience participation and the imagery creation through story telling.[5]

3.2.1 Bunta Sugawara

Bunta Sugawara (1933–2014) was a popular movie actor well known for his roles in *yakuza* 'Japanese gangster' films, culminating with *Jingi Naki Tatakai* 'Battle Without Honor and Humanity', a 1973 film that is regarded by Japanese critics as one of the masterpieces of the postwar period. On the day of the speech (February 8, 2014), Tokyo experienced its heaviest snowfall in decades. About 200 people braved the heavy snowfall to listen to the speech by Sugawara in downtown Tokyo. One of the characteristics of the speech event was the audience participation through displays of affiliation such as chants, cheers, applause, and laughter (e.g. Atkinson 1984; Ikeda 2009, 2013; Bull and Feldman 2011). Observe the start of the speech in (11).

(11) *Ossu. (Ossu reply from the audience, applause) Ossu. (Ossu reply from the audience, applause, Bunta) Koo iu aisatu sika dekineen da ore wa. (laugh) Toki ni wa motto teinei ni sen to de hosokawa san no namae o kaite moraun dakara moo sukosi ano teesisei de yaranai to ikan naa. (laugh, Iizo from the audience) ano hontoo ni ne arigatoo. (Bunta from the audience, applause, cheers) Kono samui no ni nee koo yatte nagai aida kono. (applause) Kyoo wa minna erai naa. (Bunta from the audience, applause)*

'Hi. Hi. This is the only way I can greet. Occasionally I have to be more polite. Because I am asking you to write (vote) Hosokawa's name, I know I have to be more modest. Well, thank you so much. It is so cold, for a long time. Today, I admire you'.

Sugawara starts his speech with the vernacular informal way of greeting *ossu* 'hi' that is used among close male friends. This single word instantly and almost miraculously creates the sense of comradery or solidarity between him and the audience. In particular, the reciprocal nature of the greeting establishes a bond among participants, which is not only between the speaker and the addressee, but also among the addressees themselves at the event location. The masculine form *ossu* 'hi' may estrange female audiences, but it appears that the good-humored, friendly, and candid atmosphere Sugawara creates overrides a sense of alienation. He is a *yakuza* movie star after all, and the audiences understand and accept the greeting. Sugawara receives applauses from both male and female audience members. After the initial informal word of greeting, a common ground is established between the speaker and the audience,

5 The speeches during the Tokyo gubernatorial election were voice-recorded by the author as a participant observer.

and mutual participation continues throughout the speech. Naming, such as *Bunta* ‘Bunta’ and the affiliative interjection *Iizo* ‘good’, show that the audience is supportive of the speaker.

But more importantly, such voicing turns the passive audience into active participants in the sense that the speaker and the audience are jointly making the speech meaningful. Voicing, in the form of chanting, cheers, and other vocalizations, amounts to changing the definition of roles so that the addressee as well as the speaker are active participants in the speech. The more they voice, the more the audience gets involved in the speech. Sugawara continues his speech in (12).

(12) *Kono (long pause) ore yakuza eiga umai kedo koo iutokoro no hanasi heta dakara (Ganbare from the audience). Ossu (Ossu reply from the audience) kyoo wa torakku yaroo zya nee n da (laugh from the audience). Kyoo wa Hosokawa san no ooen. Ano ne. Moo sakki kara Tanaka san mo itteru kedo kondo no senkyo wa ne ore no yoo na otoko demo ore wa amari rikoo zya nai kedo (Bunta, Sonna kotonai from the audience, laugh) ano ne hontoo ni daiji na kuni no unmee o kore kara ne. (Sooda reply from the audience) Kuni no unmee o ne. Migi ni iku ka hidari ni iku ka kore o kimeru atti e iku no ka sirizoite iku no ka sore o kimeru daiji na senkyo da yo. (applauses) Ore no yoo na mon demo kore ima wakatteru n da yo. (pause) Maa minasan wa sonna koto iwanakute mo wakatteru daroo ne. (Wakatteru reply from the audience) Wakatteru. Wakatteru. (Wakatteru reply from the audience)*

‘This, I guess I am good at yakuza movie, but I am poor at making a speech like this. Hi. I am not a truck driver (a role in a movie he played before) today. Today I am cheering for Mr. Hosokawa. You see, as Mr. Tanaka has already said, the election this time is a very important one to decide the destination of the country, as I am not as smart as I wish. The country’s destination. To go right or to go left, to go there or to retreat. It is an important election. Even a person like me, I understand this. Well, I suppose that you understand this naturally. You understand. You understand’.

Again, the speech was frequently interrupted by the audience. When the speaker describes himself in a modest way, the audience replies with *sonna koto nai* ‘that is not true’. The comment on the importance of the election is met with the audience reply *soo da* ‘that is right’. Involvement continues as the audience voices its affiliative comments. At the end, the speaker asks a question *wakatteru* ‘(you) understand’ to the audience, and the audience repeats the statement *wakatteru* ‘(I) understand’ as their answer. The same expression is mutually exchanged as an instant spontaneous dialogue between the speaker and the audience. This is the moment when both the speaker and the audience are involved at their peak and they become co-participants in sense-making of the speech.

Next, we will turn to another non-politician speaker, Jakucho Setouchi.

3.2.2 Jakucho Setouchi

Jakuchō Setouchi (1922–2021), a Buddhist nun, writer, and anti-war activist, is best known for her vernacular translation of the *Tales of Genji* from classical Japanese and continues to enjoy the unabated admiration of the Japanese public in her current status as a Buddhist nun. In 2006, she was decorated by the Emperor with the Order of Culture. In her supportive speech for Hosokawa, Setouchi introduces her understanding of Hosokawa's life and why he decided to run for governor, framed in the form of a story (February 5, 2014). Observe the following part of her speech.

(13) *Seejika to site subarasii kata de aru to dooji ni desu ne ano (inaudible) e demo ne hontoo ni itiryuu nan desu yo. Watasi wa syoosetuka de arimasu kara soo iu mono tyan to arimasu kara miwake ga tuku n desu yo. Soide kore wa hontoo ni subarasii sensu o motta kata da naa to omotte. Geezyutu no hoo demo tensai nan desu yo. De sore dake o yatte tara moo hontoo ni nodokana seikatu nan desu yo. Hito no urayamu yoo na seikatu watasi demo urayamasii gurai no seikatu datta n desu ne. Tokoroga desu ne sore o osite desu ne. Yamu ni yamarenai zitto site rarenai kimoti ni natte tatiagatta te ossyaru n desu ne. De kore ga subarasii n desu ne.*

'(He) is a great politician, at the same time, well, (he) is a first class (artist). As I am a writer, I can see the difference, you know. So, I thought he has a great sense of appreciation. He is a genius in art, you know. And as long as you do that, your life is very calm, you know. His life was the kind of life people envy, even for myself, right. However, despite that life, he says he decided to stand up (run for election), feeling he had no choice. And this makes him a wonderful (candidate).'

Usually, in a political rally, people do not have a chance to listen to a candidate's personal story. In framing her story in an informal style with tag questions, Setouchi tells a story about Hosokawa's life and motivation to run. The story is a linguistic device to present a personalized and humanized candidate to the audience, based on her personal experience with him. Setouchi continues to elaborate on the character of the candidate by introducing a story to illustrate the values she upholds. Observe what she says next.

(14) *Dakara desu ne. Zibun dake ga siawase de aru koto wa siawase zya nai n desu. Watasitati wa siawase ni naru tame ni ikite orimasu ne. Minasan soo desyo? Demo zibun tati dake ga nakayokute ne kenkoo de ne. Omukai san ni ne moo ano byoonin ga ite ne soide obaatyan ga zutto netete oyome san ga moo sono kango de ne moo kami mo arai ni ikenai. Sonna mite mo ne aa uti wa ii n dakara ano mukoo ga warui n dakara karasu no katte yo iu no ano sore wa sore wa ningen zya arimasen.*

'You see. (You) are not happy if you are the only one who is happy. We live to be happy, as you know. Is this right with all of you? However, when you get along well and are healthy, your neighbor across the street has a sick person and elderly is bedridden, and a young wife has to take care of the elderly and has no time to even wash her own hair. When you see this family, you may think it is not your fault and it has nothing to do with you. Well, that is not for humans to think'.

The statement appears to have no relevance to political issues that Hosokawa may want to discuss in the election. However, the story, and the world Setouchi depicts, reflects a typical but concrete family situation to which audience can relate. The listener is able to picture the image and become a part of that image. He or she may have a family member, relative or friend who is indeed bedridden and going through the hardship. Alternatively, the audience may have known of such a real-life family even though the connection may be indirect. Setouchi's story, along with the insignificant yet specific details, draws an image for each audience, and that image helps them become involved in the speech. Images are often more convincing and more memorable than abstract propositions. Setouchi continues her story.

(15) *Yappari ne omukai san otonari san mo uti no oku (inaudible) minasan mo ga minasan ga siawase ni naru yoo ni kangaete nasaru koto dekinakute mo inoru koto sore ga ningen da toomou n desu yo ne (applause). Doo ka minasan ne gozibun no koto dakede kangaenai de mawari no koto o kangaete kudasai (applause).*

'After all, including the neighbor across the street, the neighbor next to you, and our own (inaudible), all of us should be entitled to be happy, or at least to pray for each of us to become happy, and that is for humans to do, as I think. Will you please not think about yourself, but think about others around you?'

Again, the story does not appear to include pertinent information about a specific political agenda or issues, but the moral or emotional message itself is effective in involving the audience. It is used to advocate the specific view Setouchi values. Being a Buddhist nun, the value she talks about is the concept of *jihi*, Buddhist compassion, which consists of giving comfort to others and relieving their suffering. This value is likely to be shared by the audience, and it has deep resonance in the audience's sentiment. It is true that Setouchi is speaking for herself, but at the same time she is acting out audience's values and moral code. To this, the audience replies with applause and nodding gestures.

An interesting question is how this value is related to and justifies Setouchi's support for Hosokawa's candidacy. How does the story evolve from here to the next stage? Observe the continuation of her speech.

(16) *Hosokawa san mo tatiagatta watasi mo yamu ni yamarenu sonokankyoo de tatiagatta n desu. Geezyutuka to iu mono wa kyoo no zibun o hitee site sosite asu no o kangaenai toikenai n desu. Kyoo ni manzoku site wa ikenai n desu yo. Dakara Hosokawa san wa ne ano ano anna ni ii seikatu o sute te tatiagatta. Kore wa taihen na koto nan desu yo.*

'Hosokawa stood up. Because of that, I stood up as well for this very compelling reason. Artists are the people who reject their present selves and think about future. (We) cannot satisfy ourselves with today, you know. That is the reason Hosokawa stood up, giving up such a good life. This is an amazing thing to do, you know'.

At this point, the audience understands the connection between the compelling reason and Hosokawa's candidacy. Hosokawa is a person of *jihi* 'compassion' who is not satisfied with his own comfortable life. Likewise, Setouchi herself also stood up, displaying compassion for others and the country. They are artists who always want to improve and make progress. Hosokawa is an accomplished past prime minister of Japan, the highest position any politician can dream of, and he is now a successful artist. Setouchi is an accomplished author who is 92 years old. Yet, both of them decided to stand up and go through the hardship of campaigning, and now they are in front of the audience. The emotion and the sense of compassion the audience feels is an extremely effective device, not merely to convince the audience (purportedly logical process) but also move them (an emotional process). Through the devices of storytelling and imagery, meaning is constructed and involvement is reached, with the help of the audience, and the speech becomes maximally effective.

4 Concluding remarks

The Western concept of speech was first introduced in the Meiji period after the lengthy seclusion from the world for two hundred odd years. An examination of the recently found audio materials of two prominent politicians in the pre-war period has shown their speech was framed as a lecture. The authoritative, formal, and unidirectional style is characterized by the concept of power (status difference) rather than solidarity (human connection). This style was accepted as the norm or *wakimae* 'discernment' which, along with the Confucian system, was expected by the feudalistic and stratified society of the time. This tradition of formal, bureaucratic, prepared, abstract, and static speech style has continued forward, even in the post-war period (e.g. Azuma 2006; Iwami 2009). With respect to the cultural typology in Hall (1976), the Japanese culture of high context, which relies on shared, implicit, and unspoken information, is of little use for any verbal and explicit communication.

However, Japanese voters became enthusiastic when they heard a very different style of speech that is based on the concept of solidarity (human connection). As we have seen, past Prime Minister Koizumi as well as several non-politicians were successful in encouraging equal, straight, informal, and affective relationships between a speaker and listeners. In particular, Koizumi's strategies of involvement such as narratives, details, and constructed dialogues showed that hearers are not just passively listening but actively participating in the sense-making of the speech on an equal basis.[6] The involvement propels both the speaker and the hearer to perform concerted actions together. In other words, the speech is a joint event, a collaboration between the speaker and the hearer.

On the rare snowy day of the Tokyo gubernatorial election campaign (February 8, 2014), Koizumi exclaimed in excitement at the opening of his speech: *Minna massiroi kasa. Iroiro irotuki no kasa mo yuki de massiroku nattyatta* 'All are white umbrellas. Various colored umbrella have become white with snow.' While this appears to be a simple description of what Koizumi sees from the podium, this animated and spontaneous portrayal of the visual image is an involvement strategy, binding the speaker to the audience in solidarity, allowing them to develop sense-making together. Each person in the audience feels that Koizumi is talking to them directly. Just as each umbrella is different in color, each audience member is different, but they are now metaphorically and symbolically joined, all in white, the same color. In the middle of the unusually cold snowstorm, both the speaker and the audience share the place, the weather, the moment, the motif, the excitement, and the goal with strong determination. They stay there together physically and emotionally, even though the temperature drops below zero, and all are covered with snow in a steady snow shower. The utterance carries the metamessage (Bateson 1972) of rapport; solidarity is the outcome.

Note further, the colloquial style of Koizumi's utterance: the first sentence *minna massiroi kasa* 'all are white umbrellas' is a noun phrase without a verb; thus, it is structurally an incomplete sentence. The second sentence ends with the conversational *nattyatta* 'became' (its more formal equivalent is *narimasita* 'became'). It is a

6 Lim (2008) points out the plausible link between rhetorical simplicity and anti-intellectualism among U.S. presidents. Interestingly, he cites Peggy Noonan, a successful presidential speechwriter, who states that "[i]t is simplicity that gives the speech its power . . . And we pick the signal up because *we have gained a sense of in our lives that true things are usually said straight and plain and direct* (original emphasis)." (Lim 2008: 47) However, Lim (2008) quickly counters with his view that simplicity does not guarantee the truth, only the semblance of sincerity (see also Moss 1985). In the same line, Uchiyama (2010: 43) questions Koizumi's short responses devoid of any logical and detailed explanations during question sessions at the Diet, given that "politics is an arena in which careful deliberation based in logic should be carried out". The connection between involvement strategies and anti-intellectualism is beyond the scope of the present paper. However, the casual conversational style of involvement deserves some credit for increasing interest and participation in politics among voters who had shown little concern for it before (Yomiuri Sinbun Seijibu 2001).

style expected from a man in the street but not from an established politician, such as a past prime minister. The distinction between Koizumi and the audience almost disappears, and the speaker's voice becomes the audience's voice as well.

The present study confirms the nature of co-construction of linguistic acts between the speaker and the hearer, and the view that human communication is dialogic. As Bakhtin (1981: 165) put it "my voice can mean, but only with others, at times in chorus, at the best of times in dialogue." To push this thesis further, we may say that the strategies of involvement make the boundary between the speaker and the audience opaque in the sense that meaning does not necessarily originate from the speaker. The audience is likely to have an equal role (i.e. principal) to play in the determination of meaning with the speaker (Duranti 1991).[7]

One interesting consequence of the present study is support for the claim that in the cultural context of Japan, where eloquence and persuasion through the art of rhetoric or linguistic skills are presumably least appreciated, the interactive, jointly interpreted nature of speech is relevant. Variability surely exists among cultures, but the universality of the claim is intact. The emerging involvement strategies of the present study suggest that voters in Japan are ready for the interactive, dynamic, and interpersonal mode of political speech, as long as they encounter speakers of involvement. It is certainly the case that involvement strategies will continue to play a formidable role in the public life of Japan as well as in the private lives of its citizens.

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7 In his review of literature on speech acts, Duranti (1991: 134) points out that *reflexivity* as one of the common themes, that is "the co-construction of linguistic acts by speakers and addressees".

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Part VI: **Language contact**

Yoshiyuki Asahi

16 Contact dialects of Japanese

1 Introduction

Urbanization and modernization have brought a number of social changes to Japan since industrialization from the end of 19th century. In particular, in the 1970s, those who lived for generations in small villages, deep in the mountains, fishermen along remote inlets and isolated coves, rice farmers in wetlands or steep terraced patty fields, potato farmers and dairy farmers in the backcountry, left their homes and moved to large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka. School education became compulsory. All children from 6 years to 15 years of age went to school to learn how to read and write Japanese orthography, *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji* and learned Standard Japanese. The migration policy and colonialism was once strong in Japan; more than one million Japanese decided to emigrate to various overseas destinations in pursuit of a better income and life (Takumushō 1937). Social practices such as war brides and picture brides were common in the 20th century. Such people crossed the Pacific Ocean to marry and start new lives with their husbands (Shimada 2009).

Japanese society witnessed rapid and drastic social changes. Such changes eventually impacted on Japanese vocabulary through language contact (Hida 2002). Needless to say, such changes entailed a number of dialect contact situations. Such contact resulted in the creation of a new language variety, *koiné* or a contact dialect, with varying degrees of mixture from different dialects, together with influences from Standard Japanese.

Dialectology, or what is called "classic dialectology", has as its primary goal the rendering of linguistic description to a dialect so as to contribute to the deepening of our understanding about language change. Recent studies of Japanese dialects have focused more on linguistic typology (refer to the HJLL volume on Dialectology). They target a certain linguistic category to examine the typology using various dialect data. Such descriptive and typological studies, especially in Japan, have not dealt with the dialect contact phenomena.

A number of researchers have expressed strong concern about the endangerment of Japanese dialects since regional dialects are in contact not only with other regional dialects but also with a national or a regional standard language. Dialect contacts are

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Katsumi Shibuya and Fumio Inoue for their valuable comments and suggestions on earlier version of our chapter and John Haig and Robert Gray for their comments and help in improving the style of this chapter. I would like to thank de Gruyter Mouton for permission to reproduce an altered version of their figure. The research reported here was supported in part by project funds from the National Institute for Japanese and Linguistics (NINJAL).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-017

observed throughout the entire country in Japan. Although dialect contact studies have been conducted worldwide (Trudgill 1986, 2011; Kerswill and Williams 1992, 2000; Siegel 1987; Gambhir 1981; Schreier 2003), Japanese dialect contact studies have not yet been sufficiently conducted to enable an understanding of the sociolinguistic outcomes of dialect contact. This chapter, therefore, attempts to make a comprehensive overview of the studies of the contact dialects of Japanese that render the unique and intriguing nature of contact-induced changes.

2 Social typology of contact languages and dialects

One of the principal benefits of the study of contact dialects, in general, is the detection, observation, and study of a number of external or contact-induced language changes which are not found in internal or natural language changes. Choices of variants, on the part of the speakers, and the construct of the social situation of the target community are combined to create different kinds of contact dialects. Language contact demonstrates many more fundamental changes than dialect contact in the form of pidginization and creolization. Nevertheless, it is expected that dialect contact would reveal the same or similar paths in language change. Moreover, the differences between language and dialect are in some cases more sociohistorical or political than linguistic. It follows that if the social settings are similar, language contact and dialect contact should result in similar types of language change.

Before looking at specific case studies on contact dialects, I render a comprehensive overview of the previous literature in dialect contact as well as language contact studies to demonstrate how language contact situations are shaped by both social and psychological factors. Previous studies by sociolinguists, dialectologists, contact linguists, sociologists of languages, and linguistic typologists have endeavored to explain which social and psychological factors impact on languages in contact and also on language endangerment or language attrition. Some researchers proposed their typology from sociological or sociohistorical perspectives, while others attempted to integrate social factors and linguistic changes (Weinrich 1953; Weinrich, Labov and Herzog 1968; Tokugawa 1978; Trudgill 1986, 2011; Nishimitsu 1990; Edwards 1992; Tsunoda 2005; Shibuya 2008). Hereafter, I will review and assess the literature relating to social dialect contact from three perspectives: (1) social typology of language maintenance and shift, (2) social typology of pidgins and creoles, and (3) sociolinguistic variation and sociolinguistic typology, and summarize the analytic framework to better understand the sociolinguistic outcomes of dialect contact.

2.1 Social typology of language maintenance and shift

Contact-induced changes may be strongly affected by internal or linguistic factors. However, the degree of the effect should be and is expected to be determined more by external or social factors. Most languages and dialects are necessarily shaped by these factors, which is why linguists benefit from linguistic typology studies. Questions such as how linguistic categories are characterized in a particular way and not in other ways can be investigated by looking through linguistic realizations of the linguistic categories across languages. In doing so, typologists have made their contributions to linguistics. They are highly aware of the importance of including external factors in their considerations, even if such consideration has yet to result in successful demonstrations.

On the other hand, a number of attempts have been made to determine the relationship between external factors and linguistic phenomena through examining a number of contact languages and dialects in the areas of contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology, and "sociolinguistic typology" (Trudgill 2011). We shall consider their attempts by first reviewing the linguistic typologists' approaches, and then reviewing the contact linguists' and other sociolinguists' approaches, to evaluate the social factors used for comparisons.

Linguistic typologists, especially those working with language endangerment, work to identify and understand the cause of language endangerment (Bradley 1998; Brenzinger 1997). Language endangerment, in many cases, occurs during the process of language shift, which takes place in language contact situations. The cause of the language shift is strongly related to social factors or social pressure such as the economic value of a dominant language. Linguistic typologists acknowledge such factors, citing them in reports and discussion relating to language maintenance and shift. Indeed, Tasaku Tsunoda, a linguistic typologist, refers to these issues by citing Edwards (1992), as shown in Table 16.1 (Tsunoda 2005).

Table 16.1: A list of social factors.

1	Geography	Geographical extent of the language
		National territory
		Rural-urban nature of residence
		Isolation of the community
2	Demography	Size of the ethnic group
		Birth rate of the ethnic group
		Number of speakers of the language
		Density of the population

Table 16.1 (continued)

		Homogeneity/heterogeneity of speakers
		Proportion of speakers of the language to those with other languages
		Age of speakers
		Sex of speakers
		Race of speakers
		Marriage patterns: endogamy versus exogamy
		Static settlement versus migration movement
		Migration patterns: in- or out-migration
3	Sociology	Social stratification in the ethnic group
		Degree of interaction with other ethnic groups
		Social status of speakers
		Cultural (dis)similarity between the groups
		Way of life
4	Linguistic, including sociolinguistics	Genetic classification of the language
		History of the language
		Presence/absence of native speakers
		Transmission of the language to children
		Language contact
		Linguistic capabilities of individual speakers
		Type of speech community
		Domains of use
		Autonomy of the language: linguistic distance
		Standardization of the language
5	Psychology	The group's attitude towards other groups
		Other groups' attitude towards this group
		The group's self-esteem and national self-consciousness
		The group's attitudes towards their language
		Prestige or status of the language
6	History	History of the area
		History of the group

Table 16.1 (continued)

7	Politics, law, and government	Recognition of speaker's rights and ethnic identity
		Degree and extent of official recognition of the language
		Institutional support for the use of the language in various domains
		Organization for the promotion of the community's interests
8	Economics	Economic health of the region
		Economic status of speakers
9	Education	State of education in the area
		Literacy and writing system
		School support for language
		How are the people presented in education?
		Upbringing of children
10	Religion	Importance of religion in the area
		Religion of speakers
		Use of the language in religion
		Type and strength of association between language and religion
11	The media	Presence/absence of modern mass media
		Use of the language in the media
		Representation of the group in the media

Table 16.1 provides a comprehensive coverage of the factors used to consider the viability of a language or "ethnolinguistic vitality" (Giles, Bourhis and Tayler 1977). This list of factors includes both linguistic and social factors. First, included in the list, are the linguistic factors, internal factors, like linguistic distance between languages and genetic classification; and this holds true for the social factors, like standardization, transmission of the language to children, existence/absence of the native speakers, and language contact.

Second, social factors encompass various features, e.g. geography, demography, sociology, religion, psychology, and the media. This coverage highlights the importance of measuring the vitality of the language, especially minority or endangered languages. As indicated above, this area of study has incorporated social/psychological factors in an extensive number of studies resulting from a considerable amount of work. For further details on other frameworks and discussions, see Haugen (1968) and Haarmann (1986).

2.2 Social typology of pidgins and creoles

Contact linguists, or those working on pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages, have also promoted their linguistic and social typology through reviewing the relevant literature. Along with their analyses of linguistic categories such as phonology, morphology, and syntax, and their relation to the superstrate or lexifier languages such as English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, contact linguists have suggested adopting and incorporating a typology such as that used for pidgin and creole (see Michaelis, et al (eds.) 2013a, 2013b).

The general understanding in the field is that creoles are created as a result of the second language acquisition of either the colonial language or another dominant language in the context of the colonial expansion (Winford 2005, 2013). As a result, a small dominant group of colonists, soldiers, and missionaries share only one language, which is then acquired and restructured to different degrees by a large number of dominated people, e.g. slaves, indentured laborers, pupils, etc. Below is shown the types of pidgins (Table 16.2) and the types of creoles (Table 16.3) (Velupillai 2015).

Table 16.2: Types of Pidgins.

1	Trade and nautical pidgins	Maritime/nautical pidgins	Yokohama Pidgin English
		Trade pidgins	Chinese Pidgin Russian
2	Workforce pidgins	Domestic workforce pidgins	Butler English, Pidgin Madam
		Tourist pidgins	Tarzanca
		Plantation pidgins	Hawai‘i
		Mine and industry pidgins	Shaba Swahili
3	Military pidgins	Juba Arabic	
4	Urban pidgins	Flaaitaal	

Pidgins have more types than creoles as they occur in various social environments. As shown in Table 16.2, there are four types of pidgins: (1) Trade and nautical pidgins are created through trade interactions among people of different linguistic backgrounds for trading or shipping on board ships or between ships; (2) workforce pidgins arose from various kinds of workforces. Intensive interactions are observed between local colonial people and their interaction with a local (i.e. domestic workforce pidgins) or multilingual workforce, for instance plantation (i.e. plantation pidgins), mines, and construction sites (i.e. mine and industry pidgins). Another pidgin in this group is tourist pidgin, which arose through contacts between the tourist industry workforce and tourists; (3) military pidgins emerged when troops were composed of members from different linguistic backgrounds; (4) urban pidgins arose in situations where long-lasting vibrant inter-ethnic communications took place in urban contexts. This occurs when non-native speakers of a major language such as English are in contact with people in city centers. For instance, major cities in the US, Canada, Australia, Singapore, and many others have witnessed this pidgin formation, although few studies have been conducted.

Table 16.3: Types of Creoles.

1	Exogenous creoles	Plantation creoles	Jamaican, Haitian
		Maroon creoles	Saramaccan (Suriname), Palenquero (Columbia)
2	Endogenous creoles	Fort creoles	Korlai, Diu Indo-Portuguese
		School creoles	Tayo, Underdeutsch

Creoles are classified into two types: 1) Exogenous creoles, and 2) Endogenous creoles (Table 16.3). Exogenous creoles arose in regions where no single group was indigenous to the area. The emergence of these kinds of creole appeared in colonial areas inhabited by a small number of colonists with their slaves from other areas. Plantation creoles and maroon creoles are examples. The former is much more common and well-documented. Colonial expansion caused a rapid increase in the number of either slave laborers or indentured laborers. Colonial languages became lexifier languages, and laborers needed to take them into their substrate language. The latter refers to a rather similar situation in plantation creoles, but it differs in that creoles arose from usage by those who escaped from plantations and established settlements based on common ethnic backgrounds. Among the endogenous creoles, fort creoles refer to the creoles formed through contact between immigrant laborers and differ from plantation creoles where the colonizers established agrarian settlements. The colonizer's language did not become a lexifier language. Instead, contacts were between substrate languages. School creoles were created in communities where instruction and education were designed for the local children of mixed culture.

Likewise, we can find other pioneering studies such as Schultze (1933, cited in Mühlhäusler 1997), Reinecke (1937), Bickerton (1989), and others. It is apparent that their typological frameworks show similarities with either or both Tables 16.2 or/ and 16.3.

Based on Tables 16.2 and 16.3, it may be assumed that contact linguists might have prioritized the social typology for the pidgins and creoles; but their viewpoints center on how the superstrate and substrate groups came into contact and to what extent they were indigenous to the local community. In this sense, the sociologists of language have had a much closer and sensitive look at the social settings than contact linguists.

2.3 Sociolinguistic variation and sociolinguistic typology

When considering the research of dialectology and sociolinguistics, a number of "classic" social factors under the name of "social variables" are recalled, including gender, age, social class, social network, etc., appearing, as they do, in sociolinguistic textbooks.

In dialectology, regionality is the most important social variable while other variables are not so important, with one exception: NORMs (Non-Mobile, Older, Rural Males) (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). NORMs in dialectology are still important as native old males are expected to maintain the oldest language system. Speakers with a good intuition are able to better answer the questions posed by dialectologists.

Sociolinguists, on the other hand, are keen to explore more linguistic variables. This tendency was emphasized when they explored sociolinguistic variation on contact with other dialects and a standard variety. Some made attempts to investigate dialects of the substrate language in locations such as Hindustani in Fiji (Siegel 1987), South Africa (Mesthrie 1992), and Guyana (Gambhir 1981), while others conducted dialect contact studies on Greek (Ferguson 1959) and Israeli koiné (Blanc 1968). What they shared in common is that both, especially the former, were interested in a new dialect, i.e. koiné formation in parallel with pidgin-creole formation (see the details in Mühläusler (1986) and Siegel (1985)).

On the other hand, dialect contact also became active in sociolinguistics as a result of work since Trudgill (1986). Trudgill (1986) introduced the consideration of short-term and long-term accommodation, a pioneering step in dialect contact studies. The latter, long-term accommodation, would lead to the establishment of a new language variety, especially a koiné; Trudgill (1986) demonstrated the process of koineization through simplification, levelling, focusing, and re-allocation. He continued his work and developed his idea into a more typology-oriented construct. He started this typology by proposing two types of contact: high-contact and low-contact, both of which would lead to the establishment of a new dialect (Trudgill 1989a, 1989b). The consequences of high-contact situation are rapid change and simplification and those of low-contact situation are slow change, complication or "complexification" in Trudgill (2011). In other words, this contact is paraphrased as dialect contact and dialect isolation, respectively.

2.4 Integrated social typology of contact dialects

So far, we have considered how researchers in linguistic typology, the sociology of language, contact linguistics, dialectology, and sociolinguistics examined social factors to account for language and dialect contact phenomena. In order to illustrate contact dialects, I would like to propose possible social factors to include when we work on contact dialects in general. Table 16.4 summarizes the findings shown in Tables 16.2 and 16.3 and also the discussions made above.

Social factors in Table 16.4 are essential to make a comprehensive view of the linguistic variation of the contact dialects, although we might have to make some revisions and further inclusions of other factors, especially those to do with interpersonal communications. I claim that we need to consider four major factors: speaker, movement, the media, and policy. The first two factors target individual movement, and the others deal with macro-level influence. I propose speaker as a first social factor, since this is mandatory to explain every single aspect of sociolinguistic performances. Movement is the second social factor. It has a lot to do with the demographic movements, which would entail contacts with other dialects. The number of social factors in the movement factor is the largest, i.e. duration of the contact, either non-movement vs. movement at the first category, and short-term vs. long-term at the second category. As for the third factor, the media has been one of the most well-known social factors. Mass media plays an important role in influencing local dialects in some countries. The use of other kinds of media, especially internet media, has become important for examining the degree of influence upon dialect contact as well.

Table 16.4: Social factors of contact dialects.

1	Speakers	Age		
		Sex/Gender		
		Social class		
		Ethnicity		
		Social network		
2	Movement	Non-movement	Isolation	
		Short-term	Trade	
			Tourist	
			Construction site	
		Long-term	Migration	Domestic workforce
				Urban cities
				Marriage
				Cultivation
			Plantation	
			Evacuation	
3	The Media	Mass media	TV, Radio, Movie	
			Manga	
		Social media		
4	Policy	Standard variety instruction		

Policy is the fourth social factor. The standardization process was promoted through school education. Use of the standard variety was widely accepted in such countries where the standard variety has prestige and people were highly aware of prescriptivism. As a result of such standardization, regional dialects are faced with endangerment with speakers of the dialects being very much aware of losing their dialect and culture. As a consequence, nowadays, dialects are even promoted and encouraged at the national level.

In the next section, I shall look into specific research outcomes of contact dialect studies in the Japanese context. I will examine how Table 16.4 matches the relevant studies as well.

3 Sociolinguistic outcomes of dialect contact

This section considers the linguistic outcomes which emerge as a result of dialect contacts based on what was discussed in the previous section. The reports in previous literature claim that in most high-contact situations dialect contact results in a more simplified linguistic system. This means that dialect contact would lead to dialect levelling, i.e. the loss of marked features in favor of majority or unmarked features (Trudgill 1989a, 1989b). In addition, standardization, meaning contact between local dialects and a standard variety, is another form of dialect contact. The phenomena in standardization studies such as the Tsuruoka study (Yoneda 1997; Chambers 2009) show a loss of marked dialectal features and the adoption of standard forms.

In this sense, we would assume that, in the same way as other languages, most Japanese contact dialects, regardless of their social settings, would undergo the simplification process. To support this claim, let us consider the linguistic outcomes of dialect contact (Tokugawa 1978; Shibuya 1991, 2008; Asahi 2006a). Shibuya (2008) reported the types of contact-induced changes (Table 16.5). He assigned “X”, “Y”, and “Z”, with each sign comprising sound and meaning. “X” here is the traditional form, “Y” is a new from another (influential) dialect and “Z” is a new form born of the contact situation.

Table 16.5: Types of contact-induced change.

	Initial	Contact	End
1 *tsukaiwake* ‘differentiation’	X	X/Y	X+Y
2 *torikae* ‘replacement’	X	X/Y	Y
3 *konkō* ‘blending’	X	X/Y	X×Y
4 *daisankeishikinodōnyū* ‘adoption’	X	X/Y	Z

Although this table was originally based on the lexical contact and change in Tokugawa (1978), these changes confirm a number of contact-induced changes. Comparing this table with dialect contact studies, the changes more or less deal with levelling. Even if the traditional form (shown in "X") remains as a result of the contact (as in *tsukaiwake*), it would lose its stylistic meanings to some extent. This is an example of dialect levelling.

Before we move on to specific cases, we should not forget that the Japanese language has a large amount of regional variation, even though there are low-contact situations, such as in remote islands or in deep mountainous areas or in diasporic situations. In this sense, it is intriguing to examine whether or not we are able to observe any instances of complexification. In what follows, I look at specific examples in the sociolinguistic and dialectological studies of Japanese contact dialects by focusing on four major social factors: speakers, movement, the media, and policy.

3.1 Speakers

First, every speaker in a speech community has his/her social variables as well as stylistic variables, which compromise his/her sociolinguistic variation. The same holds true in contact dialects too. A contact dialect would have its own preference in which social variables are more important than others. Although emphasis should be put on this topic, few studies have been conducted solely on speakers of contact dialects. Rather, most studies deal more with societal phenomena.

This section, instead, considers two examples of the sociolinguistic variables: (1) it depends on your preference linguistic accommodation and (2) social network in dialect contact settings.

Linguistic accommodation

Linguistic accommodation, first proposed by Giles (1973), looks at how speakers make adjustments in their speech with speakers with socially different backgrounds. They make corrections in favor of adopting the interlocutor's accents/expressions or in not adopting the features, or instead, maintaining or even emphasizing their own features. These adaptions are called convergence and divergence, respectively.

Accommodation theory or communication accommodation theory pioneered by Coupland (1980) and others has been discussed more recently in social psychology (Giles, Coupland and Coupland (eds.) 1991; Gallois, Ogay and Giles 2005). Below is an overview of my own previous studies (Asahi 1998, 2006b) on linguistic accommodation in a dialect contact setting. These studies investigated Japanese students at the University of Essex, with pairs of speakers from Osaka and Tokyo, both male and female, by collecting spontaneous speech.

One of the variables in this study was accentuation pattern on two-mora nouns. The Japanese spoken in Tokyo and Osaka have different realizations of the pattern seen below. In Japanese phonology, Japanese adopts pitch accents with each mora being realized as high (henceforth called H) or low (henceforth called L). Table 16.6 shows the accentuation patterns of the two-mora nouns and those with a nominative marker in two groups.

Table 16.6: Accentuation patterns in Tokyo and Osaka.

	Tokyo	**Osaka**	**Example**
Group 1	LH/LHL	HL/HLL	*isi* 'stone', *yama* 'mountain', *hana* 'flower'
Group 2	HL/HLL	LH/LHL	*ito* 'thread', *mugi* 'wheat', *matsu* 'pine'

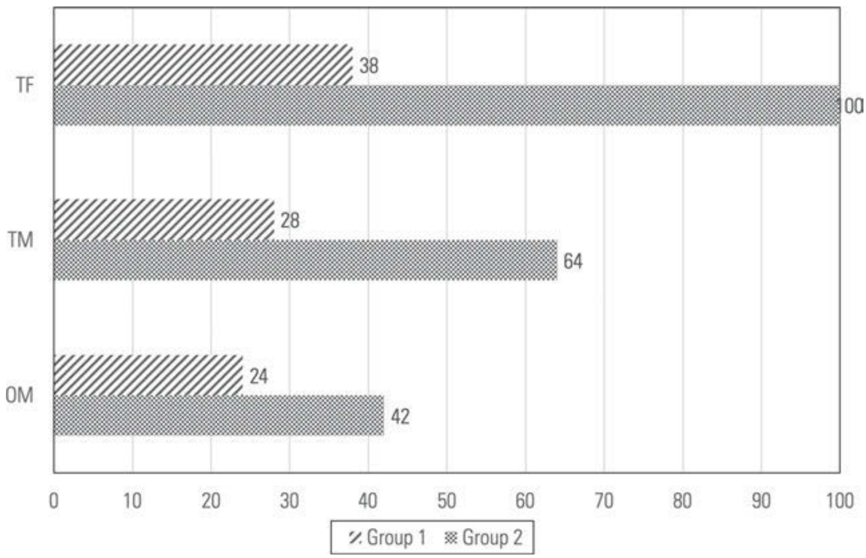

Figure 16.1: Use of Tokyo Type accentuation pattern by an Osaka male speaker.

Figure 16.1 shows the use of Tokyo-type accentuation patterns by one Osaka male speaker (OM). This speaker increased his use of the Tokyo-type pattern in contact situations with Tokyo speakers (TM and TF). This speaker also used more Tokyo-type accentuation patterns with a speaker of the opposite sex than with that of the same sex. This convergence is, in fact, quite common in dialect contact situations. The tendency is emphasized more in Group 2 than Group1, indicating that the initial accent type is easier to be accommodated than the final accent time by the Osaka speaker. What should be noted here is that the role of a Tokyo speaker was quite strong in this study. Different contact situations, such as Osaka and other regional cities such as Fukuoka or Sapporo, would result in different results. This is due to the fact that Tokyo Japanese is associated with the standard variety.

The sociolinguistic laboratory at The Department of Japanese Linguistics at Osaka University conducted a study of style-shift. Shibuya (2002) explains that the aim of this project was to collect spontaneous speech in two settings: formal (talking with interviewers, who were graduate students at the laboratory) and casual (talking with their local members) in various parts of Japan (Aomori, Sendai, Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Kochi, Yamaguchi, and Kagoshima). Although the study investigated the stylistic variation observed from the two settings, it also looked closely at the dialect contact situation.

The Osaka University Sociolinguistic Laboratory reports (Vol.4 through Vol.7) adopted the same structure and examined use of first person/second person pronouns, grammatical categories (case markers, aspectual construction), and honorifics. Some reports included cross dialectal differences on particular categories such as conjunctive particles, accusative case markers, and interjections. Table 16.7 shows the results of Tokyo and Kochi speakers' use of *kara*, *node* and its Kochi dialect form, *ken* to three interlocutors (i.e. same age, young and interviewer) (Matsumaru 2003).

Table 16.7: Use of *kara*, *node*, and *ken* in Tokyo and Kochi.

Tokyo	**Speaker 1 (Old)**			**Speaker 2 (Young)**		
	Same Age	**Young**	**Interviewer**	**Same Age**	**Old**	**Interviewer**
node	–	1	2	1	–	18
kara	16	30	21	29	5	24
Kochi	**Speaker 1 (Old)**			**Speaker 2 (Young)**		
	Same Age	**Young**	**Interviewer**	**Same Age**	**Old**	**Interviewer**
node	–	–	–	–	–	40
kara	1	1	14	–	–	2
ken	44	36	10	27	4	–

Table 16.7 shows that Tokyo speaker 1 rarely used *node* and Tokyo speaker 2 increased *node* in speech with the interviewer. In the same way, Kochi speaker 2 increased the use of *node* in speech with the interviewer. Use of the dialectal form, *ken,* in Kochi, was favored in Kochi speaker 1 in speech with the same age and the young whereas the speaker used *kara* with the interviewer. The Kochi speakers' tendencies are an examples of convergence to the interviewer from outside of Kochi.

Social network

Social network is a well-known social variable (Milroy 1980), and a number of studies have been conducted across languages. The strength of the social network is important in sociolinguistic typology. Social network studies in Japanese sociolinguistics, on the other hand, have yet to be well studied. Recent work has been reported by Hirano (2014), but the study targeted the Anglophone community in Japan. Studies of social network analyses in Japanese sociolinguistics can be seen in Ota (2015) and Abe (2006).

Ota (2015) looked into the influence of the Tokyo-type accentuation pattern on the Kagoshima-type accentuation pattern and investigated how the social network affects the realization of new interdialectal accentuation patterns. He found that the social network was one of the possible factors which affect the influence; a close-knit or dense social network favors the adoption of the new pattern.

Abe (2006) made multivariate analyses of the social network strength in the Bonin islands where a regional koiné emerged. He examined how the social network interacted with language attitudes and language use. He found that a close-knit social network promoted closeness to their home and dialects whereas a loose-knit social network led to indifference towards dialect and home or to strong orientation towards Tokyo.

3.2 Movement

Movement or demographic movement is the second most important social factor to understand the dynamism of contact-induced language changes. Table 16.4 shows three subtopics under this notion based on two criteria: whether or not we have movement and duration of movement. These are (1) non-movement, (2) short-term movement, and (3) long-term movement. Each will be reviewed with relevant literature. This relationship has a lot to do with either high or low contact situations. The former has more to do with the simplification of the system and the latter with the complexification of it (Trudgill 1989a, 1989b).

Non-movement

The first case is non-movement, which means that people do not live away from their birthplace. In other words, the community is highly stable with a lot of shared information and a close-knit social network. This low contact or dialect isolation situation would explain both linguistic and societal stability. Such isolated communities are found in deep mountainous regions of the main island of Honshu. Akiyama in Nagano and Narada in Yamanashi are such examples.

This section considers a dialect spoken in Akiyama in Nagano. Akiyama is an agriculture-based community in one of the deepest mountainside regions in Japan. Mase (1982) and others claim that Akiyama is so isolated that a unique culture has emerged, which includes its dialect, peculiar to the locality. Fortunately, a number of dialectal/descriptive studies have been conducted on this dialect. The Akiyama dialect shares a number of features with Eastern Japanese dialects, although some categories had a unique development and include a number of features of Middle Japanese.

The local Akiyama dialect reportedly has seven vowels while the Japanese spoken in Tokyo has five. Historically, in the late Muromachi period in the 16th century, the Japanese language had seven distinctions. The transition from six to five vowels indicates a transformation in the use of Japanese vowels. Similarly, Akiyama dialects have some intriguing morphological features. Among other forms, (1) and (2) below are unique features which are partly observed also in Hachijo and other dialects.

(1) An assumption marker, –*zu* in *shigoto shoo<u>zu</u>* (I wish to work)
(2) Verb conjugation forms, incorporating a stem-ending, -*to*-
ta<u>to</u>anda (You should leave now)
ta<u>to</u>doki (When you leave here)

In this respect, it is possible to assume that, different from phonology, these forms demonstrate a retention of an old category in the history of this local dialect.

Short-term movement

Short-term movement is the second social factor. As we saw in Table 16.4, short-term movement is for trade business, tourism, or working at construction sites. This kind of movement nowadays is quite normal; you would make a domestic trip for business or leisure. Some even spend two or more hours commuting a day. It is very natural that, especially in an urban area, you may be in a dialect contact situation employing language features in common with your business partners or customers.

Let us now look at some of the relevant studies. Among the three groups, i.e., trade business, tourists, and construction site workers, the tourist dialect presents itself as an intriguing field of study, although few studies have been conducted. For instance, if you are from Tokyo, you need to decide whether or not to use Kyoto dialect when you spend your weekend in Kyoto.

On the other hand, trade and construction sites have been studied more in Japanese sociolinguistics. First, you can see dialect contact situations in trade contexts. On the Island of Sado, Niigata Prefecture, a number of "transplanted" dialect expressions, which are not native to this Island, can be detected. During the Edo period (1603–1868), maritime trade was quite active. One of the major routes at this time was the line from Osaka to the Seto Inland Sea, the Japan Sea, and finally to the Tohoku region. The boats used for such transportation, called *Kitamaebune*, were a major form of transportation, bringing culture and dialects to different parts of Japan. Because of the *Kitamaebune*, plying such routes, the residents of the Sado Island, located in the middle of this route, were in regular contact with the Kinki dialect (e.g. *ikyasen* for *ikanai* 'not go') and Kyoto dialect (e.g. *-han* for *-san* 'polite title suffix') (Inoue (ed.) 2009). Another well-known example is *-sakai,* a dialect form of *-kara* 'since, because'. Usage of these forms spread from the Kinki regions along the Sea of Japan to the Tohoku region. In Niigata, this form was adopted as *-suke*/*-sake* as a result of contact through trade (Hikosaka 2005).

Dialect contacts at construction sites can be still found. Our general understanding is that a number of temporary laborers or *dekasegi* workers leave their hometown and spend a certain period, such as several months, in large cities. Laborers from Kyushu go to Osaka and those from Tohoku go to Tokyo to work, in many cases, at construction sites. Further studies in this area are anticipated, as little is yet known about the sociolinguistic outcomes of dialect contact in such environments. The *dekasegi* movement sometimes accounted for the creation of a neighborhood in a large city. The Okinawan neighborhood in Taisho-ku in Osaka city is one such example. The sociolinguistic variation and attitude toward the Osaka and home dialect has been studied by Kishie and Long (1993).

Long-term movement

Long-term movement is the third factor; and, in fact, we have the largest number of topics in this category. Long-term movement leads to the creation of long-term accommodation. This means that we have better chances to observe dialect contact phenomena. In Table 16.4, I included three topics: migration, plantation, and evacuation. Migration has its own subtopics: domestic workforce, urban cities, marriage, and cultivation. Let us consider each topic with reference to some examples.

Migration

Migration is the most common factor in the demographic movement. As stated above, the subtopics clearly show a good coverage of topics in this movement. Although few studies have been conducted, domestic workers, such as a maid in a wealthy family or a trainee at a hairdresser or barber, are not uncommon even today. The language used between them results in considerable dialect contact in the same way as language contact. Another context in which dialect contact occurs is marriage. Brides, in many cases and grooms in some cases, eventually leave their family home for the rest of their lives. Their dialect is then brought into contact with the new family and the new neighborhood as well as the broader community. A few studies have been conducted such as Inoue (1971) although further studies are expected to be reported.

Other subtopics are even more common: migration to urban cities has been one of the most typical types of demographic movement since the end of 19th century. Large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka were faced with a very rapid increase in population, which resulted in the creation of new towns in the suburbs of those cities. Cultivation is the other subtopic since the cultivation of farmland and community is central to understanding the history of Hokkaido as well as a newly-designed agriculture-based community in Ogata Village in Akita (Sato and Hidaka 1999).

The remainder of this section shall refer to two sites: New Towns and Hokkaido as being representative to the discussion of long-term movement on migration and its impact on dialect contact.

(1) New Towns

Japanese New Towns were designed and developed for urbanization. The notion of a New Town was adopted from an urban planning model, Garden Town, in England (Howard 1902). Dialect contact studies in such settings have been conducted since the 1980s. Horiguchi (1981a, 1981b, 1982) investigated dialect contact and change in the Japanese accentuation in Tsukuba (Kandori 1989), while Takanaga (1996) studied a small New Town in Hiroshima, and Niwa (1992) studied a New Town in Kasugai.

In studies of dialect contact and change in Seishin New Town in Kobe (Asahi 2006b, 2008), I focused on verb negation. In Kobe *-hen/-henkatta/-henanda* and *-n/-nkatta/-nanda* were used for non-past (first form) and past forms (second two forms), whereas in Tokyo Japanese, the variants are found to be *–nai*/ *-nakatta*, respectively. Figures 16.2 and 16.3 show the use of these variants.

What characterizes the middle age group (Figure 16.2) is that Seishin New Town residents preferred non-dialectal features, i.e. *-nai/-nakatta*. The past negative only takes *-nakatta* (Figure 16.3). Middle aged aliens who migrated to Seishin New Town from outside the Kinki region, basically follow the same pattern as that of middle-aged locals who migrated to Seishin New Town from Kobe. They frequently use of *-nai/-nakatta* and *-nkatta* and not *-henkatta*.

On the other hand, younger age groups behave in a different way from middle age groups. They demonstrate more frequent use of the local dialectal variants in both non-past and past forms of the verb. The usage of the non-past negative variants is quite similar. In this respect, the use of variants for this particular grammatical category has become stabilized to some extent: *-nkatta* increased as opposed to *-nakatta* for both young-aged locals and aliens. A dialectal variant for *-nakatta*, i.e. *-nkatta,* is replaced in the same way as *-n* replaces *-nai* for the non-past form.

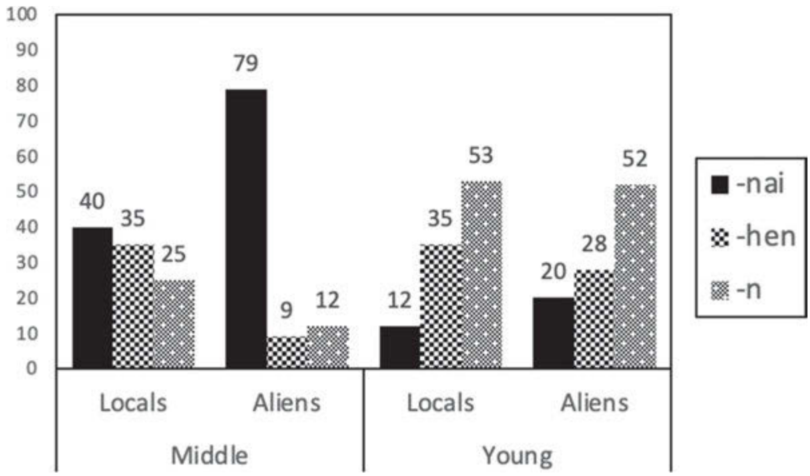

Figure 16.2: Percentage of the non-past negative variants in Seishin New Town.

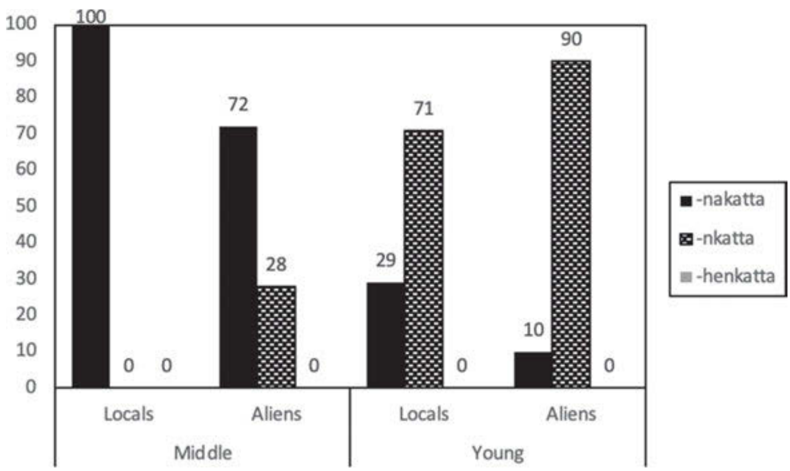

Figure 16.3: Percentage of the past negative variants in Seishin New Town.

(2) Hokkaido

Hokkaido has received a number of immigrants from all over Japan although primarily from the northern Tohoku region (i.e. Aomori, Iwate, and Akita). Those who migrated to Hokkaido at the earlier stage were engaged in cultivation: constructing roads, fields for vegetables, laying railways, etc. At the same time, they engaged in farming, poultry, forest industries, and fishing to develop their new land. A number of dialects were introduced in Hokkaido with dialect contact occurring throughout the entire region.

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute) conducted a large-scale real-time study in Hokkaido from 1958. Let us consider an example from

Nambu, Asahi and Aizawa (2014). This study examined the use of the velar nasal /ŋ/ in positions other than the word-initial or syllable onset position such as *higashi* 'east' or *tamago* 'egg'. Drawing upon data in Furano's 1986 and Sapporo's 1987 studies, the study looked at frequencies of this variant. Figure 16.4 shows the percentage of this variant in Furano and Sapporo. These figures show the decrease in the frequency of the velar nasal in the two cities.

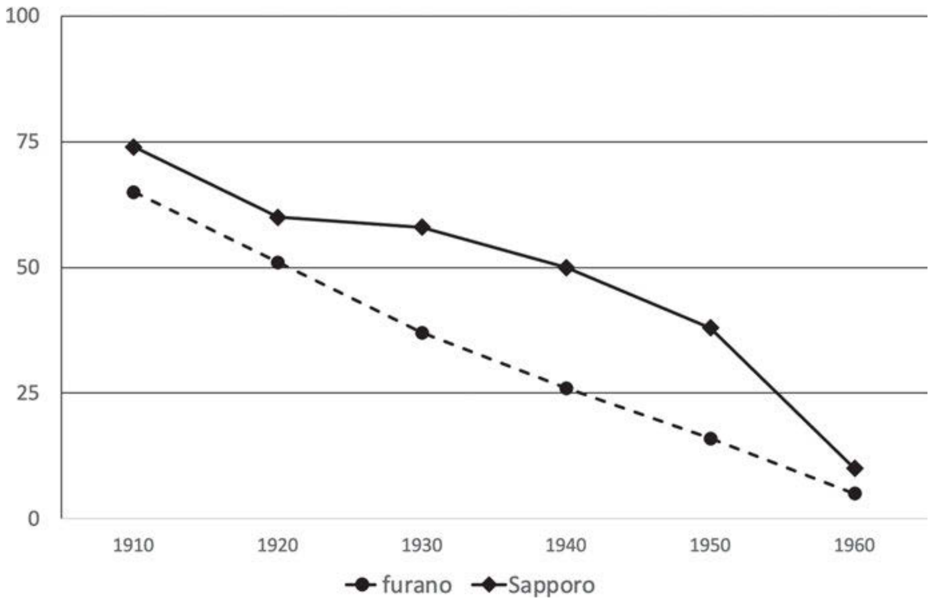

Figure 16.4: Percentage of the use of velar nasal in Furano and Sapporo.

We can see how the percentage of usage decreased over time. Nambu, Asahi, and Aizawa (2014) argue that the change started earlier in Furano, which resulted in the more rapid decrease indicated for Furano, as shown in Figure 16.4. This is an indication of dialect levelling in the Japanese spoken in Hokkaido. Sapporo, on the other hand, is the largest city. Therefore, it would be expected that there would be a higher degree of dialect contact. We should not forget that Sapporo has seen an increase in population and remember that those who use velar-nasals from their hometown in mainland Japan are likely to be included in the respondents' group. This factor affects the degree of decrease of the velar-nasals in Sapporo.

Shibuya (1991) proposes a framework for the formation of the Hokkaido dialect based on Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1965) and Ono (1978) as follows:

(1) Third-generation residents of Hokkaido acquire "Hokkaido dialect" regardless of the dialectal backgrounds of the first generation.
(2) First-generation residents of Hokkaido maintain their home dialectal features. Lexical changes from the home dialect to Hokkaido dialect start between the first

and the second generation and spreads into other categories such as phonology and morphology between the second and the third generation.
(3) The degree of the change is shaped by community type (i.e. urban vs rural, migration history from one area or more)

This framework reminded me of how the stages of new dialect formation are conceptualized. Trudgill proposed the following three stages across three generations (Trudgill 1998; Trudgill, et al. 2000) (Table 16.8).

Table 16.8: Three stages of new dialect formation.

Stage	Speakers involved	Linguistic characteristics
I	Adult migrants (first generation)	Rudimentary levelling
II	First native generation (second generation)	Extreme variability and further levelling
III	Subsequent generations	Focusing, levelling, and reallocation

Both Shibuya (1991) and Trudgill (1998) concur that the contact dialect would become more stabilized and near full-fledged over time. If we attempt to integrate these two approaches, we would say that dialect levelling takes place in the first generation in Hokkaido and it continues to the third generation with considerable variability among the speakers but at the same time, the system becomes stable through focusing as well.

Plantation

In Japan, it is not easy to find a plantation community; but we were able to do so in the Minami Daito Island in Okinawa Prefecture where a group of people from the Hachijo Island in Tokyo migrated at the end of the 19th century to start farming sugar-cane, with a factory for work at which they hired a number of laborers from the main island of Okinawa. At that time, standard Japanese was not widespread in either island. This meant that eventually the Hachijo dialect and Ryukyu dialects were brought into contact. Nagata (1985, 1996), Nakai et al. (2004), and Long (2004) studied the dialects spoken mainly by the islanders of Hachijo descendants. Their findings from interviews were that the respondents maintained a certain degree of their home Hachijo dialect, while finding some use of Ryukyu dialect as well. Nakai et al. (2004) refers to a number of reports of the lives of the interviewees before the 1940s. Hachijo descendants used Hachijo dialect at home and Tokyo Japanese with laborers from Okinawa. Some of them used Ryukyuan along with Hachijo and Tokyo Japanese. As a result, a new dialect, a Minami Daito dialect, emerged as a new dialect or a new regional *koiné* (Nagata 1996).

Evacuation

Evacuation eventually occurs in any country in the case of war, natural disasters, nuclear radiation, and such catastrophes. This entails demographic movement from a certain place to different parts of the country or outside of the country. Studies of such migration are few, although we found some literature relevant to such evacuations. For instance, Kitamura (1952) investigated elementary and high school students (aged from 6 years to 18 years) who evacuated to Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture, from the Tokyo-Yokohama area. He identified several phonological features of the Fukushima dialect and investigated at what age the students acquired the local phonology. He found that after the age 13 or 14, students were unable to acquire the precise phonological accuracy which they could have if they had started communicating in the dialect at the age of 5 or 6. He added that if their mother were from Shirakawa, they were more likely to use the Shirakawa phonology as well.

3.3 The media

The third factor is the media. In the formation of contact dialect, the media has been classified as "not important" since face-to-face interaction is the starting point of dialect contact. However, the role of the media, especially TV, considerably impacts upon language usage in Japan. Smakman (2012) investigated the definition of the standard language across countries including Japan. Table 16.9 shows a summary of part of his results of the study. He proposed that the profession of those who most influenced the maintenance of what is considered to be Standard Japanese was newsreaders (87.1%). For those in other professions, none, including language experts, teachers, or the prime minister, were considered as being important for influencing or maintaining Standard Japanese among Japanese respondents. Considering this, it is important to see how the mass media impacts on language use. Among other studies, Ota and Takano (2014) demonstrated the influence of the media on language.

Table 16.9: Profession of the standard language speakers.

	ENGLAND	JAPAN	NETHERLANDS	US
newsreaders	15.0	86.9	45.7	20.4
language experts	10.0	5.5	12.1	1.8
teachers	7.5	1.1	2.9	35.4
educated people	5.5	–	16.4	1.8
president/prime minister	14.0	–	–	11.5
queen	19.0	–	–	–

Table 16.9 (continued)

	ENGLAND	JAPAN	NETHERLANDS	US
all equal	7.5	3.3	5.0	6.2
various	19.0	2.2	15.0	16.8
no opinion/no answer	2.5	1.1	2.9	6.2

3.4 Policy

The last factor is language policy, which relates more to societal factors than linguistic factors. The issue I would like to raise here is how the standard language impacts on dialects in the Japanese context. Needless to say, the standard language has been very influential and standardization consolidated throughout the 20th century. Contact between local dialect and standard language took place throughout the country resulting in many changes in favor of the standard form. The process itself is well studied, and we see some examples including real-time study such as the Tsuruoka studies by NINJAL and others in this volume.

4 Concluding remarks

The rich nature of the regional differences of Japanese has provided a number of research opportunities to study dialect. Social change and modernization motivated people to aspire to better incomes and better lives resulting in contact situations in various parts of the country. All dialects are in contact today.

This chapter primarily focused on social factors in dialect contact situations. In Section 2, I referred to research outcomes from pidgin and creole studies and also from language maintenance and shift studies to examine to what extent the analytic framework (in Table 16.4) would explain the contact dialects of Japanese. In Section 3, I illustrated the contact induced changes in various contexts (speakers, movement, the media, and policy) with a close look at the relevant literature. Dialect contact situations, in most cases, resulted in the reduction of irregularities, in other words, simplification. This finding is consistent with mainstream contact dialectological studies. Along with this finding, we also found a case of dialect isolation with the retention of the classic linguistic system.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to emphasize the following three points: (1) the importance of studying contact situations. We have a number of regional dialects in Japanese. We know that today the standard language is widespread, but this does not mean that we have lost regional variation. We should investigate the different degrees of standardization in various parts of the country. At the same time, we have had various kinds of demographic movements. We should engage in more studies of how dialects are in contact with the neighboring areas of large cities, such as New Towns. (2) The importance of placing the research focus on low contact situations. Although we do have a considerable number of isolated communities in different parts of the country, isolated dialects remain understudied. (3) The importance of learning more about contact linguistics and of working more collaboratively. After studying social factors in language maintenance and shift, I aimed to cover the topic in Table 16.1 by referring to relevant literature. One difficulty was that I could not locate any studies relating to the domestic workforce or construction sites or to maritime or military personnel. If locations of such communities can be found, they need to be investigated. Linguistic analyses will provide more opportunities to discuss the findings and to make contributions to our understanding of contact phenomena. We should also investigate similar communities, such as Japanese "temporal" communities outside of the country (Shanghai, Dusseldorf, Amstelveen, Torrance, Singapore, Boston, etc.), where unique dialect contact situations can be found, yet where few studies have been conducted.

I believe that ongoing research into areas of such dynamic language change will result in contributions of considerable value to sociolinguistics, historical (socio-)linguistics as well as contact linguistics.

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Frank E. Daulton

17 Japanese loanwords and lendwords

1 Introduction

Virtually every language has increased its vocabulary by borrowing from other languages. *Lexical borrowing* typically is the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect. It can also include roots and affixes, sounds, and collocations. A *loanword* (LW) is a word borrowed from a donor language that has been incorporated – to some degree – into a recipient language in a process known as *language borrowing* (see Ringbom 1987). LWs typically fill lexical gaps following a society's exposure to a foreign culture or technology and tend to not include basic vocabulary and function words. LWs can retain a strong foreign connotation, or be used solely in reference to the concept/object without regard to origin.

The path of LWs can be indirect or circuitous, with borrowings moving from country to country. Moreover, a word can return from the recipient language back to the donor language in a different form, a process called *re-borrowing.* In each language they enter, LWs undergo various orthographic, morphological, and semantic adaptations, so they are not necessarily used as they are in their donor language. Regardless of the circumstances, LWs typically enrich the borrowing languages and are an important facet of global language evolution.

2 Japan's borrowing from English

A prime example of lexical borrowing is Japan's massive importation of European words, particularly those from American English (see Daulton 2008); such LWs are known in Japan as *gairaigo* 'words from abroad'.

2.1 Extent of borrowing

Among the world's languages, Japanese stands apart regarding the extent of its lexical borrowing. Historically speaking, English during the first few centuries following the Norman Conquest (Miller 1967), or Polish after the fall of the Soviet Union (Arabski (ed.) 2006), are among the few languages that have been as hospitable to LWs as Japanese. Japanese contact with English began more than 200 years ago, contact with other Euro-

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Ryukoku University for its many years of support for my research.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-018

pean languages goes back 500 years, and heavy lexical borrowing from China precedes that. English words have become especially important since WWII, and today some 10 percent of the Japanese lexicon originates from English, with words such as *mama* 'mum' and *bai-bai* 'bye-bye' among babies' first words (see Daulton 2008).

The number of Western LWs, as recorded in dictionaries, has increased steadily since Commodore Perry's 1853 arrival, the 1868 Meiji Restoration, and Japan's subsequent rush to modernization. The 1859 *Genkai* already contained 551 LWs, constituting 1.4 percent of items (Shibatani 1990). About one century later, the 1956 *Reikai Kokugo Jiten* contained 1428 LWs (3.5 percent of items), and the 1989 *Nihongo Daijiten* contained 13,300 (10 percent) (Tomoda 1999). After WWII, English LWs became the driving force in Japan's lexical expansion; for instance, 60 to 70 percent of the new words in the annually revised dictionary of neologisms, *Gendai Yōgo no Kiso Chishiki* (1980), are Western LWs (Honna 1995).

The absolute number of European LWs that have, over the years, entered into Japanese is high. Specialty dictionaries typically list 20,000 to 30,000, while some contain over 50,000. Indeed, some 10 percent of the Japanese lexicon, as seen in dictionaries (e.g. Park 1987), newspapers (e.g. Oshima 2004), and daily conversation (Honna 1995) consist of Western-based LWs such as *konpyuutaa* 'computer'. Among these items, commonly used LWs are but a fraction; the Japanese use such dictionaries to look up the obscure LWs they encounter. Yet other borrowings, such as *aji-ru* meaning to agitate politically, are now anachronistic and no longer listed in dictionaries.

Of course, LWs are not limited to dictionaries. In 1964, according to a survey of the popular press, 10 percent of the Japanese lexicon consisted of non-Chinese and non-Japanese words, not including *hybrid compounds*, combinations of foreign words with native ones, such as *dai-hitto* (Japanese 'big' + English 'hit'), which constituted an additional 6 percent (Loveday 1996). From 1952 to 1997, the percentage of LWs in the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper rose from 2.5 percent to 10.1 percent (Oshima 2004). In 1995, it was reported that 13 percent of words used in conversation were LWs (Honna 1995). And LWs are so abundant that roughly half of the most common word families of English correspond to everyday LWs in Japanese (Daulton 2008).

English-derived items are particularly common in certain lexical fields. Technical terms are particularly susceptible to borrowing (Swan 1997). Honna (1995: 52) writes: "There seems to be no linguistic barrier in accepting English vocabulary for advanced knowledge." For instance, the vast majority of computer-related vocabulary comes from English (Loveday 1996: 79).

Anglicization is particularly intense in the mass media. Regarding the words used by the six major television networks from April to June of 1989, 64 of the most frequently spoken 1186 words (5.4 percent) were either a LW or were hybrid compounds; the top three were *amerika* 'America', *terebi* 'television' and then *nyuusu* 'news' (Shibatani 1990). Among written words (e.g. those used in graphics), 38 of the most frequent 492 words (7.7 percent) were or contained a LW; the top three were *puroduusaa* 'producer', *nihon terebi* literally, 'Japan Television', the name of a network, and then

GIANTS (the name of a baseball team, appearing in the Roman alphabet). LWs and hybrid forms account for four to six percent of *tokens* (all words, even repetitions) and 12 to 12.7 percent of *types* (discrete words), with hybrids constituting an additional two percent of tokens and five percent of types.

Although the Japanese are surrounded by English-based LWs in daily life, there is more variance among fields regarding their respective jargon. Regarding technical vocabulary, some academic fields are dominated by LWs while others are linguistically conservative by comparison, as seen in Table 17.1.

Table 17.1: Academic fields and English-based technical words (Loveday 1996).

computer science / 99%	chemistry / 39%
broadcast / 82%	finance / 35%
trade / 80%	biology / 30%
journalism / 75%	philosophy / 23%
marketing / 75%	history / 17%

In very conservative fields, such as law and politics, the only LWs used consist almost entirely of hybrid compounds such as *akai teepu* 'red tape' (Loveday 1996). Even within a given field, there can be variation. Although political science and the bureaucracy are relatively conservative, a survey conducted by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) found that out of a sample of 11,835 names of local government projects, 25.2 percent contained *gairaigo* (Mogami 1984; cited in Tomoda 2005). Moreover, while economics is generally a rather conservative field (see Daulton 2011b), monetary and financial economics is dominated by LWs such as *hejji-fando* 'hedge fund'.

Regarding LW currency, while mass media channels can passively disseminate Western scientific terminology such as *arukaroido* and *saikurotoron*, its currency tends to be as restricted as 'alkaloid' and 'cyclotron' are in the English world.

2.2 Factors encouraging borrowing

Following the Pacific War, Japan became enamored with American English, eclipsing other European languages. English borrowing is particularly intense in the areas of popular culture and science. Among other things, English is a high-prestige language, with connotations of modernity, sophistication, and practicality. Not only does the English lexicon represents a vast, exploitable resource, Japan's knack for adapting foreign ideas and technology is legendary.

Around the world, the three typical reasons lexical items are borrowed are: political and economic situations, technological developments, and new lifestyles (Arabski (ed.) 2006). In the case of Japan, in addition to its abiding desire for Westernization, the somewhat unique blend of factors encourage its borrowing from Western languages, particularly English, include: freedom for ad-hoc borrowing, universal English education, malleability, systematic redundancy, a dedicated script, tolerance of LWs, and a high turnover rate (Daulton 2010).

2.2.1 Freedom for ad-hoc borrowing

The core principle of Japan's English borrowing is 'total availability'. In the words of Park (1987), "Since the end of World War II, and particularly during the occupation of Japan by English-speaking troops, total availability has been exercised. Today any English word is fair game for Japanization" (Park 1987: 34).

Generally, it is those in government (e.g. bureaucrats and lawmakers), academia (e.g. translators and researchers), and particularly the media (e.g. copy-writers and journalists) who are the initial borrowers of words (Loveday 1996; Tomoda 1999). Some borrowers are very familiar with the other language and may be bilingual speakers, and some may have close contact with the loaner culture, but neither of these are necessarily the case.

Typically borrowing involves inserting a foreign word, or sometimes a phrase, into a spoken or written communication. Most borrowings fill lexical gaps such as in *terabaito* 'terabyte' and the hybrid *saibaa-rinri* 'cyber-ethics'. However, in Japan much borrowing also is done for largely decorative purposes.

Indeed, the Japanese public encounters most new LWs through marketing and advertising, where Anglicization is particularly intense; here, there is much decorative language mixing and switching to influence emotions and behavior. English words are typically borrowed not to create vocabulary, per se, but to achieve a goal, such as making an impression or promoting a product. After its introduction, a borrowing gains currency in society if more individuals exploit it for their own purposes (see Daulton 2004).

2.2.2 Universal English education

The mass media, and marketers in particular, exploit the fruit of Japan's universal system of English education – a wide-ranging yet superficial familiarity with English vocabulary and the Roman alphabet. For more than a century, there has been formal English education in Japan. The average Japanese person has had at least 3120 hours of English instruction (Honna 1995), more if college educated.

Yet the Western LWs that flourish in the mass media are often beyond the public's level of comprehension. A 1973 NHK survey found the comprehension of 100 LWs assumed to be well understood ranged from merely 40 to 60 percent, depending upon demographics (cited in Shibatani 1990). Moreover, with the most commonly used 15 words in the media, while the average recognition rate was 77 percent, only half were actually understood, showing that people were not always familiar with even the most frequently used LWs and did not necessarily understand those they claimed to know. Similar results were found for LWs in the 2001 issues of the *Mainichi* newspaper (Daulton 2004).

Nevertheless, poorly or not-comprehended English words may have the most utility in marketing; LWs' intrinsic novelty breaks through advertising clutter, and LWs' obscurity engages the imagination, making brand names and advertising text more memorable (see Iwasaki 1994). Therefore, LWs' intelligibility and intrinsic meanings are often knowingly sacrificed (Miller 1967). The unimportance of meaning is attested to by the great number of English-sounding product names (e.g. *Delica* for a minivan).

2.2.3 Malleability

Indeed, the public's vague understanding of English allows LWs to be used flexibly throughout society. LWs can be used without reference to their source words, and there is no motivation to protect their original meanings (Kay 1995), except in the sciences (Nishiyama 1995), where international standards must apply. Therefore, on entering the language and with time, LWs are open to modification in meaning and usage as well as part of speech and phonology.

Words often take on adapted meanings to serve the needs of a changing society. LWs are especially open to modification, both on entering the language, and with time. One reason is that the meaning or usage of a word in its original language may not be fully understood; nor need it be, as LWs are used without reference to their source. Another is that, with words of foreign origin, there is no deep cultural motivation to protect their original meanings. The flexibility of form and meaning of LWs enables them to adapt easily to the structure of the host language, and current trends and needs (Kay 1995: 71–72).

About 90 percent of LWs are nouns, followed distantly by adjectives (see Honna 1995). Although the assignment of word class tends to correspond to the original language, the part of speech can be freely changed when entering Japanese; words to be borrowed are treated as uninflected nouns that do not belong to a word class, convertible by means of suffixation (Loveday 1996). Notably, almost any LW can be verbalized by adding -*suru* 'to do', including verbs (e.g. *puree suru* 'to do play').

Notable transformations beyond those necessary to render English into Japanese phonology include: shortening (e.g. *hoomu* from platform); hybridization (e.g. *daihitto*); and coinage (e.g. *baazin-roodo* 'virgin road' for a bride's red carpet).

LWs not only tend to shift meanings more quickly than Japanese or Sino-Japanese words (Miura 1979), the more the Japanese come to use a LW, the more its meaning(s) can evolve. Some LWs may stray farther and farther from the donor language, while individuals familiar with English may use certain LWs in ways increasingly similar to the original; it may be this incomplete linguistic assimilation of foreign LWs that allows Japanese traditional concepts and culture to be maintained (Kay 1995).

2.2.4 Systematic redundancy

Regardless of the original intent of a word's borrowing, the public may embrace a special use for it, and many *gairaigo* have become popular despite existing Japanese equivalents. This is because ostensibly synonymous LWs can be molded to express sentiments or situations not as easily described by Japanese, as well as fresh nuances. The connotations triggered by color LWs are different from their Japanese counterparts, and *ieroo* 'yellow', for instance, is associated with brightness more than *ki-iro*. Terms borrowed to make a distinction between similar items: *hibachi* as a smaller form of a barbecue grill. The richness of meanings provided by LWs has made them indispensable.

In addition to subtle differences of meaning, redundant LWs can distinguish between Western and Japanese things, and between natural and modified states; they can also be used as an affectation or euphemism. To take the first as an example, while *raisu*, *gohan* and *meshi* all describe 'rice': LW *raisu* seems fresh, elegant, cosmopolitan and even exotic; Sino-Japanese *gohan* is more stiff and formal; and indigenous *meshi* is used colloquially (and exclusively by men) with an informal ring.

LWs sometimes outrival native vocabulary. For example, although *kisu* 'kiss' is equated with *seppun* in dictionaries, it has become far more common in conversation (Miura 1979). Each subsequent generation, with growing familiarity with English, technology, and the global culture, may increasingly prefer *gairaigo* to indigenous words, which typically require the memorization of *kanji*.

2.2.5 A dedicated script

Japan's near-exclusive use of a unique script for LWs, *katakana*, greatly facilitates borrowing and may be unique in the world.

Japanese writing is a combination of Chinese characters (i.e. *kanji*) and the *hiragana* syllabary. However, for foreign (i.e. Western) words, the *katakana* syllabary is used almost exclusively. *Katakana* is also used for certain, less common purposes such as the texts of telegrams and emphasis (Seeley 1990). An average sentence contains about 65 percent *hiragana*, 25–30 percent *kanji*, and four percent *katakana* (Taylor 1981). Roman numbers and the Roman alphabet also appear sporadically.

Like *hiragana*, *katakana* is a sound-based system where the mora (i.e. a short syllable) rather than the phoneme is the basic unit; for instance, the LW *ekisupaato* 'expert' is written in six *katakana* that correspond to *e-ki-su-pa-a-to*. Both *hiragana* and *katakana* contain 46 basic letters (71 with the use of diacritics, used for voicing). In contrast to the round shape of *hiragana*, *katakana* are immediately recognizable by their bold and simple lines. Thus, because loanwords are written in *katakana*, they are distinguished at a glance from those of native Japanese or ancient Chinese origins (Kay 1995).

The *katakana* script allows any foreign word to be easily borrowed into Japanese, even temporarily, instantly making the LWs universally legible to even monolingual Japanese. Conversely, *katakana* enables any individual to write an English word without knowing its original spelling or having to assign or learn *kanji* for it, which would require a consensus or official approval before common use (Kay 1995).

Prior to WWII, foreign words were typically adopted into Japanese by *loan translation* – calques were created with the *kanji* that either captured a foreign word's meaning or simply provided a phonetic equivalent. However, under the U.S. occupation, the use and education of *kanji* was curtailed, and it was furthermore decreed that Western-based LWs be exclusively encoded in *katakana*, greatly encouraging the creation and use of LWs over *kanji*-based calques (Honna 1995).

Both *katakana* in Japanese and italics in English alert readers that a word is foreign; however, no matter how established a LW becomes, with few exceptions, it will always be written in *katakana*, whereas French *déjà vu*, for example, is so widely used in English as to no longer require italics (or French accent marks).

Occasionally Western LWs appear in their original, Roman alphabet form, and the use of all capital letters is common. Some are abbreviations written in the Roman script, for example the innovative form *OL* (from 'office lady' meaning a young secretary) and *CD*, pronounced as if they were written in *katakana*, that is, *ooeru* and *siidii* An acronym such as GATT, too, is pronounced as a Japanese word, *gatto*. English words appearing in their unchanged Roman alphabet form occur in the media and particularly as graphic design elements. These are typically decorative, sometimes misspelled, and usually not clearly understood. Various mixtures of *katakana* and the Roman alphabet can occur as well, such as '*gorufuING*' (e.g. 'golfing').

The linguistic segregation of *gairaigo* caused by *katakana* is not stigmatizing. Indeed, *katakana* was originally chosen to represent LWs because of its higher prestige than *hiragana*, having been used to notate Buddhist scripture (Loveday 1996). The result is a clear compartmentalization of cultures, instilling confidence in the integrity of the native language (see Kay 1995). This partially explains why there has been little attempt to limit *gairaigo*.

2.2.6 Tolerance of LWs

Necessary for the "total availability" of English for borrowing is the Japanese public's high tolerance for the presumptuous and decorative use of obscure LWs, as well as of LWs in general.

Western LWs, readily identifiable as foreignisms by their *katakana* (or English) transcriptions, are widely embraced. According to Loveday (1996), two determinants of individuals' disposition to LWs are youth and profession, regardless of gender. Japanese between 18 and 29 have the most affinity to *gairaigo*, especially students and white-collar workers. Among the youth one finds the most innovative use of LWs, including unorthodox suffixation as when panic is conjugated as a Japanese verb to become *paniku-ru*.

Some topics are highly receptive to LWs. For instance, Loveday (1996) found that 52 percent of flower names, 35 percent of vegetable names, 30 percent of fruit names, 24 percent of animal names, and 9 percent of colors come from English. The technical jargon of academic fields such as computer science are dominated by *gairaigo*, while other fields, such as law and politics, are lexically conservative.

Complicated or esoteric LWs may sound pretentious, thus there is some pressure to avoid them at first meetings (Stanlaw 1982; Shibatani 1990). It has also been noted that LWs used for affectation or snobbery are quick to disappear from usage (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006). Occasionally, calls for curbing the use of *gairaigo* are voiced, based on concerns about their relative opacity and an erosion of the native lexicon. However, only natural attrition effectively limits LWs.

2.2.7 High turnover

The two fates for a LW, according to Loveday (1996: 78), are: ". . . Either integration and acceptance into the community code or rejection and oblivion." Well-established LWs enjoy prominence in daily conversation and print, and in some cases further adjustments in pronunciation, morphology, and semantics. However, most LWs' are restricted to the voluminous *gairaigo* dictionaries. Indeed, the majority of English words ever borrowed have, in the words of Motwani (1991: v), already decayed into "trite, ineffective expressions not basic to the Japanese lexicon and everyday speech."

Words borrowed from English tend to be adopted, gain and lose popularity, and be abandoned much more quickly than Japanese or Sino-Japanese words (Miura 1979, Shibatani 1990). An important reason is that borrowings often involve changing technologies. A review of two dictionaries of "common" *gairaigo* (Kamiya 1994, Motwani 1991) revealed that an average of 16.5 percent of their items were (already) poorly understood by Japanese university students (Daulton 2001).

The constant influx of new LWs coincides with the discarding of others; LWs whose usefulness has passed are easily abandoned while new items are freely adopted.

In addition to these factors that are characteristic or even unique to Japan are more universal and individual ones. In some cases, there may exist a real need, such as terms for new technology, while in many other cases, there is simply a prestige associated with the borrowed words, especially when they originate from "prestige" cultures.

2.3 Today's generation of LWs

Since WWII, Japan has been inordinately disposed to borrowing words from English, eclipsing that from other European languages. Particularly in the areas of popular culture and science, borrowing has accelerated. English words are borrowed not to create vocabulary, *per se*, but to achieve a goal, such as promoting a product or idea. Thereafter, a borrowing gains foothold in the lexicon if more individuals exploit it for their own purposes. Eventually, a LW can snowball into prominence through the proverbial 800-pound *gorira* – the Japanese mass media.

2.3.1 The borrowers of LWs

While *gairaigo* literally means 'words that came from outside', two less common but descriptively accurate expressions are *kari-irego* (literally 'words borrowed in') and *shaku-yogo* 'borrowed words and terms'. Indeed, English words do not infiltrate the Japanese language by their own initiative but are "borrowed" by someone. However, linguists can seldom identify who precisely created a LW. Indeed, it may be surprisingly common for LWs to be introduced simultaneously or successively by unrelated individuals. What can generally be said is that elite groups in society, those in the government (e.g. bureaucrats and lawmakers), academia (e.g. translators and researchers), and particularly the media (e.g. copy-writers and journalists), are the main actors in the flood of new *gairaigo* (Loveday 1996; Tomoda 1999). A typical borrowing is unilaterally carried out by a very small number of individuals, at a time when most people have never heard of the English word before; according to Quackenbush (1974: 66), "Words like these do not 'filter into' Japanese – they are created deliberately and sprung on an unsuspecting public."

English-based LWs are used most conspicuously and intensely in marketing. However, a distinctive feature of Japanese marketing is that the actual use of *gairaigo* is essentially decorative and discourages comprehension. English and LWs are useful tools to serve the consumer society.

2.3.2 The dissemination of LWs by the media

Once a foreign word has been borrowed, it is the mass media, more than the government or academia, which is able to disseminate the nascent LW. Itself a borrower, the mass media's technology is advanced and far reaching. In this environment, new LWs are adopted by media personnel according to their usefulness and promoted to the extent that they can be exploited. By contrast, utilitarian LWs (e.g. scientific terminology) circulate largely out of the mainstream.

The typical Japanese person encounters new LWs – and many English words – through marketing and advertising, where they are prominently featured. Takashi

(1990) reported that nearly a quarter of word tokens in a sample of print advertisements were classed as *gairaigo*. First contact is usually written, sometimes spoken, but seldom both. Because LWs are typically transcribed into the bold, angular *katakana*, they possess a visual quality that is modern, foreign, hip, and cutting-edge. Alternatively, English can be transcribed in the original Roman alphabet literatim as in "SALE" and innovatively as in "I feel Coke." Both *katakana* and the original Roman alphabet enhance the attention-grabbing potential of English, making new and novel LWs a highly effective tool in promotional strategies.

The majority of Japanese live in crowded urban areas, where citizens can be efficiently bombarded with advertising. The market for goods is highly competitive, and marketers aggressively and innovatively appeal to consumers. Because of its ubiquity and appeal, marketers exert a strong impact on the shaping of future colloquial Japanese, and it has resulted in a rapid absorption of new LWs (Tomoda 1999).

Marketers generally draw from the basic English vocabulary to which all the Japanese have been exposed. When the public meets the new LW, their knowledge of the corresponding English word is tapped through *interlexical activation* – regardless of phonetic similarity (see Tamaoka and Miyaoka 2003). This makes the resulting brand names and advertising text more memorable.

The public's typically vague understanding of English allows a LW to be used quite flexibly. Indeed, the value of LWs and foreign words often depends on their obscurity; LWs' intrinsic novelty helps marketers break through the advertising clutter, and LWs' obscurity engages consumers' imagination. Therefore, the intelligibility and intrinsic meanings of LWs are often intentionally sacrificed. Particularly in advertising, they are numerous instances of not lexical borrowing, per se, but decorative language mixing and switching to appeal to emotions and influence consumer behavior.

In a study of advertising, it was found that 45 percent of LWs were 'special-effect givers' and 23 percent demonstrated another sort of decorative use in brand names (e.g. *Rigein* 'regain') (Takashi 1990: 330–331). As for other classifiable uses of LWs, 16 percent were lexical gap fillers (e.g. *pen* 'pen'), 13 percent technical terms (e.g. *fakusimiri* 'facsimile') and 0.5 percent euphemisms (e.g. *basuto* 'bust'). Because of how marketers use LWs, the language of the mass media can be considered distinct from colloquial Japanese (Haarmann 1984).

From the stereotypes the Japanese hold, each foreign language evokes specific connotations. English words suggest that products have a practical use, are of high quality, and enjoy international appreciation (see Haarmann 1984). Thus they are used to introduce products such as cars, stereos, sportswear, and alcoholic drinks. Similarly, for the very purposes of attaching prestige to products, it is common for foreign models and celebrities to appear in advertisements.

The degree to which marketers expose the Japanese to LWs depends on demographics and interests. For instance, more LWs appear in advertisements directed towards students than towards business workers and homemakers, with no notable difference relating to gender (Takashi 1990). The fashion-conscious and/or internationally minded are more likely to encounter English and *gairaigo* in advertising than the conservative and/or nationally minded.

If the litmus test of a LW's dissemination is how well the public understands it, the efficacy of the mass media is unclear. On the one hand, the most radical and active use of LWs, e.g. by marketers, has limited effect among the public, whose needs involve lexical gaps for concrete objects. And amidst the profusion of everyday LWs in the Japanese media, there are a large number of poorly comprehended items, including various nonce borrowings and idiosyncratic usages. On the other hand, although new LWs are often perceived with but vague comprehension, the media's use of them can lead to a deepening understanding, and only through the mass media can LWs attain some level of public intelligibility.

One of the most stunning examples of LW dissemination can be found in 2001. World events, as portrayed in the news, can impel previously obscure Western words into the everyday Japanese lexicon. Thus, the LW *tero* rose to be the most used LW in 2001 in the few months following the 9/11 terrorism attacks (Daulton 2004).

2.3.3 The development of LWs

New LWs tend to be used indiscriminately, and most are not well understood and face obscurity or eventual extinction. Some LWs are never included in even unabridged LW dictionaries. Because of the speed of borrowing, their obscure nature, and that they are not written with meaning-based Chinese characters, new LWs often exist beyond the public's level of comprehension. Nevertheless, the minority of LWs that reach the linguistic mainstream is sufficient to maintain and expand the already vast *gairaigo* lexicon in everyday use.

The confusion caused by the flood of Western LWs can be seen as a developmental condition, and as various LWs compete for survival, the minority of nonce borrowings that reach the mainstream propel the lexical expansion and evolution of the Japanese lexicon. This process is quite significant to Japanese linguistics. As Tomoda (1999: 249) writes, "Viewed from a long-term perspective, the increase in *gairaigo* usage and its emergence as the principal engine of word generation is likely to be the most significant change in the Japanese language during the twentieth century."

2.4 Borrowed word transformations

English words are greatly transformed by Japan. Compared to English LWs found in languages such as French and Dutch, those in Japanese undergo much more drastic changes when crossing the considerable linguistic distance. It follows that for native speakers of English, English-based LWs are indecipherable when written and typically incomprehensible when spoken.

The major changes to English words when entering Japanese include: transliteration; phonological transformation; shortening and other morphological changes; hybridization and coinage; grammatical transformations; and semantic change.

2.4.1 Transliteration

The most obvious change to English words is their transliterating from the Roman alphabet to the *katakana* script. Transcriptions are based on the perceived or imagined sound of the English word, filtered through the 46 basic letters and possible voicing diacritics of *katakana*. Although there is generally consensus over the *katakana* spellings of LWs, alternative phonological forms occasionally persist with, notwithstanding, a tendency to move closer to the original English given widespread use (Seeley 1990; Hatch and Brown 1995), such as *nyuusu* 'news' changing to *nyuuzu*.

A remarkable development in modern Japanese is the general and official (since the 1980s) acceptance of innovative combinations of existing *katakana* that enable foreign words to be pronounced more accurately. New combinations include: as in *sierihu* 'sheriff', as in *tissyu* 'tissue', and as in *viza* 'visa'. Many changes are too subtle to be expressed by the Roman alphabet. Some newer innovations such as *va* are rarely used, while older innovations such as in *paatei* 'party' as opposed to *paatii* are well established. These innovations reflect the desire among some Japanese for a more accurate reproduction of foreign sounds; they begin with the youth and intelligentsia and can eventually become part of the mainstream phonological system of Japanese (see Uchimoto 1994).

2.4.2 Phonological transformation

Typically, around the world, LWs are initially marked as foreign by retaining close to their original pronunciations and spellings; by contrast, English LWs in Japanese are greatly changed phonologically and almost always transliterated. The phonological changes are stark as the phonological system of English and Japanese are quite different; English utilizes a much larger inventory of phonemes and permits quite elaborate consonant clusters, which are absent in Japanese. English vowel and consonant sounds absent in Japanese must be represented by *rough* Japanese equivalents. This process has both consistent and systematic elements, as well as irregular and innovative ones. Moreover, as Japanese is a consonant/vowel (CV) language, consonant clusters are broken up by the insertion of vowels, with consonants coming at the end of syllables generally not allowed. Thus, 'English' becomes *ingurissyu*.

The degree of phonetic deviation between English and Japanese often depends upon whether LWs were originally borrowed from the spoken or written medium. While phonological interpretations of aural input tend to resemble the original English (e.g. *takushii* from taxi), a large number of *gairaigo* have been adapted based on their *written* form, which results in pronunciations quite dissimilar from the original (e.g. *sutazio* from studio).

As Japanese lacks many English phonemes, various important distinctions are sometimes overlooked, resulting in unlikely homonyms. For the Japanese, a word form such as *rinku* has two distinct meanings that correspond to both English 'rink' and 'link'. Other examples are: *raito* 'light' and 'right;' *korekusyon* 'collection' and 'correction;' *hurai* 'fly' and 'fry;' *hooru* 'hall' and 'hole;' and *besuto* 'best' and 'vest'.

Once assimilated, pronunciations of English words are quite resilient vis-a-vis native models and the general public seldom attempts to imitate native English pronunciations. Quackenbush (1974: 64) writes:

> In short, most Japanese seldom or never hear spoken English; they do not attempt to pronounce English words, and they do not borrow English words . . . They pronounce them the way they hear them pronounced on radio and television, and they spell them the way they see them spelled in the popular press, that is, as fully assimilated Japanese words with a minimum of departures from the sounds and sound sequences and spelling principles that characterize native Japanese words.

2.4.3 Shortening

Another obvious morphological change is *shortening* (sometimes called *clipping* or *truncation*), where usually the most semantically important morphemes are all that remain of the original word. Shortening can occur as soon as an English word is borrowed or later on.

Shortening is common because LWs tend to be awkwardly long. When English words are assimilated into Japanese, all spoken consonants except /n/ must have a vowel attached to them to make a proper Japanese syllable, thus the fast food franchise 'McDonalds' becomes *makudonarudo*. Because each mora in Japanese takes about as long to pronounce, in theory, pronouncing *sutoraiku* takes five times as long to say as 'strike'. Back clipping is the most common means of shortening, and other examples include *depaato* 'department store' and *masukomi* 'mass communication'. Fewer words have their first syllables cut, such as *hoomu* 'platform' and *neru* 'flannel', and rarely middle syllables are omitted, as in *boorupen* 'ballpoint pen'.

There are more varieties of shortening. When a phrase consisting of several morphemes is borrowed, grammatical morphemes tend to be omitted, for instance '-ed' in *kondensu-miruku* 'condensed milk'. Meanwhile, in truncated compounding, which is also common for native Japanese words, two shortened LWs are combined, as in *pasokon* 'personal computer' and *han-suto* 'hunger strike'. Another form of shortening is abbreviation using the Roman alphabet. Some abbreviations are authentic English (e.g. *OB* 'old boy') and some are Japanese innovations (e.g. *OL* 'office lady' and *CM* 'commercial messages'). Even the authentic English abbreviations are unrecognizable to non-Japanese, as they are pronounced according to Japanese phonology (e.g. *PR* is pronounced /pii-aaru/).

Shortening can also lead to semantic confusion because of homonymy. For example, 'restaurant' can be shortened to *REST* in Roman alphabet signs, such as *CAFE REST*. On the other hand, shortening simplifies the pronunciation of LWs and facilitates their integration into Japanese.

2.4.4 Hybridization and coinage

Certain English roots and Japanese affixes (of Chinese origin) are combined quite productively into *hybrids* (also known in English as *loanblends* and in Japanese as *konshugo*). Hybridizations such as *dai-hitto* (Japanese 'big' + English 'hit') and *nouveau-dai* (French 'new' in the Roman alphabet + Japanese 'era') make compounds of European bases and Sino-Japanese nominal bases. These hybridizations can also occur between different European languages, such as *bakansu-uea* (French '*vacances*'+ English 'wear'). They include very common words such as that for an American person, *amerika-zin*, *-zin* being the *kanji* affix for person.

Innovative coinages using Western elements are also common. Newly created expressions combining existing *gairaigo* have been referred to as 'pseudo-LWs' (Stanlaw 1987). One example is *sukin-shippu* ('skin' + '-ship'), denoting (normal) physical intimacy, archetypally between parent and child; however this is not a combination of 'skin' and '-ship', but rather an innovation on English kinship. Another example is *baazin-roodo* ('virgin road'), which refers to the red-carpet aisle trod by a bride and her father in a church wedding. It is with innovative coinages that linguistic confusion between native speakers of English and that of Japanese often peaks, and such creations are derided as "Japlish" or *ingurissyu wasei eigo* (See Section 2.6).

Innovative compounding is increasingly popular, and it includes three-part compounds such as *hea-meiku-aateisuto* (literally 'hair' and 'makeup artist') and hybrid compounds involving different scripts (see *nouveau-dai* above). Japanese linguistics authorities do not always officially recognize such forms, although they may become orthodox eventually. Innovative compounding involves the "independent, creative, evolutionary reworking of transferred elements in order to meet local needs" (Loveday 1996: 155).

Many English words in Japanese, indeed, occur only in compound phrases. Basic English words such as man, baby, care, home, air, and food, which have well established Japanese equivalents, are not used on their own but are highly productive when combined with other forms in Japanese such as *sararii-man* 'salaryman' and *mai-hoomu* 'my home'.

2.4.5 Grammatical transformation

Most LWs are nouns, followed distantly by adjectives. Roughly 90 percent of LWs are nouns (see Honna 1995; Loveday 1996), which are easier to borrow than other parts of speech as they do not require major grammatical modification. As Japanese does not mark plurality, the absence or presence of the English plural morpheme /s/ occurs arbitrarily, depending on whether the originally transferred model was singular or plural. Examples of LWs appearing only in the plural are *syuuzu* 'shoes', *sokkusu* 'socks' and *taitsu* 'tights'; examples of LWs incongruently appearing only in the singular are *sunikaa* 'sneaker' and *sutokkingu* 'stocking'.

By contrast, the number of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs borrowed are relatively few, and they require particular affixes (e.g. *-na*, *-ni*, *-suru*) to enter the same inflectional paradigms as Japanese words.

On the other hand, while the assignment of word class tends to correspond to the original language, it can be freely changed when entering Japanese. For instance, any word to be borrowed is treated as an uninflected noun or bound base that does not belong to a word class, potentially convertible by means of suffixation (Loveday 1996). Examples include how the English adjective 'cool' (not 'coolly') is borrowed and used as an adverb in *kuuru ni asoberu* 'to play coolly'. Grammatically, the Japanese equivalents of many English adjectives are effectively nouns plus *-na* (as in *romaniikku na* 'romantic'), and the equivalents of many English adverbs are nouns plus *-ni* (as in *romantikku ni* 'romantically'). These conversion devices are uniquely reserved for the grammatical integration of LWs, making morphological changes unnecessary in the loan-bases.

Moreover, practically any LW can be verbalized. This is done so easily by adding *-suru*, which some refer to as the magic power of *suru* (Sato 1995: 134). For example, the LW noun *enzyoi* (based on the verb enjoy) becomes *enzyoi suru* 'to enjoy'. Gerunds can be likewise verbalized, as in '*zyogingu suru*' 'to jogging', and (as with enjoy, above) verbs can be redundantly verbalized as in *arenzi suru* 'to arrange'.

Verb forms can also be obtained from nominal loan-bases by applying Japanese verbs, as in *paama wo kakeru* 'to perm one's hair'. LWs can also be innovatively inflected in ways usually reserved for native words; this unorthodox suffixation is a favorite of youth slang. Examples include *paniku-ru* 'to panic' and '*nau-i*' (*now* + adjectival inflection). Certain verbs that happen to end with *-ru* sounds (after assimilation) are immediately compatible to the Japanese inflectional system; these include *daburu*, meaning 'to double' or 'to repeat a year', and *toraburu*, meaning 'to meet with trouble'.

2.4.6 Semantic change

Although lexical borrowing is typically driven by cultural borrowing (Arabski (ed.) 2006), Japan has often been an exception, and English words inevitably acquire, to a degree, meanings specific to Japan. This can be seen in Japan's 19th-century slogan: "Western technology, Japanese spirit." Semantic changes generally fall into three types: semantic shift, semantic restriction, and semantic extension.

Semantic shift is when the meaning of a LW and the borrowed English word are completely dissimilar, as in *kanningu* 'cunning', which has the meaning of 'cheating on a test'. Such semantic shift is rare, although colorful examples are conspicuous.

Semantic restriction, also known as *semantic narrowing* or *semantic specialization*, is where an LW has fewer applications than the borrowed word. This phenomenon accounts for the LW *sutoobu* 'stove', which means only a room heater in Japanese, not a device for cooking. Semantic restriction allows new cultural distinctions without expanding the meanings of existing words, as in Japanese *okaasan* 'mother' versus English-based *mazaa*, which refers only to Catholic nuns. Semantic restriction is the most common type of semantic change throughout the world, as LWs are usually borrowed to fill specific lexical gaps (Hatch and Brown 1995).

Semantic extension is when the LW includes more meanings than its original borrowed word. The LW *handoru* 'handle' has a variety of meanings in Japanese, from the steering wheel of a car to the handlebars of a bicycle. Semantic extension is relatively rare in Japanese.

Semantic restriction and extension lead to cognates being *convergent* or *divergent*, that is, having fewer or more meanings than the words they are based upon.

Subtler varieties of semantic change involve connotation or feeling. *Semantic downgrading*, or *pejoration*, can be seen in words like *bosu* 'boss', which means the powerful head of a group of gangsters or politicians, or *aisu* 'ice', meaning a 'usurer'. In *semantic upgrading*, positive connotations are attached to LWs for the purpose of "sociolinguistic profit" or "impression management" (Loveday 1996: 202), which is often seen in marketing. Over time, LWs can lose one connotation and even come to hold the opposite.

2.5 Reactions to LWs

Most LWs are readily identifiable as foreignisms, and individuals embrace them to varying degrees; two determinants of an individual's disposition to LWs are youth and profession (Loveday 1996: 180). Japanese individuals between the ages of 18 and 29 have the most affinity to LWs, tending to be students and white-collar workers. By contrast, those over 60 have the least tolerance for *gairaigo*, with unskilled workers being relatively hostile to foreignisms. Gender does not appear to play a significant factor in LW acceptance. The overall Japanese public's acceptance of LWs in general, and of their presumptuous and decorative use in particular, is quite high.

However, an aversion to *gairaigo* has been noted in both society (e.g. Tomoda 2005) and the classroom (e.g. Uchida 2007). Underlying it is the assumption that LWs are destructive to the Japanese language and culture, a common theme of newspaper editorials. This perspective contrasts the ubiquity and popularity of *gairaigo* in most areas of Japanese society, including daily communication.

Regarding resistance to *gairaigo* in society, an important factor may be a vocal minority's opposition to the flood of English following the Pacific War. Because LWs are written in the sound-based *katakana* script rather than meaning-based Chinese *kanji*, LWs can be opaque. And LWs such as *kisu* ('kiss') can displace native equivalents (e.g. *seppun*), leading some academics to fear Japan's cultural decay. Such social angst regarding foreignisms has entered the language classroom.

EFL educators in Japan typically believe that *gairaigo* hinders English acquisition (see Uchida 2007; Daulton 2011a). Japanese teachers of English avoid *gairaigo* in the classroom, and when mentioning it, emphasize its pedagogical dangers. Students, meanwhile, are left feeling ambivalently towards LWs, with their opinions a product of one-sided or inadequate information.

In EFL academic discussion, the criticism of LWs relies upon descriptions of interlingual differences and transfer errors. For example, Simon-Maeda (1995) catalogs various *gairaigo* "pitfalls" and advocates discussing LWs in class. Anecdotal rather than empirical, these studies ignore how errors are often developmental and a benign result of facilitated production. Ridicule is inherent in papers such as Smith (1974) "Ribbing Ingrish: Innovative Borrowing in Japanese." There is no mention of the developmental role of errors or reference to language acquisition studies. More subtle and destructive manifestations of *gairaigo* bias potentially include the topic being held in contempt by editorial advisory boards.

Despite the isolate outcries for the limiting of English-based LWs, only natural attrition limits them; LWs tend to be adopted, gain and lose popularity, and be abandoned much more quickly than Japanese or Sino-Japanese words (Miura 1979; Shibatani 1990). Ultimately Japan's English borrowing is a juggernaut.

2.6 The impact of English-based LWs on EFL

Awareness of language borrowing and *cognates*, L1 words whose form resembles an L2 word (see Carroll 1992), is highly valuable in foreign language education. Learners' native, L1 knowledge wields a powerful influence on L2 learning, and L1 words that have been borrowed into the target language are, naturally enough, highly learnable; this process is known as *language transfer* (see Ringbom 1987). Japanese is replete with words borrowed from English, and although far fewer in number, English contains many notable Japanese words. Both present a cognate resource.

Indeed, empirical studies consistently indicate that English-based LWs in Japan assist various aspects of English learning. These include: aural recognition and pronunciation (Hashimoto 1992); spelling (e.g. Hashimoto 1993); listening comprehension (Brown and Williams 1985); retention of spoken and written input (Kimura 1989); and recognition and recall at especially advanced levels of vocabulary (Daulton 1998). Not surprisingly, the Japanese prefer LW cognates to non-cognates in their production (Daulton 2007).

Meanwhile, particularly for basic communicative competence, *high-frequency vocabulary* is crucial. In English, these words include not only the function words (e.g. 'the' and 'of') but also the content words (e.g. 'word' and 'time') that are common in writing and speech. Three thousand word families is an often-cited figure for the number of high-frequency words (see Nation 2001), which, under certain conditions (e.g. non-technical writing; excluding proper nouns), allows for 95 percent coverage (see also Laufer 1989).

A learner's L1 would ideally contain *many* cognates that correspond to the *most useful* target language words. In historically unrelated languages, borrowing tends to involve low-frequency words (see Ringbom 2007), which have limited value as cognates. However, around half of the high-frequency word families of the British National Corpus (e.g. the headword 'apply' and its derivation 'application') have become commonly known LWs in Japanese (e.g. *apurikeesyon*) (Daulton 2010). Moreover, the semantic and formal similarity between cognate pairs is easily sufficient to facilitate lexical acquisition, especially as the Japanese tend to mentally convert unfamiliar foreignisms, spoken or written, to their native phonology – this *katakana* filter thus allows them to access their L1 cognate knowledge.

LWs can help language learners to both understand English and produce it. This is particularly helpful for passive and reticent learners. English teachers in Japan can maximize cognates' benefits by addressing their limitation in a positive manner. Indeed, without intervention, learners' pronunciation may be incomprehensible to native speakers, or embarrassing mistakes such as those involving 'lice' and 'rice' will result. As for the numerous convergent cognates (having fewer meanings than the original English words), English learners should add meanings to the LW ones they already know (see Kimura 1989). The various restrictions on usage that pertain to LWs also require attention. And learners must be wary of shortened LWs and creative innovations as they both are incomprehensible to native speakers.

Unfortunately, cognates can produce ludicrous or otherwise memorable errors that assume an exaggerated importance in teachers' and learners' minds (Ringbom 2007). The dangers of "*false friends* (or *faux amis*)" such as *konsento* for 'an electrical outlet' (origin: 'concentric plug', not 'consent') in Japanese are thus overemphasized. In reality, helpful cognates (e.g. *takushii* and 'taxi') far outnumber deceptive ones (see Daulton 2010), and the overall impact of authentic English borrowings is positive and robust.

A misunderstanding of great consequence results from our not making the distinction between (authentic) LWs and creative coinages using Western elements (also, *wasei-eigo*, 'Japanese English' or 'Japlish'). While English-based LWs are of great help in learning English, the pedagogical effect of coinages and quasi-English expressions, which do not exist outside of Japan, appears mixed. Complicating matters are hybrids, using either an authentic English LW or possibly made-up English-sounds, and compounds, which use authentic elements combined in deviant ways. *Unfortunately, the term gairaigo is applied to all English-inspired foreignisms.* Considering authentic LWs separately from the less common, innovative coinages would have various advantages.

2.7 English-based loanwords from Japan in Chinese and Korean

The journey of a given LW can be circuitous, and they can travel from country to country. Indeed, an aspect of Japan's active borrowing from Western languages is how it, from time to time, "re-exports" Western ideas and words, especially to its neighbors, China and Korea.

Japan and China have borrowed extensively from each other's language (Chung 2001). It is well known that Japanese has borrowed heavily from Chinese, including the *kanji* (Chinese character) script itself. Indeed, around 50 percent of modern Japanese vocabulary contains items borrowed since the Tang dynasty. Meanwhile, Chinese has borrowed extensively from Japanese as well, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as part of its effort to modernize and westernize. Remarkably, many of the "Japanese" LWs that currently appear in Chinese versions of Japanese comics in Taiwan are in fact English-based LWs such as *auto* (i.e. 'out' from baseball).

Korean is another major recipient of Japanese LWs, including those based on English. A period of massive borrowing spans the late 19th century until the end of World War II (c. 1880–1945); borrowing has continued, particularly after the normalization of diplomacy in 1965 (see Song 1989). And many English words in Korean such as *kuhpi* (sometimes transliterated as *kopi*) are actually based on Japanese borrowings from English, in this case *koohii* for 'coffee' (e.g. Kang, Kenstowicz and Ito 2008). Other examples include *kola* 'cola', *kopi* 'coffee', *plaet-fom* 'platform', *cham-pu* 'shampoo', *ais-krim* 'ice cream', *taeksi* 'taxi', *wiski* 'whiskey', *nait-klop* 'nightclub' and *koktel pati* 'cocktail party'.

Among the English LWs in Korean, called *Oi-rae-eo* ('words from abroad'), some of the circuitous borrowings have been modified or replaced by *direct* borrowings from English and other Western languages (Ito, Kang and Kenstowicz 2006). These transplanted and replaced LWs have reached almost every aspect of Korean life. Ironically, both Japanese and Korean newspaper editorials blame English-based LWs for the destruction of the native language and culture.

3 Japanese lendwords in English

The converse phenomenon of Japanese-based lendwords (JLW) in English is not as well researched, although Japanese is now English's second biggest source (Evans 1997), and various Japanese-isms such as 'sushi', 'kimono', and 'karaoke' are so familiar to English speakers as to not require italicization. (However, this chapter will present *all* the English forms of JLWs without italicization to distinguish them from their Japanese counterparts e.g. *sushi*.)

The borrowing of Japanese into English began some 200 years ago. Commodore Perry returned from feudal Japan with not only diplomatic gifts from the Emperor, but also Japanese words such as 'tycoon' (*taikun*), a title for the hereditary commander-in-chief (i.e. *syoogun*) that his arrival frightened to death (Wiley 1992). Over the subsequent century and a half, Japanese has become a major donor of words to English. McArthur (ed.) (1998) states that Japanese has contributed the highest number of vocabulary to English of any non-European language, while Cannon and Egle (1979) further assert that only French and Latin surpass Japanese. Hikikomori (a youth who avoids social contact) and sudoku (a number puzzle) are among the newest Japanese LWs in English.

Moreover, Japan's re-borrowing its own words back from English is increasingly common. An example is Japanese *anime*, originating from English 'animation', which has been re-imported into English with the meaning of 'Japanese movie or television animation'. Another example may be *kamikaze*: this word had been disappearing from everyday Japanese, where it is restricted to obscure historical references. However, expressions using *kamikaze* such as *kamikaze doraibaa* 'kamikaze driver', inspired by English, are increasingly common (Otake 2010).

3.1 LW transformations – Japanese to English

The changes that occur to English words when they become LWs (see above) occur in the reverse direction as well, albeit with variations. It is possible to classify these JLW changes into six types.

1) Pronunciation: However much the Romanized Japanese and English orthographies coincide (e.g. 'sake' and *sake*), pronunciations typically differ in substantial ways. For example, one of the common changes to JLWs is to replace a final /iy/ sound with /ey/; this has even been reflected in resulting JLW spellings, with the older English spelling of sake being 'sacky'. Sophisticated speakers may try to mimic Japanese pronunciation, however this can sound pretentious or even incomprehensible to other English speakers.

While most Japanese sounds exist in English, a notable exception is the "ts" of 'tsunami'. While this phoneme occurs at the end of English words like 'parts', it never exists at word beginnings, where it is difficult for English speakers to produce. Therefore, 'tsunami' is often pronounced as /sewnamiy/, without the "t."

A fast, informal Japanese pronunciation has become standard for certain JLWs. For example, during the American Occupation, *sukosi*, meaning 'a little', came into American English as skosh (usually 'a skosh') since the final /iy/ is almost silent in quickly spoken Japanese. Moreover, most Japanese words in English are given *penultimate* accent – on the second from last mora/syllable. Therefore, the city name Hiroshima is pronounced "HiroSHIma" in English, contrary to the Japanese pronunciation of "HiROshima."

2) Shortening (truncation): The re-borrowed JLWs *anime*, *cosplay* and *karaoke* all come from shortened English ('animation'; 'costume' + 'play'; Japanese 'without' + 'orchestra'). However, there are fewer cases of shortened, native Japanese words in English, such as 'rickshaw' from *jinrikisha*. Another example of shortening is how 'Akita' refers to a dog breed while that word on its own means just the prefecture in Japanese, the dog being *Akita-ken* (*ken* = 'dog'). Shogun is another example of shortening, as the full title was *seii-taisyoogun*.

3) Lengthening and collocation: Affixes can be added to JLWs to create innovative hybrids, or *loan-blends*, such as English 'moxibustion' from Japanese *mogusa*, but this is not nearly as common in English as with English-based LWs in Japanese (e.g. *mikuro-keizai* 'microeconomics').

The more common phenomenon involves adding whole English words to the JLW to create new collocations. Often these collocations clarify meaning in a way that is highly redundant in Japanese. Examples include 'geisha girl(s)', 'sumo wrestling', 'soy sauce', and 'head honcho' (from Japanese *hantyoo*, often mistaken by English speakers as Spanish). And other collocations are not redundant but simply uncommon in Japanese, at least before re-borrowing (see above) – examples beyond 'kamikaze driver' include how karaoke in English often collocates with 'machine', 'bar', 'night', and 'party'.

4) *Semantic restriction*: This is when a LW meaning is narrower than the original word's meaning. With JLWs in English, it is common for a borrowing to refer to Japan or Asia specifically while the original word is used more generally, as in anime, which only means Japanese animation in English but is far more general in Japanese. The same is true of JLWs like 'tsunami' (any tidal wave in Japanese), 'manga' (any kind of comics), 'katsu' (any kind of cutlet, not just Japanese-style *tonkatsu*), 'otaku' (any kind of obsessive geek or nerd, not just an 'anime freak') and 'bento' (any kind of packed lunch, including sandwiches). By comparison, semantic restriction of English LWs in Japanese is less common, perhaps because of the extent of Westernization.

A subcategory of semantic restriction is words only used in English to talk about martial arts, but having a more general meaning in Japanese, e.g. *sensei* (a more general term of respect in Japan) and *senpai* (anyone in a senior but similar position). Moreover, 'sake' can mean alcohol generally in Japanese, *nihon-syu* ("Japanese spirits") being the unambiguous expression for Japanese rice wine.

5) *Semantic extension*: This is when an LW's meaning is broader than in the source language. This can be seen when kamikaze is used in 'kamikaze driver' (see above) or in how 'geisya (girl)' in English is losing its connection to the artistically trained *geisya* in Japan and is acquiring a wider connotation of female prostitution (Otake 2010).

6) *Semantic shift*: Although semantic restriction and extension can be considered forms of semantic shift, the term's stricter application refers to LWs' and the original word's meanings being completely dissimilar, as when the LW describes something not existing in the source country. For example, there are no 'futon sofas' (also 'futon beds', 'futon sofa-beds') made of wooden slats in Japan, as a *huton* is simply a thin mattress on the floor. Meanwhile 'tycoon' comes from *taikun*, which has no connection to business (see above). Similarly place names can become JLWs that refer to something that originate there, such as how satsuma refers to what is called *mikan* in Japanese.

A variety of semantic shift is grammatical change. For instance, some English speakers use karaoke both as a noun and a verb as in "I like to karaoke" although *karaoke* is only a noun in Japanese. Also, many JLWs in English take the plural –s, although some English speakers use the more native-like plural form without inflection; for example, both 'geishas' and 'geisha' are acceptable forms as early as the 1964 *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Otake 2010).

Although not a change, per se, often JLWs in English have rather arcane origins. Just as *taikun*, the origin of 'tycoon', is obscure in Japan, so is *shintoo*, in contrast to how its JLW equivalent Shinto is often used by outsiders discussing Japan.

3.2 Japanese lendwords in English as seen in dictionaries

Most neologisms stall in obscurity, and only a portion reaches the mainstream. Inclusion in general dictionaries is one possible affirmation of a LW's integration into a lexicon. To choose word additions, dictionary makers monitor texts from all types of published materials, both written and spoken. And in modern times, these lexicographers employ software to analyze emerging word trends, including context, usage, and spelling. The words that appear consistently and across a variety of mediums are those considered for dictionary entry. This same system applies to JLWs in English.

Thus, one can examine dictionaries, themselves, to track the emergence of LWs, as Otake (2010) did to determine when various JLWs became established in English.

Tsunami and *geisha* have been recognized lexical items since at least 1964. Conversely, *otaku* 'an obsessive nerd', *anime* and *edamame* 'green soybeans cooked in their pods' appear to be both recent and – as they are included in only one of the dictionaries – not well established. The data also indicates that JLWs, once established, are relatively stable over time.

However, Otake's (2010) data belies that LW integration is a matter of degree (see Daulton 2008), which can be summarized as: ad-hoc, nonce borrowings (e.g. advertising text); established LWs (e.g. those found in dictionaries); and LWs intrinsic to daily communication (e.g. learned by infants).

Moreover, it is typical for the integration hierarchy of LWs to resemble a pyramid, and in English italicization is a distinguishing indicator. The pyramid's peak con-

Table 17.2: JLWs in English dictionaries, 1964 to 2010 (Otake 2010: 21).

	1964 The Concise Oxford	1979 Webster's	1980 American Heritage	1996 Oxford	2009 Cambridge	Oct. 27, 2009 Wikipedia
tsunami	○	○	○	○	○	○
geisha	○	○	○	○	○	○
kamikaze	×	○	○	○	○	○
hibachi	×	○	○	○	×	○
honcho	×	×	×	○	○	○
karaoke	×	×	×	○	○	○
otaku	×	×	×	×	×	○
manga	×	×	×	×	○	○
anime	×	×	×	×	×	○
edamame	×	×	×	×	×	○
sudoku	×	×	×	×	○	○

tains a very few well integrated LWs (never italicized), the narrower middle section has established LWs (irregularly italicized), and the wide base has many nonce borrowings (always italicized). Despite the importance of Japanese as a source of LWs, their hierarchy in English is likewise pyramidal, as the majority of JLWs have limited usages. Cannon (1994) typifies JLWs as: "... Swords or daggers, food or drink, martial arts, business and currency." Indeed, although there may be thousands (Cannon 1994) of JLWs borrowed into English, most are highly obscure.

Moreover, the limited range and overall number of JLWs in English becomes clear when one considers the best-known JLWs in large-scale corpora.

3.3 The top Japanese lendwords in American English

When one examines word forms appearing at least four times in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), we see that the most common JLWs tend to denote uniquely Japanese cultural items.

The semantic fields of the most frequent JLWs are limited to: past cultural icons (e.g. 'ninja', 'geisha') and cultural artifacts (e.g. 'kimono', 'futon'); uniquely Japanese food and drink (e.g. 'sushi', 'sake'); Japanese martial arts (e.g. 'karate', 'judo'), and recent cultural imports (e.g. 'karaoke', 'anime'). Only 'typhoon' and 'tsunami' describe phenomena whose Japanese linguistic source is irrelevant.

Remarkably, as JLWs are not part of daily communication, but rather limited to specialized semantic fields, they are, without exception, *low-frequency words* – not

Table 17.3: The top 10 JLWs in U.S. English.

Rank in COCA	Romanized Japanese form →	English orthography	Occurrences in corpus
1	sushi	sushi	1,023
2	kimono	kimono	629
3	karaoke	karaoke	615
4	taikun	tycoon	581
5	ninja	ninja	496
6	geisha	geisha	364
7	judo	judo	282
8	jinrikisha	rickshaw	235
9	futon	futon	219
10	sumō	sumo	186

among the top 3000 word families of English. Thus, for English speaking students of Japanese, it is not the JLWs in English that offer the most valuable cognates, but the English-based LWs in Japanese.

In the COCA, by far the most common JLW is ‘sushi’, followed by ‘kimono’, ‘karaoke’, ‘tycoon’, and ‘ninja’. While Otake (2010) found tsunami to be the most recognized Japanese LW among English native speakers (Otake 2010: 23), the COCA showed it to be the 24th most used in U.S. English. Although ‘Japanese sake’ (AKA rice wine) is a well-known JLW, since its English orthography is identical to another, unrelated word, it was not feasible to obtain data on its frequency in the COCA.

How a JLW is transcribed (i.e. transliterated) can reveal its genesis and age, and among the most frequent JLWs, there is great formal similarity between the Hepburn Romanizations and corresponding English spellings (e.g. *sushi*/sushi). The two exceptions are *taikun*/tycoon and *jinrikisha*/rickshaw, which are among the oldest JLWs. Likewise, among the top 30 JLWs, the few cases of variant spellings were often due to the initial borrowing being historically early (e.g. ‘honcho’; 1940s) and based on a misapprehended aural encounter (e.g. *hanchoo*). From this, we can surmise that most recent JLWs (e.g. ‘karaoke’) are based on a Romanized, *written* encounter (e.g. *karaoke*) rather than an aural encounter, and may subsequently be radically mispronounced by English speakers.

An additional reason for spelling variance between Japanese borrowed words and the most frequent JLWs in the COCA appeared to be that simplifications had been made to accommodate English as when *toohu*, with its “long vowel”, becomes tofu.

Among the top-10 JLWs, tycoon is not currently used in Japanese, where it is archaic. It can be noted that ‘tycoon’ (as well as ‘tofu’ and ‘ramen’) are actually Japanese adaptations of Chinese expressions.

Also beyond the common top JLWs found in the COCA are many complementary, specialized JLWs, used only by followers of a given discipline. For instance, in 'karate', there are countless Japanese words (e.g. *kiai* = 'spirit yell'), expressions (*ziyuu kumite* = freestyle sparring) and commands (e.g. *otagai ni taisi* = 'face each other').

3.4 Japanese lendwords in Hawaiian English

The highest concentration of JLWs in English can be found where Japanese descendants (i.e. Nikkei[jin]) form communities, such as Hawaii. In Hawaii is a variety of English known as Hawaiian English, Hawaiian English Pidgin, or Hawaiian Creole English, which includes many JLWs in addition to words from Cantonese, Portuguese, and other languages. The linguistic influences of Japanese in Hawaii began with the first immigrants from Japan in 1868, and it continues today especially with the large and socially influential Japanese-American population (see Simonson, Sasaki and Sakata 1981).

Many JLWs in Hawaiian English involve food. Examples include *anpan* and *manzyu* 'confections filled with bean paste' and *bento* 'a portable lunch'. Such food-related JLWs also exist in general English, but are better known and more widely used in Hawaii. Naturally, well-known JLWs in general English, such as 'sukiyaki' and 'tofu' are also present in Hawaiian English. Moreover, most non-food JLWs in Hawaiian English, usually related to objects rather than ideas, tend to be more common in Hawaii than in the continental United States. Examples include *(o-)hasi* 'chopsticks', *benzyo* 'toilet' and *zori* 'flip-flops'. While the meaning of *(o-)hasi* is the same as that used in Japan, *benzyo* has a negative connotation in Japan (lacking in Hawaiian), and the meaning of *zoori* is typically limited to sandals made with straw in Japan.

There are examples of innovative, Hawaiian *loan-blends* such as *hana-budah* (or *hana-bata*), where *budah* from English butter is added to Japanese *hana* 'nose', as happens in the Japanese *hana-mizu* 'nose water'.

Some JLWs used in Hawaii are actually not from standard Japanese, but originated from regional dialects. For example, the word *bobora* is spoken in only certain prefectures in western Japan that had contact with the Dutch, and from where many immigrants originated. *Bobora* comes from the Portuguese word *abobora*, meaning Japanese pumpkin.

3.5 Boutique words for the culturally savvy

JLWs in English are somewhat enigmatic. Apart from their daily use by the decedents of Japanese immigrants (and their neighbors) in places like Hawaii, JLWs in English are few and specialized, filling lexical gaps often intrinsically related to Japan and therefore of narrow use and not part of daily communication. While some are obscure (e.g. 'zen') or highly specialized (e.g. 'aikido'), very few JWLs have widespread and global currency (e.g. 'tsunami').

Notwithstanding, JLWs cluster in culturally salient areas that are highly relevant to certain "sophisticated" individuals, for instance, American otaku fans of Japanese anime. They have a powerful mystique and prominence in society and popular culture. Thus, we can perhaps reconcile the enigma of JLWs in English by describing them as *boutique words for the culturally savvy*.

The JLW borrowing process, itself, follows orthodox patterns that include changes in pronunciation, form, and meaning. The COCA data indicates that JLWs play a prominent role also because modern English does not borrow many words from foreign languages but tends to produce its own neologisms. Remarkably, despite English's recent lack of interest in LWs, Japan's distinct and appealing cultural offerings, Cannon's (1994) "swords or daggers," make Japanese a prominent source of LW's irrelevant to daily life but significant nonetheless.

4 Conclusions

We have examined Japan's importation of English, and conversely, Japanese lendwords now used in American English. The study of how languages influence each other is both worthy of scholarly attention and arguably neglected.

The field is rich in data, which extends beyond mere lexis. The insights that can be obtained by examining language transfer reflect not only how one culture influences another, through occupation or soft power, but also how the receiver views the other and itself. It moreover has great implications for foreign and second language acquisition.

In some academic circles, however, language transfer research may encounter resistance. For instance, worthy papers may be dismissed by reviewers who do not appreciate the topic. As languages are deeply significant to cultures, and foreignisms can be seen as unwelcome usurpers, or adulterations of the originals, related academic topics can be perceived with a jaundiced eye. Due to its political aspect, researchers may need an extra measure of persistence.

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18 Japanese language varieties outside Japan

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Japanese language spoken outside Japan. According to the Association of Nikkei Abroad (2017), there are over 3,800,000 *nikkeijin* living outside of Japan. *Nikkeijin* is a catch-all term that can have diverse meanings depending on context, but it includes people of Japanese ancestry or descent and members of Japanese diasporas.

This chapter focuses on the use of Japanese by these *nikkeijin* and those who were influenced by them (the post-colonial speakers), and the changes and characteristics of the Japanese language spoken outside of Japan. Japanese sociolinguistics is well known for its contributions in dialectology; for example, as seen in research achievements of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. While the Japanese language spoken outside Japan is not the same as dialectal varieties in a traditional sense, investigating overseas varieties helps us broaden our understanding of language contact and linguistic change phenomena concerning linguistic features of Japanese dialectology. This is particularly true for overseas Japanese with considerable history. For this reason, this chapter will focus on Hawai‘i, Canada, Brazil, Sakhalin Island, Taiwan, and Palau. By doing so, this chapter's goal is to discuss the importance of studying linguistic change seen in Japanese used among overseas Japanese speakers as well as showcase concrete examples of Japanese spoken in different parts of the world or international audience (for a relevant discussion in the Japanese language, see Shibuya 2010; Shibuya and Chien 2013).

Long before the modern era of globalization, shortly after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, large numbers of migrants from all over Japan began to leave the country for destinations such as Hawai‘i, North and South America as well as East Asia. Japanese immigration to the United States ended in the 1920s with the Japanese Exclusion Acts, but Japan continued to send migrants elsewhere, including Central and South America, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and Pacific islands. Japanese migration stopped during World War II (the war hereafter, 1941–1945), starting again shortly after the war, although it slowed with the Japanese economy's rapid expansion in the 1960s (Nakamaki 2004: 27; Sakata 2004b: 32). In what follows, a brief overview of Japanese immigration will be given in Section 2. Then, cases from the oversees Japanese spoken

Acknowledgements: Part of this work is supported by NINJAL Collaborative Research Projects (Contact dialectology and sociolinguistic typology, PI Yoshiyuki Asahi). My sincere thanks go to the editors of this volume as well as the book series, and Bao Zhiming, Masaaki Kodama, Kenneth Rehg, Katsumi Shibuya, and Timothy Vance. I am also grateful to Laurie Durand, John Haig, and Amelia Leong for their editorial assistance of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-019

by immigrants and their descendants will be presented (Hawai‘i, Canada, Brazil) in Section 3. Section 4 presents cases from the post-colonial regions (Sakhalin Island, Taiwan, and Palau). One of the most salient features of the overseas Japanese varieties is use of loanwords; Section 5 will demonstrate a case study of this phenomenon. This chapter will end by concluding remarks in Section 6.

2 Demographics of Japanese migrants

2.1 Migrants' hometowns

In 1854, with the arrival in Japan of the American Admiral Matthew C. Perry, the xenophobic Tokugawa Shogunate ended the seclusion of Japan that dated from 1639, opening Japan's ports to the world. This change was followed by the Meiji Restoration in 1868, during which powerful feudal leaders, mainly from today's Yamaguchi prefecture, took over the Tokugawa regime and organized a new government (Kasahara 1994: 168). Relations with Western powers were quickly established, and Meiji leaders focused on modernizing Japan by accepting ideas and technology from the West. Simultaneously, Japanese began to emigrate. Official migration records have been kept since 1866 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Table 18.1 shows the ten largest home prefectures of Japanese migrants between 1885 and 1972 according to the available data (Sakata 2004a: 18).

Table 18.1: The ten largest home prefectures of Japanese migrants (Source: Sakata 2004a: 18).

	Prefecture	Population (%)		Prefecture	Population (%)
1	Hiroshima	109,893 (12.7)	6	Wakayama	32,853 (3.8)
2	Okinawa	89,424 (10.3)	7	Fukushima	28,479 (3.3)
3	Kumamoto	76,802 (8.9)	8	Hokkaido	26,874 (3.1)
4	Yamaguchi	57,837 (6.7)	9	Nagasaki	23,129 (2.7)
5	Fukuoka	57,684 (6.7)	10	Okayama	21,760 (2.5)

The names in boldface are the western Japanese prefectures. The fact that a far greater number of migrants came from the western Japanese dialect region explains some general characteristics of much of the Japanese spoken outside of Japan.

The Japanese colonial expansion began around the same time and involved the teaching of the Japanese language in the colonized areas. Table 18.2 summarizes the Japanese language policies implemented by the Japanese government in colonized regions, including places such as Hokkaido, Okinawa, and Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands. In Hokkaido, migrants from Japan increased the population significantly. As a result, today's Hokkaido dialect carries strong influences from the different dialect regions where the post-Meiji migrants originated. In contrast, in Okinawa there was less migration from Japan. With the occupation, the Okinawan language spoken by the ethnically Okinawan inhabitants, which is related to Japanese, became the target of the language standardization movement that was taking place within Japan as well.

Table 18.2: Japanese language policy (Source: Yamada 2006: 65).

Year of Occupation	Target Location	Implemented Policy
1869	Hokkaido (Japan)	National standardization movements (The dialect abolition movements)
1879	Okinawa (Japan)	
1895	Taiwan	Japanese education movements (Suppression of the local languages)
1910	Korea	
1914	South Pacific islands, etc.	Japanese language education (Suppression of the local languages)
1968	Ogasawara Islands (Japan)	

The physical geography of Japan, with its many islands and mountainous regions, has most definitely contributed to rich regional dialectal diversification (Shibatani 1987: 860). Many of these regional dialects, and in particular several sub-dialects, are thought to be mutually unintelligible (Shibatani 1987: 860; Kindaichi 1988: 21). In modern times, language standardization and the pervasiveness of mass communication have promoted greater inter-dialectal intelligibility. During the height of Japanese migration, however, these dialects were quite distinct to the point where mutual unintelligibility proved problematic among the Japanese migrants, especially between those from western Japan and those from eastern Japan.

2.2 Reasons for migrations

Hawai'i was an important early destination for migrants seeking employment. Workers from the Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures were the first to arrive under the newly initiated government-administered migration program in 1885. Other large groups came from Kumamoto and Fukuoka. Most migrants hoped to return home with considerable financial gains once their contractual obligations were met, and according to the records, over 60% of those who migrated before 1894 did return, while 40% stayed in Hawai'i (Hawai Hōchisha 2001: 52–54; Sakata 2004a: 18). However, the Japanese government stopped subsidizing their transportation costs due to the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Thus, after 1894, less than 30% of immigrants returned to Japan, and the Japanese resident population in Hawai'i rose steadily until 1924, the last year of plantation immigration (United Japanese Society of Hawaii 1964: 98, 1971: 155; Sato 1985: 260; Tasaka 1985: 26). Most migrants to Hawai‘i continued to come from the same prefectures. Masaaki Kodama, a Japanese historian, suggests that this may have been due to a lack of nationwide publicity about the government's migration program. The existence of this labor opportunity was not commonly known, and migrants tended to come from regions where emigration offices were located (Masaaki Kodama, p.c., August 2004). Once the first wave of migrants began to show financial success, others from their home regions were motivated to follow. Migration to other locations followed a similar pattern, and this explains the concentrations of specific prefectural groups in different migration sites.

Following the war, about 6,000,000 Japanese who had migrated to Japan's former colonies, including Taiwan, the Korean peninsula, Manchuria, the Pacific Islands, and Sakhalin, returned as repatriates (Yoshiura 2012: 3). Due to the war, Japan's economy was suffering, and the country was faced with problems such as food shortages and an unsustainable level of population growth. In response, the government started a new migration scheme that sent a large number of post-war migrants to places including Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, and Argentina (Sakata 2004b: 32). Every year between 1952 and 1973 (except for 1965), over 1,000 migrants left for South America. During the peak period between 1956 and 1961, the number of annual migrants was over 6,000 (Yoshiura 2012: 3). Like the majority of pre-war immigrants, most of the migrants were young, male, non-heir children of farmers (sometimes with their wives) recruited by the government to engage in agricultural labor in their country of destination. As in Shibuya and Chien's (2013) format, in what follows, this chapter surveys the Japanese language spoken outside Japan according to two different historical circumstances: migration and colonization.

3 Japanese spoken outside Japan: Migrants and their descendants

This section discusses the varieties of Japanese that are spoken outside of Japan mainly by the *nikkeijin*. These varieties can be described as non-standard and highly hybrid. They show traces of regional dialectal features of the migrants' hometowns as well as influences of languages used in their settlement sites. The discussion loosely follows the chronological order of significant Japanese migrations, starting with Hawai‘i, Canada, and Brazil.

3.1 Hawai‘i

When Captain James Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, sugar cane was already an established crop, but its commercial cultivation did not begin until 1835 on the island of Kaua‘i. The demand for Hawaiian cane sugar accelerated in response to two major events in the continental United States: a severe shortage of sugar from the southern states in 1861 due to the American Civil War and the dramatic population growth in California during the Gold Rush of the 1840s (Chinen and Hiura 1997: 9). In Hawai‘i, this booming sector of the economy gave rise to an enormous demand for manpower, resulting in global recruitment of foreign immigrant workers including the Japanese. On his way to England in 1881, King David Kalākaua of Hawai‘i stopped in Tokyo to urge the Meiji Emperor to send laborers. The majority of the first Japanese migrants came from western Japan. Between 1885 and 1924 the prefectures that supplied the largest groups of migrants to Hawai‘i were Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Okinawa, and Fukuoka, in that order. The majority of eastern Japanese migrants were from Fukushima and northern Niigata. As the Tohoku dialect-speaking region consists of the areas of northern Honshu north and east of the bottom end of Fukushima and the northern half of Niigata (Tokugawa and Grootaers 1951; Katō 1996, Kanno and Iitoyo 1994), I treat Niigata and Fukushima migrants in Hawai‘i as Tohoku dialect speakers. The number of Japanese immigrants steadily increased, and they became the largest ethnic group. Table 18.3 shows the ten largest home prefectures of Japanese residents as of 1924. The names in boldface are the western Japanese prefectures.

Table 18.3: Numbers of immigrants from each prefecture in 1924 (Source: Nagara 1972: Appendix II).

	Prefecture	Population (%)		Prefecture	Population (%)
1	**Hiroshima**	30,534 (26.2)	6	Niigata	5,036 (4.3)
2	**Yamaguchi**	25,878 (22.2)	7	Fukushima	4,936 (4.2)
3	**Kumamoto**	19,551 (16.8)	8	**Wakayama**	1,124 (1.0)
4	**Okinawa**	16,536 (14.2)	9	Miyagi	1,088 (0.9)
5	**Fukuoka**	7,563 (6.5)	10	**Okayama**	727 (0.6)

In 1920, at their highest, the number of Japanese was 109,274, constituting 42.7% of Hawai‘i's population (Odo and Shinoto 1985: 18–19), followed by Portuguese (10.6%), Hawaiians (9.2%), Chinese (9%), Filipinos (8.2%), other Caucasians (7.7%), and Caucasian-Hawaiians (5%) (Census 1920 data, cited in Reinecke 1969: 42). In 2000, the Japanese constituted the second largest ethnic group in Hawai‘i: 201,764, or 16.7% of the total population (Census 2000 data, based on one race declaration and not including mixed ethnicity, cited in U.S. Census Bureau 2005).

There is some work on the Japanese language as spoken in Hawai‘i. Higa discusses the establishment of the local standard Japanese and its use of loanwords from Hawaiian and English. He concludes that the Japanese language shows borrowing especially in domains of kinship or address terms and everyday vocabulary. For example, instead of Japanese words, *girl* and *boy* from English were widely used for sons and daughters, and words such as *hana* ‘work,’ *hapai* ‘carry,’ or *luna* ‘overseer,’ from Hawaiian were adopted (e.g. Higa 1970, 1975, 1985). It is not rare for scholars who investigate the topic of Japanese in Hawai‘i to mention the strong influence of Hiroshima/Yamaguchi (Chugoku) dialects (e.g. Inoue 1971; Higa 1985; Hiramoto 2010). In a recent report, however, Inoue (2010) notes that Japanese in Hawai‘i has become closer to Standard Japanese compared to his earlier observations (e.g. Inoue and Oshigoto-kai 1990).

Examples of western Japanese influence on locally spoken Japanese, namely Chugoku dialectal features, are given by Inoue (1971: 54):

(1)	*Anmari*	*yoo*	*wa**g**ara-n*	*noyo.*	*wasi-ra-no*	***eu**-**g**o**d**o.*
	Very	well	understand-NEG	PART	1-PL-GEN	saying

‘(My daughter) doesn’t understand what we say very well.’

This is an excerpt of conversation data obtained from a 70-year-old first generation Fukushima male speaker who migrated at the age of 19. The underlined parts indicate Chugoku dialectal forms. The first observation to be made is the use of negation marker *-n* in *wagaran* ‘understand-NEG’ (instead of the equivalent Fukushima or Standard Japanese form *-nai* as in *wakaranai*). Another Chugoku influence is the use of a first-person pronoun *wasi* instead of the Fukushima form *ora* or *ore*, or Standard Japanese *watasi*. The boldfaced segments in *wa**g**aran* (not *wa**k**aran*) ‘understand-NEG’ and ***eu**g**o**d**o* ‘saying’ (not ***iu**k**o**t**o*) mark the speaker’s use of Tohoku phonology, namely, intervocalic voicing of voiceless plosives (k) and (t), and front vowel alternations of (e)–(i). The use of Tohoku phonology suggests that the migrant’s speech was influenced by Chugoku dialectal forms at the morphological and lexical level, but not at the phonological level. These phenomena appear to be found generally by Fukushima and Niigata migrants (Hiramoto 2010).

Including studies by Higa and Inoue, a number of scholars report on English personal pronoun loanwords (e.g. Kurokawa 1983; Hiramoto, Shiraiwa and Asahi 2013). Example (2) is an excerpt of conversation data from a second-generation daughter to her mother, and (3), a second-generation son to his father. Both are taken from Kurokawa (1978: 74).

(2)	*Okaa-san,*	*last*	*night*	*mii-wa*	*2-zi*	*made*	*benkyoosi-te-ta.*
	mother	last	night	1SG-NOM	2 am	until	study-PROG-PST

‘Mother, last night, I was studying until 2 o’clock.’

(3)

Papa,	*yuu-no*	*baatudee*	*tudee,*	*sake*	***koo-te**-ki-ta*	*yo.*
Papa	2SG-GEN	birthday	today	sake	buy-TE-come-PST	PART

'Papa, today's your birthday; I brought back sake for you.'

Traditionally, Japanese does not have personal pronouns that function like those of English. However, with the close contact between the two languages, there are salient uses of English pronouns in the data. The English-derived first- and second-person pronouns *mii* and *yuu* as seen in (2) and (3) are used noticeably frequently among Japanese speakers in Hawai'i, and they also commonly appear in plural forms *miira* and *yuura* with the plural *-ra* suffix. Though much less frequently, the third person forms, *himu* 'him' and *haa* 'her' are also observed in Japanese spoken in Hawai'i as seen in (4), taken from Higa (1985: 73).

(4)

Ai	*tenki*	*himu-wa*	*ko-nai-**kee***	*mii-wa*	*hitori-de*	*iku.*
I	think	3SG-NOM	come-Neg-CONJCT	1SG-NOM	alone-by	go

'He is not coming, so I'll go alone.'

In addition to the English pronouns, (3) and (4) show other characteristics, namely, western Japanese features, in boldface. In (3), the verb phrase with the *te*-form is ***koo-te**-kita* 'buy-TE-come-Past'; it would be ***kat-te**-kita* in Standard Japanese. The verb phrase with a conjunction is *ko-nai-**kee*** 'come-NEG-CONJ' in (4), where the Standard conjunction form is *-**kara***; this phrase would be *ko-nai-**kara*** in Standard Japanese.

One of the most salient features found in the data is, unsurprisingly, use of English words in Japanese as noted by scholars who studied Japanese spoken in Hawai'i (e.g. Higa 1970, 1975; Inoue 1971). As part of pragmatic features of *nikkeijin* speech in Hawai'i, this chapter follows the term loanword to refer to this phenomenon. As mentioned, there are frequent uses of English loanwords in the domain of kinship terms and numerals. The following conversation data were recorded in 1982 from a first-generation male speaker, A and his second-generation sister-in-law, B. A is an 82-year-old from Fukushima; B is a 70-year-old whose parents were both from Fukushima. The speech characteristics are marked as follows: ***English loanwords*** (bold and underline); *western Japanese dialects* (underline); ***Tohoku phonology*** (bold).

(5)
1 B: ***Oh**, are Matsui-san, ah hutari oru no asuko ni.*
'Oh, that Matsui-san, ah there are two over there.'
2 A: ***Yea, waihu an' hezben** de. Hoike, **gyooru**, **gyooru** ka**d**a ni orun yo.*
'Yea, wife and husband. So, they stay at their daughter, daughter's.'
3 B: ***No, one more** Matsui-san. Atti de.*
'No, there's one more Matsui-san. Over that side.'
4 A: ***No**, Matsuo, Matsuo, are **gyooru** itta to**g**oro**ng**a Matsuo yuuno yo.*
'No, Matsuo, Matsuo, the family the daughter married is Matsuo.'

5 B: ***Oh***, *wasi ano X no kooden morattano no,* ***two*** *Matsui-san ga tuiteru noyo.*
‘Oh, on the condolence money for X I got, it says two Matsui-san (names).’
6 A: ***Tuu*** [tsu:] *Matsui,* ***oh***, *honnara anoo, aan nani, Daniel, Daniel da nani,*
‘Two Matsui, oh, if so, ah, it must be Daniel, Daniel, you see,’
7 *Richard, Richard, Richard ga yattan zya. Matsui.*
‘Richard, Richard, Richard must have given it. Matsui.’
8 B: ***Yea***, ***one*** *Richard Matsui.* ***And one*** *wa. . .*
‘Yea, one Richard Matsui. And the other one is . . .’
9 A: *Are to Masa, Masazu* [masazu] (= Daniel’s Japanese name), ***yea***, ***yea***.
‘With him, it’s Masa, Masazu (= Daniel’s Japanese name), yea, yea.’
10 B: *Ah, Masaji* [masadʒi]. *Are otoo-san* ***or*** *kyoodai?*
‘Ah, Masaji. Is that the father or a brother?’

In this casual conversation between *nikkeijin* relatives, there are a number of instances of English loanwords especially in expressions for yes/no, interjections, kinship terms, and numerals. Words like *girl* and *boy* are usually used to mean daughter and son, and the former is commonly pronounced as *gyooru* among *nikkeijin* in Hawai‘i. Western Japanese dialectal features are seen in expressions such as an existential marker *oru* (*iru* in Standard, lines 1, 2); particle *no* (*ne* in Standard, lines 1, 5); conjunctions *hoike* and *hoinara* (*sorekara* and *sorenara* in Standard, lines 2, 6); first person pronoun *wasi* (*watasi* in Standard, line 5); copula *zya* (*da* in Standard, line 7). These features can be generally considered to be of the western Japanese dialects and are strongly associated with the Chugoku dialect.

Concerning phonological features, A uses Tohoku dialect pronunciation as indicated in lines 2 *ka**d**a* ‘residence’ (*kata* in non-Tohoku); 4 *to**g**oro-**ng**a* ‘place-Top’ (*tokoro-ga* in non-Tohoku); and 9 *Masa**zu***, a name (*Masaji* in non-Tohoku). There are noticeable pronunciation differences between A and B in the words ‘Masaji’ and ‘two’. First, while B says ‘two’ [tu] (line 5), A responds to her with ‘tuu’ [tsu:]. This reflects a general first-generation speaker’s idiosyncratic pronunciation of this English word. Since a CV cluster like [tu] was not present in the Japanese phonemic inventory, the first-generation speakers substituted for it with [tsu:]. This was actually a common pronunciation for Japanese in Japan especially among those who were born before the war. The second pronunciation difference between A and B is with a common male name ‘Masaji’. A pronounces it with Tohoku phonology as [masazu] but B responds to him with a standard pronunciation [masadʒi]. This suggests that although B is a second-generation *nikkeijin* of Fukushima heritage and was married to a first-generation Fukushima migrant (for over 50 years), her pronunciation was not influenced by Tohoku phonology. In fact, B does not show any Tohoku dialectal features but uses western Japanese dialects in (5), suggesting that little or no Tohoku dialect was transmitted from her parents’ speech to her speech; rather, she seems to have acquired western Japanese dialectal features.

In summary, some of the strong characteristics of Japanese spoken in Hawai‘i include the substantial influence of western (especially Chugoku) lexical and morphological features, and foreign loanwords including English personal pronouns. The pronoun borrowings are not an idiosyncratic phenomenon observed merely in Hawai'i. There are similar reports from other regions, including North and South America and Taiwan, which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2 Canada

The first Japanese migration to Canada took place in 1877 (Hibiya and Takagi 2010: 18). As in Hawai'i, most migrants were uneducated farmers and fishermen. They migrated to find employment in logging, mining, and fishing. By 1901 nearly 5,000 Japanese were living in Canada, and by 1907 the Japanese population had risen to over 18,000; the number kept increasing especially with the arrival of female migrants as picture brides after 1908 (National Association of Japanese Canadians [NAJC] 2005). From 1915, local Japanese language schools started to educate Canada-born children of Japanese migrants (Takeuchi 1987). The migration continued up to 1928 when Canada's immigration laws changed (NAJC 2005). Before the war, 95% of the 22,000 Japanese in Canada lived in British Columbia (Yanagisawa 2002: 12; NAJC 2005). When the war broke out, however, those who lived within 100 miles of the Pacific Ocean coast were relocated to inner Canada – inner British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario (see Nishimura 1995a: 160, 1995b: 125; Hibiya 2003: 67). After the war, few Japanese returned to the west coast, choosing instead to move east, where job opportunities were greater and there was less discrimination against them (Ujimoto 1974; cited in Nishimura 1995b; Makabe 1979). According to 2006 census data, the total Japanese population, including single and multiple ethnic origin responses, is 98,905 with large concentrations in British Columbia (41,585/43%), Ontario (34,730/35%), and Alberta (13,470/14%).

Using 1922 records compiled by Nakayama, Sasaki (1995) listed hometowns of migrants in Canada. Table 18.4 shows the ten largest home prefectures of Japanese migrants, based on Nakayama (1922/1955) and Sasaki (1995). The boldface names are western Japanese prefectures.

Table 18.4: The ten largest home prefectures of Japanese migrants in Canada (Source: Hibiya and Takagi 2010:23).

	Prefecture	Population (%)		Prefecture	Population (%)
1	**Shiga**	3,911 (20.2)	6	**Kagoshima**	759 (3.9)
2	**Wakayama**	2,793 (14.4)	7	**Yamaguchi**	721 (3.7)
3	**Hiroshima**	1,940 (10.0)	8	Kanagawa	679 (3.5)
4	**Kumamoto**	1,568 (8.1)	9	**Okayama**	613 (3.2)
5	**Fukuoka**	1,264 (6.5)	10	Miyagi	553 (2.9)

Since the majority of the migrants originated from western Japanese prefectures, Japanese spoken in Canada especially prior to the war was influenced by western dialectal features such as (a) euphonic changes such as (*iu*) – (*yuu*), (b) use of *utira* as a first-person plural pronoun, and (c) a negative suffix -*n* (Hikosaka 2003).

There are several sociolinguistic studies on Japanese spoken in Canada. Hibiya's studies investigate linguistic changes in the Japanese of first- and second-generation *nikkeijin* (e.g. Hibiya 2000, 2003). Nishimura's research (e.g. 1995a, 1995b, 1997) focuses on syntactic and pragmatic phenomena concerning code-switching among second-generation *nikkeijin* speakers in Ontario. Western Japanese dialectal features are evident in these studies' data. In (6) is a sequence of excerpts from Nishimura (1997: 62). The speaker is a second-generation female *nikkeijin* who was in her late fifties at the time of the recording in the early 1980s.

(6)	1	. . .	*mii-wa*	*are*	*ano*	*cooking-ni*	*kat-te*	*kita-nda.*
			2SG-NOM	that	that	cooking-for	buy-CONJCT	come-PST-COP
			'I just eh bought it for cooking.'					
	2	*Mii*	*wine*	*noma-**n***	*kara*	*yo.*		
		2SG	wine	drink-NEG	CONJCT	PART		
			''cause I don't drink wine you know.'					

Like Japanese spoken in Hawai'i, there are lexical borrowings in the Canadian *nikkeijin*'s utterances, including a first-person pronoun *mii* in lines 1 and 2 in (6), and a word 'cooking' in line 1. Based on second-generation *nikkeijin*'s conversation data, Nishimura (1997: 136) categorizes English loanwords including *papa*, *mama*, *wife*, *husband*, *boy*, *family*, and *me* as in 'habitual use'. These uses are also reported in a first-generation migrant's speech by Hibiya and Takagi (2010: 22), who state that the English personal pronouns and kinship terms were habitually borrowed into the first-generation speakers' speech and the usages were most likely transferred to the second-generation speakers' speech. Other than the English loanwords, another characteristic of Canadian *nikkeijin*'s speech observed in (6) is the use of the western Japanese dialectal feature, the negation form -*n* instead of the Standard form -*nai* (line 2).

Comparing first- and second-generation speakers, Hibiya and Takagi (2010: 20) mention that the English personal pronoun *me* is more habitually used among second-generation speakers than among first-generation speakers. Based on this, while the English loanword *me* may be 'habitual use' for second-generation speakers, for first-generation speakers, it may be somewhat equivalent to 'free variation' in Nishimura's (1997: 136) terms: uses of English nouns in Japanese language for no apparent reason. The following data is from an 80-year-old first-generation female speaker from Shizuoka in Hibiya (1996).

(7) 1

Watasi	*denwa-ni*	*de-tano-yone.*
1SG	phone-DAT	answer-PST-PART

‘I answered the phone, you see.’

2

Sositara	*‘Mrs.*	*ikutu-desu-ka’*	*tte-yuu-kara,*
Then	‘Mrs. (= madam)	how old-COP-Q’	TE-say-because

‘Then, “Madam, how old are you?” (the person) says,’

3

mii-wa	*sonotoki-wa*	*mada-ne,*	*‘ano,*	*79 yo’*	*tte-**yuu**-tara. . .*
1SG-NOM	then-NOM	yet-PART	‘well	79 PART’	TE-say-PST

‘I was then still, you see, “well, 79,” (I) said. . .’

The speaker uses both Japanese and English pronouns (line 1 *watasi* and line 3 *me*) to refer to herself. This is an example of Nishimura’s (1997) ‘free variation’ type of English loanword usage by *nikkeijin*. This speaker also shows a use of a western dialectal form in the pronunciation of the verb *iu* ‘to say’ as it is articulated with a euphonic change in a conjugated form as *yuu-tara* instead of *it-tara* in line 3.

English lexical borrowings are indeed quite common in Japanese spoken by *nikkeijin* both in Canada and Hawai‘i. In fact, lexical-level borrowings of cultural and functional terms are one of the most general phenomena in language contact situations (e.g. Weinreich 1953; Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The fact that kinship vocabulary or referent/address terms (i.e. Nishimura’s (1997) ‘habitual use’ terms) were commonly adopted by *nikkeijin* suggests that these words were used highly frequently in *nikkeijin* communities. Moreover, perhaps these English terms were preferred over Japanese terms as a result of *nikkeijins*’ new identity formation in their new homelands. Higa (1975: 83) claims that “*loanwords used by the nikkeijin reflect the process and the degree of their social and psychological adjustment to the new cultural environment*” (italics original). Although Higa’s observations are based on *nikkeijin* in Hawai‘i, his statement can be applied to all other diasporic speech communities.

English is used more than simply at the lexical level among *nikkeijin*. For example, Nishimura’s (1995b: 127–128) data include clause-level code-switching between Japanese and English by a male second-generation speaker in his late fifties.

(8) 1 *B.C. ni iku toki, hikooki-no naka-de yomoo to omottekara*, I bought it, eh?
‘When I went to B.C., I thought I’d read it on the plane,’
2 So, it’s not finished yet. (Laugh) And it’s hard. ’cause *mii nanka, moo*,
‘when I, well’
3 *hon yomu to cover-to-cover yomanakattara*, if I stop *dokka de*,
‘read a book, unless I read it from cover-to-cover, if I stop at someplace’
4 I forget story. One week later *yomu desyoo*, I gotta go back.
‘when I read it’

Observations of Japanese spoken in Canada highlight some elements comparable to those in Japanese spoken in Hawai‘i. Having some commonalities in their backgrounds, such as migrants' geographic origins and English as a major host language, a certain degree of similarity between these two varieties of Japanese is expected. As in Hawai‘i, some second-generation *nikkeijin* in Canada learned to speak a hybrid variety of Japanese as a result of dialect contact among the first-generation speakers. In Canada, second-generation speakers of a minority migrant group from Miyagi (Tohoku dialect region) have also been reported to have kept the Tohoku phonology in their Japanese (Hikosaka 1995). Tohoku phonology was practically leveled out among second-generation Japanese speakers in Hawai‘i, which must have been motivated by the large size and close-knit relationships of the Japanese community. Second-generation Tohoku *nikkeijin* interacted with a large number of non-Tohoku peers and acquired non-Tohoku phonology (as seen in differences of pronunciations between A and B in Example [5]). In Canada, as the Japanese community was much smaller and scattered, second-generation Tohoku speakers may have mostly interacted with their parents in Japanese. Such conditions could contribute to the transmission of the parents' dialects to their children's generation.

3.3 Brazil

Anti-Japanese movements became especially strong in the U.S. from the beginning of the 20th century; thus, the Japanese government started sending migrants to South America, with Brazil the first destination (Mori 2004: 124). Japanese migration to Brazil started in 1908 and the last immigration ship from Japan arrived in 1973. There were over 240,000 migrants during this period, and today Brazil has the largest Japanese community outside of Japan with an estimated 1,500,000 *nikkeijin* (Sakuma 2011: 20). Most of the migrants found work as laborers in coffee plantation agriculture, deforestation, gardening, and animal husbandry. The majority of these migrants moved as a family, and Japanese schools were established to teach their children. In 1926, there were 61 Japanese elementary schools in different settlements, increasing to 122 in 1931, with an enrollment of about 5,000 students (Mori 2004: 131). From 1916, Japanese was also widely used in newspapers, magazines, and other printed media that circulated among Japanese migrants. However, during a period of growing nationalism after 1920, the use of foreign languages was restricted, especially from 1938 to 1945 (Mori 2004: 138). However, the Japanese newspapers and language schools resumed from 1945 (Mori 2004: 138). Japanese migration to Brazil can be roughly separated into two phases – the pre-war phase between 1908 and 1941, and the post-war phase after Japanese migration was officially resumed in 1953. More migrants came during the pre-war period.

Table 18.5 shows the total number of immigrants during these phases up to 1963. The ten home prefectures with the highest numbers of Japanese migrants based on the 1964 records are: Kumamoto, Fukuoka, Okinawa, Hokkaido, Hiroshima, Fukushima, Yamaguchi, Kagoshima, Fukushima, Yamaguchi, Kagoshima, Okayama, and Kochi

Table 18.5: Number of Japanese migrants in Brazil (Source: Mori 2004: 124).

Phase	Number of Migrants (%)
Pre-war (1908–1941)	188,615 (77.9)
Post-war (1942–1963)	53,556 (22.1)
TOTAL	242,171 (100)

(Burajiru Nikkeijin Jittaichōsa Iinkai 1964). Except for Hokkaido and Fukushima, all these prefectures are in the western Japanese dialect region.

By the end of the war, the majority of the Japanese had shifted their identity from *dekasegi imin* 'temporary migrants' to *koroniajin* 'people of the community, *colonia*' (Maeyama 1979, 1982; Mori 2004; Santo 2005; Sakuma 2011). Among *koroniajin*, Japanese language with heavy influence from Portuguese – *koronia-go* – is spoken. The word *koronia-go* refers to a variety of Japanese spoken by Brazilian *nikkeijin* in general. According to Long (2000: 2), "Linguists have commented for over three decades on aspects of the language used by Japanese emigrants to Brazil and their descendants. Most have concentrated on lexical or occasionally the phonological aspects." There are numerous collections of Japanese Brazilians' language and literature at Sao Paulo (Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros); a list of references is available in Santo (2004: 453–460). Relatively recent linguistic research includes work on lexical borrowing from Portuguese (Kuyama 2000a, 2000b); work on use of *koronia-go* (Mori 2004; Santo 2003, 2005); descriptions of language uses among different generations of *nikkeijin* (Kudo (ed.) 2004); and studies of language and ideology issues (Sakuma 2011). Santo (2003: 50–54) provides a comprehensive list of resources on the Japanese used by Brazilian *nikkeijin* from between 1957 and 2002. In addition, Ota (2004), and Doi and Saeki (2004) list the linguistic research reports in Portuguese.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Japanese in Brazil is the use of Portuguese. On the use of Japanese among Brazilian *nikkeijin*, or people of the Japanese colonies ('Colonia') in Brazil, a well-known intellectual, Zempachi Ando (1956), states:

> Japanese language spoken in Colonia is often criticized as broken or low-class; however, I disagree. People in Colonia share their background as immigrants, thus, there is less concern about who has higher or lower status than you. . . . [Colonia language] represents democracy based on equality of people's status while Japanese in Japan are still tied by social status when speaking the language. This is evidence that Japanese democracy [back home] is still fake.
>
> (Ando 1956, cited in Mori 2004: 147, author's translation from Japanese)

As English pronouns are borrowed into Japanese spoken in Hawai'i and Canada, so Portuguese personal pronouns are borrowed into Japanese spoken in Brazil. Example (9) is from Kuyama (2000b: 9), and (10) and (11) are from Kudo (ed.) (2004). Portuguese words are underlined in the examples

(9)

Kinoo	*ela-wa*	*dor de cabeça-de*	*gakkoo-o*	*faltou-sitan-yo.*
yesterday	3SG-NOM	headache-by	school-ACC	miss-PST-PART

‘Yesterday, she missed school because of a headache.’

(10) Data from Kudo (ed.) (2004: 425), 2nd generation female

Eu,	*sore*	*sinagara-nee,*	*ele-wa*	*mo*	*hotondo*
1SG	that	while doing-PART	3SG-NOM	already	almost

doyoo-demo,	. . .
Saturday-even	

‘I, while doing that, because he hardly goes out on Saturday, . . .’

deteikanai-noyo	. . .	*Eu*	*hitori-de*	*hasiri-mawatte,*	*kono*	*planta-mo*
go out-NEG-PART		1SG	alone-by	run around-TE	this	plant-too

‘I ran around by myself, this plant, too,’

eu	*zutto,*	*tuzuketot-ta,*	*tot-ta-no*	*yone.*
1SG	long time	hold on-PST	continue-PST-PART	PART

‘I held on to it for a long time.’

(11) Data from Kudo (ed.) (2004: 446), 3rd generation male

Acho que,	*ele-ga*	*3-sai*	*gurai*	*datta-kana?*
I think	3P-NOM	3-years-old	about	COP-PST-PART

‘I think, he [died when I was] 3 years old, maybe?’

Meu avoo	. . .	*Não não.*	*Ee,*	*ele-wa*	*ano,*	*mukoo-no*	*kotti*	. . .
my grandpa		no no	eh	3P-TOP	that	over.there-GEN	this side	

‘My grandpa. . . No, no. Eh, he is over there, this way. . .’

Kuyama (2000b: 10) reports an inventory of loanwords in personal pronouns, kinship terms, and other categories of terms. She lists the following vocabulary items (the Japanese pronunciations are indicated next to the Portuguese original words) – pronouns: *eu* [yo] ‘I’, *você* [ose] ‘you’, *ele* [eri] ‘he’, *ela* [eɾa] ‘she’; kinship terms: *mamãe* [mamai] ‘mother’, *papai* [papai] ‘father’, *tio* [tʃio] uncle, *tia* [tʃia] aunt, *cunhado* [kuɲa:do] ‘brother-in-law’, *cunhada* [kuɲa:da] ‘sister-in-law’; numerals: *um ano* [wun ano] ‘one year’, *dois sacos* [dois sakko] ‘two bags’; time: *segunda-feira* [segunda feiɾa] ‘Monday’, *semana* [sema:na] ‘week’. Other than the heavy use of Portuguese loanwords and/or code-switching, another characteristic of Japanese spoken in Brazil is the use of western Japanese dialectal features. Example (12) is an excerpt of an award-winning drama script, *Tomate to Konpyuutaa* ‘Tomato and Computer’, written by Maeyama (1972), cited in Sakuma (2011: 44–45), which is part of a genre known as *Koronia bungaku* ‘Colonia literature’. Western Japanese features are underlined.

(12)	1	*Hun,*	*uti-no*	*ajûda-mo*	*mada*	*zenzen*	*si-yora-n*	*kuse*	*siyagatte*
		Huh	us-GEN	help-too	still	not	do-GER-NEG	even	at all

‘Huh, he hasn’t even provided any help to our family at all.’ . . .

2	. . .	*Rokuna*	*koto-ga*	*arya-se-n*	*noda.*
		dull	thing-TOP	exist-do-NEG	COP

‘There is no good thing.’

The western Japanese negation marker *-n* is used in both (12) 1 *si-yo-ran* (*sitenai* in Standard) ‘does not provide’ and 2 *arya-se-n* (*ariwasinai* in Standard) ‘does not exist’.

Higa who studied loanwords in Japanese spoken in Hawai‘i also studied use of loanwords in Japanese spoken in Brazil. He claims that *koronia-go* has two functions in loanwords: (1) to fill a lexical gap, and (2) to replace the existing vocabulary (Higa 1980); he further suggests that the latter type of loanwords is used to build solidarity among *nikkeijin* community. Kuyama (2000b) points out Higa’s findings on use of loanwords by *nikkeijin* in Hawai‘i, and states that perhaps the use of Portuguese words in Japanese conversation helps reduce psychological gaps among Brazilian *nikkeijin* speakers. According to the results of an opinion survey of Brazilian *nikkeijin*, Kuyama (2000a) reports that many of her respondents commented on use of Portuguese in Japanese language as follows – “Without using loanwords, it seems that speakers are being conceited and conversations do not go very well,” “By using Portuguese, speakers can indicate solidarity; therefore conversations can be carried smoothly”, “Brazilian *nikkeijin* feels shy about using Portuguese toward Japanese from Japan.” Thus, as in Ando’s (1956) quote above, these comments strongly support the view that Portuguese-influenced Japanese has its own function to support the *nikkeijin* community. At the same time, a number of scholars mention that *koronia-go* is getting weaker every year (e.g. Mori 2004; Nagata 2010; Sakuma 2011). This is actually the same in Hawai‘i and Canada. Due to the formalized language education (from schools), media, and influences of language standardization, there has been a rapid shift in the Japanese languages spoken among the *nikkeijin* in different immigrant communities to Standard Japanese.

4 Japanese spoken outside Japan: Post-colonial varieties

In this section, Japanese spoken outside Japan mainly by the post-colonial speakers will be explored. Like the immigrant varieties described in the previous section, the post-colonial varieties of Japanese also show highly non-standard characteristics. The contact varieties discussed in this section are the result of overseas colonialism by the Empire of Japan. The earlier colonization took place in the countries surrounding Japan, and later expanded to other Pacific regions. In what follows, the data from Sakhalin, Taiwan, and Palau will be presented.

4.1 Sakhalin

Sakhalin Island is located between mainland Russia and Hokkaido. This island has been a place of contact of a variety of people with different linguistic backgrounds including speakers of minority languages such as Orok (also known as Uilta) and Evenki (formerly known as Tungus) which belong to the Tungusic language family, Nivkh and Ainu which are said to be language isolates, as well as speakers of major languages such as Chinese, Russian, Ukrainian, and Japanese, amongst others (Asahi 2006). According to Asahi (2010: 29), contact between Japanese and locals in Sakhalin dates back as early as the 15th century; however, documentation of Japanese language use does not appear until the 19th century. Sakhalin Island was not a territory of any country, at least according to the 1855 records, and its ownership was disputed between Japan and Russia (Asahi 2006: 3). By this time, there were settlement communities of Japanese and Korean speakers in Sakhalin, but their native languages were not used outside their groups (Asahi 2010: 30). Between 1875 and 1905, Russia's territorial right over Sakhalin Island was recognized internationally; thus, Russian became an official language. At the same time, the minority languages were still vital. and Ainu was used as the lingua franca among the islanders during this period, especially between Russians and the ethnic minorities (Wurm 1996a, 1996b).

After the Russo-Japan War in 1905, Russia ceded the southern half of Sakhalin Island (known as Karafuto in Japanese) to Japan, and Karafutochō – 'the South Sakhalin Bureau' – was established in Toyohara in South Sakhalin (today's Yuzhuno Sakhalinsk). This part of Sakhalin Island remained Japanese territory until 1945 when the war ended (Shiode 2010: 20). With official territorial control over the island since 1905, Japanese domination started. Most Russians left for the northern half of Sakhalin or to mainland Russia. During the Japanese territorial period, about 400,000 Japanese migrants left for Karafuto. Table 18.6 shows the ten largest home prefectures of Japanese residents in Sakhalin as of 1941. The total Japanese population was 225,354 in 1941 according to the same report. Unlike other overseas Japanese communities introduced earlier, the eastern Japanese dialect regions are dominant hometowns of the migrants; in fact, all of them fall under the eastern Japanese dialect region. The boldface letters indicate the Tohoku-speaking prefectures.

In 1941, over 90% of the entire population in Sakhalin Island was Japanese, according to Karafutochō's report (cited in Asahi 2006: 7–10), and the non-Japanese ethnic population was composed of the following: Korean 19,768; Ainu 1,272; Orok 287; Russian 140; Chinese 104; Nivkh 97; Polish 46; Evenki 24; Ulch 15; Turkish 10; German 5; Sakha 2; Manchurian 1. Not all of these people were residents of South Sakhalin as some lived in North Sakhalin under Russian administration. There were 272 Japanese

Table 18.6: The Numbers of Immigrants from Each Prefecture in 1941 (Adopted from Karafutochō 1941, cited in Asahi 2006: 7).

	Prefecture	Population (%)		Prefecture	Population (%)
1	Hokkaido	85,189 (37.8)	6	**Iwate**	9,495 (4.2%)
2	**Aomori**	29,264 (13.0)	7	**Fukushima**	8,737 (3.9%)
3	**Akita**	22,365 (9.9)	8	**Niigata**	7,006 (3.1%)
4	**Miyagi**	10,229 (4.5)	9	Ishikawa	3,770 (1.7%)
5	**Yamagata**	9,921 (4.4)	10	Toyama	3,753 (1.7%)

public primary schools in Karafuto for Japanese and Korean children in 1941 (Asahi 2006: 8). Ainu children joined them after 1933 (Takada 1936). In 1921, there were seven primary schools administered by the Japanese government for children who did not attend the Japanese schools and Japanese education was provided to those students as well (Asahi 2006: 9). As the number of attendees declined, in 1933 these schools were consolidated into one in Shiska (today's Poronaysk), mainly for ethnically Orok and Nivkh children. As Shiska had traditionally been a fishing town, in addition to the formal Japanese education at school, Orok and Nivkh speakers were exposed to Japanese language through interaction with Japanese fishermen who came from Hokkaido and Tohoku regions even before 1905. The Japanese spoken by the fishermen was markedly different from Standard Japanese (Nakanome 1913: 115, cited in Asahi 2005: 29), but Japanese language from both sources diffused among non-Japanese in Shiska through close interactions. After the war, Russia claimed territorial rights over the entire island and a vast majority of Japanese natives returned to Japan. Asahi (2006: 15) reports that about 300 post-war Japanese remained in Karafuto; for these people however, their main language had switched to Russian.

Some studies on Japanese language use in Sakhalin were done by Hirayama, who conducted fieldwork in South Sakhalin (e.g. Shiska), and subsequently investigated and reported Japanese tonal patterns in 1940 and 1957. He mentioned many common factors between the Japanese spoken in Sakhalin and the Hokkaido dialect: "phonetics, lexical choices, and morphology all show similarities with Hokkaido dialect" (Hirayama 1957: 438), and even calls the Japanese spoken in Sakhalin "a sibling dialect of the Hokkaido dialect" or "a subgroup of a Hokkaido dialect" (Hirayama 1957: 438). The fact that post-Meiji Hokkaido was itself populated by immigrants from Tohoku dialect-dominant prefectures explains the similarities between these two varieties. Other than Hirayama's reports, there are studies by Asahi since 2000. One of his findings is based on Hirayama's follow-up study on the tonal patterns used by Japanese speakers in Sakhalin. Based on 2006 fieldwork, he reports some differences in the tonal patterns found in Sakhalin and the ones in Hokkaido dialect (Asahi 2010: 33). This suggests that the Japanese speakers' tonal patterns have changed in the sixty years since Hirayama's fieldwork. Asahi (2010: 33) suggests that this is likely to do with the speakers' limited opportunities of using Japanese (including interactions with other Japanese speakers or exposure to Japanese media) after the war due to the small size of the Japanese community in post-war Sakhalin. Asahi (2005) also reports on Japanese fishermen's jargon used in Karafuto. For example, fish names like *akiaji* 'salmon harvested in fall; *akizake* in Standard', *kankai* 'saffron cod; *komai* in Standard', *konishin* 'small herring, refers to a type of herring caught around Hokkaido' were used among fishermen from Tohoku dialect-speaking regions. The fishermen went to Sakhalin and introduced these terms to the local fishermen (i.e. Orok and Nivkh speakers). As a result, these fish names were borrowed into their languages.

The influence of Tohoku dialect on the Japanese spoken in Sakhalin is a notable difference from the other overseas Japanese varieties discussed thus far. The following excerpts, cited in Asahi (2010: 34), indicate Tohoku intervocalic voicing, marked with boldface. (13) is from an Ainu female recorded in 1938 and (14), a Korean female recorded in 1929.

(13) *Okaasan-ni* *ni**d**eru-nda,* *wa**d**asi.*
mother-DAT resemble-COP 1SG
'I look like my mother.'

(14) . . . *motto* *tu**g**awa-nai-kara* *deki-nai.*
more use-NEG-because able-NEG
'. . . since (I) don't use it more, (I) am less capable.'

In Standard Japanese, *ni**d**eru* 'resemble' in (13) is pronounced with [t] as *niteru*, and *tu**g**awa-nai* 'use-Neg' in (14) as *tukawa-nai* with [k]. There are also morphological features of Tohoku and Hokkaido dialect pointed out by Asahi (2010: 34–35). The following examples, cited in Asahi (2010: 34), show a Tohoku feature in the use of a directive marker *-sa* (instead of Standard *-o*, *-ni*, or *-e*) in (15) by a Japanese female recorded in 1933 and (16) an Ainu female recorded in 1983.

(15) *Soko-sa* *hito-ban* *toma-tte-it-ta.*
there-DIR one night stay-TE-go-PST
'Stayed there overnight.'

(16) *De,* *sotti-no* *hoo-sa* *mi**d**e. . .*
And there-DAT direction-DIR look-TE
'And, looked over that way.'

In (16), other than the use of *-sa*, an intervocalic voicing of [t] in *mite* is also noticeable. All in all, Japanese used in Karafuto is influenced by eastern Japanese dialects, especially the Tohoku and Hokkaido varieties.

4.2 Taiwan

After the Sino-Japanese war, China ceded Taiwan to Japan in 1895, and Taiwan was under Japanese administration until 1945 (Chien 2010: 43). During the Japanese colonial period, the *Taiwansōtokufu* 'Taiwan Office of the Governor-General' was established in Taipei, and there was a massive influx of Japanese migrants into Taiwan. Based on Chien's work on Japanese spoken in Taiwan, Sanada reported 312,386 Japanese (out of a total population of 5,872,084) in 1940 (Sanada 2004: 76). According to Mühlhäusler and Trew (2000: 25) the population distribution of Taiwan after 1985 was: Han Chinese 3,500,000; Aboriginals 130,000; Japanese military 3,000; Japanese police 20,000; Japanese residents 100,000. Taiwan was a multilingual community prior to the Japanese colonization with speakers of different Chinese languages (e.g. Hokkien, Hakka, Mandarin) as well as different aboriginal languages (e.g. Atayal, Amis, Rukai, Kavalan, Paiwan) belonging to the Austronesian family (Chien 2010: 44). According to government records, in 1934, the total population was 5,194,980 and the ethnic breakdown was: Hokkien 75.9% (3,942,139); Cantonese 14.1% (733,910); Aboriginals 4.0% (206,029); Japanese 5.1% (262,964) (Taiwansōtokufu 1937a, cited in Aizu 2002: 26). Japanese language spread across the island under the Japanese administration. In 1941, the proportion of the Taiwanese population that understood the Japanese language was reported to be 58% (Sanada 2004: 76). Japanese language was used outside schools as the lingua franca among Taiwanese speakers of different languages. As a result, when Japanese colonization ended in 1945, the major languages spoken by the people of Taiwan were Hokkien, Hakka, and Japanese (Young 1988: 323). According to Chien and Sanada (2010: 352), for example, in one of the villages of Yilan County in Eastern Taiwan, those who were born between 1940s and 1970s learned a localized Japanese variety as a home language. However, they mention that the variety of Japanese spoken in Taiwan by these speakers is declining along with the aboriginal languages.

Many of the Japanese who migrated to Taiwan came from the western dialect speaking regions. Based on the 1935 census report, 70% were from western Japan and the seven largest home prefectures of the migrants were: Kagoshima, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Saga, Nagasaki, and Yamaguchi (Taiwansōtokufu 1937b, cited in Chien 2010: 46). Chien (2010: 45–46) reports that Japanese spoken in Taiwan shows linguistic features from western Japan as well as other languages spoken in Taiwan. One of the western Japanese features reported by Chien (2010: 46) is the existential/gerund marker *-oru* (instead of Standard *-iru*). (17) is an utterance made by a male resident of Pintung province who is a native Rukai speaker born in 1927. (18) is from a female Yilan province resident who is a native Atayal speaker born in 1932.

(17)	*Minna*	*benkyoo-sit-<u>oru</u>*	*yo.*
	everyone	study-do-gerund	PART
	'Everyone is studying, you see.'		

(18) *Yappari oru nee.*
after.all exist PART
'Indeed, there are.'

Another characteristic of Japanese spoken in Taiwan is the use of Hokkien pronouns, *gua*/*guan* 'first person pronoun, singular/plural' and *li*/*lin* 'second person pronoun, singular/plural'. (19) is a conversation between two women living in Hualien province; A is a native Hakka speaker born in 1933 and B is a native Amis speaker born in 1921 (taken from Chien 2010: 47).

(19) 1 A: *Guan nanka tooku it-te-nai* ***ma****.*
1PL like far go-TE-NEG Chinese PST
'Someone like us, haven't gone so far, right?'
2 A: *Li, XX-made it-ta-koto-aru?*
2SG XX-till go-Past-nominalizer-experience
'You, have you been to XX?'
3 B: *Gua, gua, aru.*
1SG 1SG experience
'I, I have.'

Chien (2010: 47) explains that these Hokkien personal pronouns are used by speakers of other languages. She also mentions that there are records of the pronoun borrowings in Japanese spoken in Taiwan during the pre-war period by other scholars (Kawami 1942; Nishioka 1936; Saito 1943, cited in Chien 2010: 47). Another interesting loanword seen in (19) is the Hokkien particle *ma* in line 1 by A (Bao Zhiming, p.c., January 2013). It is used in a very similar way as Japanese discourse markers like *desho* or *ne* 'you see, right?' Besides *ma*, Chien (2005) reports other Chinese discourse particles like *lah*, *ho*, and *ah* inserted in Japanese sentences by Taiwanese speakers. Such examples suggest that linguistic categories like pronouns and particles are more lexical than morphological in this variety of Japanese.

Chien and Sanada report a Japanese-lexifier creole language in Taiwan spoken in Yilan province, named Yilan Creole (e.g. Chien and Sanada 2010; Sanada and Chien 2012). This is a hybrid language spoken by all generations of Atayal people. Speakers are aware of differences between Japanese and the creole. For example, a 1936-born male commented that the creole is a mother tongue of his community, and that it is not exactly the Japanese language (Chien 2010: 55). Chien and Sanada (2010: 354) explain that "Yilan Creole is a language influenced by Japanese and Atayal, but it is not understood by either Japanese or Atayal native speakers," and "[t]his is due to its having been extremely restructured." Although it has been a major language in the community for a long time, today's speakers are mainly senior and late middle-aged groups, as Mandarin has become the younger generations' main language (Chien 2010: 56).

In summary, the pre-war population in Taiwan learned Japanese language through school education and interactions with the Japanese migrants under colonization. Since the majority of the immigrants originated from western Japan, Japanese spoken in Taiwan is influenced by western Japanese dialectal features. At the same time, it also shows influence from non-Japanese languages, e.g. use of Hokkien personal pronouns. As a result of an intense language contact situation, at one point, Japanese was one of the major languages in Taiwan. There is a dynamic case of Japanese becoming the lexifier of a creole language in a mountainous province of the Atayal community, exemplifying an intense degree of language contact. After the war, however, Mandarin began to dominate, and the number of Japanese speakers, including those who speak Japanese-based creole languages, is declining.

4.3 Micronesia (Palau)

Micronesian Islands were known as *nan'yō-guntō* 'the South Sea Islands' to the Japanese, and they included today's Palau, Northern Mariana Islands, Federation of Micronesia, and Marshallese Islands. The Micronesian Islands were colonized by European countries after the 1800s; however, Japan took over the territorial rights and placed the administrative headquarters of its Nan'yōchō 'South Seas Bureau' in Koror, the capital of Palau, between 1914 and 1945 (Matsumoto 2010a: 59). After the war, the U.S. took over Palau until 1994 (Matsumoto and Britain 2003). During the Japanese administration, a large number of Japanese migrants moved to Palau and the Japanese population increased tremendously. According to government records, there was approximately a one to one ratio of Japanese and Palauans (6,553 and 6,230) in 1935, three to one (17,006 and 6,509) in 1937, and four to one (23,980 and 6,514) in 1941 (Nan'yōchō 1939, 1941, 1942, cited in Matsumoto 2011: 35). As the Japanese administration instigated its economic, educational, and infrastructural schemes in Palau, Koror became a cultural and political-economic center of Micronesia (Matsumoto 2011: 35). During this period, young Palauans from other parts of the country relocated to Koror for schooling and jobs (Republic of Palau 2004: 8). Most of the migrants were laborers who engaged in jobs created by Japanese enterprises along with local Palauans. The migrants had close interactions with the locals and the children attended the same Japanese schools. There was also a large amount of intermarriage between Japanese and Palauans (Matsumoto 2011: 35). These factors contributed to the spread of Japanese language. According to Matsumoto (2010b: 136), even after independence in 1994, the influence of Japan and the U.S. was still significant for the following reasons: (1) the recentness of their colonization; (2) prolonged and ongoing financial support from both countries; and (3) the strategic social and educational reforms that Japan and the U.S. conducted. Based on the 2000 Census data, the main languages of Palau are Palauan (64.7% of the population claim to speak it) and English (9.4%); Japanese is a minor language spoken by 1.5% of the population (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.).

As in other locations of Japanese migration, different dialect speakers migrated to Palau during the Japanese occupation, and their dialects contributed to shaping the local variety of Japanese. Table 18.7 shows origins of Japanese migrants in 1926 and 1938. Eastern Japanese dialect regions are in boldface.

Table 18.7: Origins of Japanese migrants in Palau in 1926 and 1938 (Nan'yōchō 1928, 1939, Source: Matsumoto 2011: 35).

Dialect Regions	1926	1938	Total
Hokkaido	42 (3.1)	1,141 (6.8)	1,183 (6.5)
Tohoku	92 (6.7)	1,133 (6.7)	1,225 (6.7)
Kanto	252 (18.5)	1782 (10.5)	2034 (11.1)
Tokaido	124 (9.1)	982 (5.8)	1106 (6.1)
Tosando	46 (3.4)	210 (1.2)	256 (1.4)
Hokuriku	77 (5.6)	459 (2.7)	536 (2.9)
Kinki	98 (7.2)	862 (5.1)	960 (5.3)
Chugoku	76 (5.6)	355 (2.1)	431 (2.4)
Shikoku	35 (2.6)	451 (2.7)	486 (2.7)
Kyushu	305 (22.3)	1,370 (8.1)	1,675 (9.2)
Okinawa	218 (16.0)	8,148 (48.2)	8,366 (45.8)

As Table 18.7 shows, the first five places of origin of the migrants are Okinawa, Kanto, Kyushu, Tohoku, and Hokkaido. As with most of the other Japanese migrations discussed thus far, the majority of migrants to Palau came from western Japanese dialect regions, if Kyushu and Okinawa are included in that category. Matsumoto and Britain (2003: 51) exclude the Kyushu and Okinawa groups from the western Japanese dialect group, considering them independent dialect groups. According to this categorization, the western dialect speakers were not so dominant, as the ratios would be 556 (east) vs. 286 (west, excluding Kyushu and Okinawa) based on the 1926 record, and 5,248 (east) vs. 2,127 (west, excluding Kyushu and Okinawa) based on the 1938 record.

Matsumoto and Britain (2003: 53–58) investigated the use of negation markers among Palau Japanese speakers of different proficiency levels and found that overall, verbal negation is done with the eastern form -*nai* instead of the western form -*n*. They explain this with Mufwene's (2001) idea of the Founder Principle in contact situations, where the founding settlers of a new community shape the dialect for subsequent migrants (Matsumoto and Britain 2003: 50). The earliest groups of migrants were dominated by eastern dialect speakers, and the eastern negative form -*nai* won out during the dialect leveling stage (Matsumoto and Britain 2003: 53, 58).

Concerning the largest migrant group, Okinawans, Matsumoto and Britain (2003: 57–58) claim that their language did not contribute much to the formation of a new variety of Japanese in Palau because it was a stigmatized variety. As mentioned, Matsumoto and Britain's (2003: 51) analysis of the negation marker excludes migrants from Kyushu and Okinawa from the western Japanese dialect group. Nevertheless, the reported negation marker used in these regions is the western dialect form *-n* (Kokugo Chōsaiinkai 1906: 8, cited in Matsumoto and Britain 2003: 54). However, as Matsumoto and Britain point out, Okinawan seems to have had little influence on the Japanese variety spoken in Palau despite the large numbers of Okinawan migrants because of the stigma attached to it. If Okinawan speakers are excluded from the count, then eastern dialect speakers may be considered the majority; the use of eastern dialect features such as negation marker *-nai* can thus be explained by 'majority rule', even if the Founder Principle is not accepted; in addition, the fact that the eastern Japanese dialect was a non-stigmatized variety may have increased its overall influence.

As well as morphological characteristics, Japanese expressions diffused into Palauan lexicon have been reported by Matsumoto (2010a: 67). These words were originally used in Japanese language in Palau; however, some of them are now used as loanwords in Palauan. Terms that reflect the time frame of the Japanese colonization include *sarumata* 'underpants', *titibando* 'brassiere', *katudoo* 'movies', and *mujin* 'a community based mutual financing association'. Like the example given here, some words that have become old-fashioned in Japan are still used commonly in Micronesia (Kenneth Rehg, p.c., February 2006). However, it is very likely that the Japanese loanwords will be replaced by English in the near future as, except for senior citizens, more Palauans know more English than Japanese (Matsumoto 2010a: 67–68; see also Matsumoto 2016; Matsumoto and Britain 2019).

To sum up, as in other places of Japanese colonization, in Palau, Japanese is now spoken predominantly by senior citizens who received Japanese education and had interactions with Japanese migrants. Although, overall, many of the Japanese residents during the colonization were from the western Japanese speaking region, the largest numbers of the migrants were Okinawans, whose speech was stigmatized by other Japanese migrants. If the speakers of the stigmatized variety are excluded, the greatest numbers of speakers came from eastern Japanese dialect regions, and their numerical and social dominance influenced Japanese spoken in Palau. For example, the eastern verb negation marker *-nai* was used more dominantly than the western form *-n* by Palauan speakers; this usage might be explained by either the Founder Principle or majority rule, or both. Also, as with the other former sites of colonization, the number of Japanese speakers in Palau is declining.

5 Discussion of loanwords

Concerning uses of loanwords in migrant Japanese communities, especially in Hawai‘i, Higa (1975) suggests some hypotheses based on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic principles, including the following:

– Reflections of the processes and the degree of immigrants' social and psychological adjustment to the new cultural environment influence choices of loanwords.
– Words of relational concepts (e.g. personal pronouns and address terms) are borrowed as conceptual systems.

According to conventional ideas based on historical-comparative linguistics (e.g. Swadesh lists), kinship terms and pronouns belong to basic vocabulary and tend to be immune to borrowing. However, in general, migrants in new communities actively use non-Japanese kinship terms (mother, father, etc.) for family members and themselves. These usages could have been motivated by the need to reflect family and social structures in the non-Japanese context. Pragmatically, the Japanese language is well known for altering its pronouns and kinship terms to suit the relationships between participants and referents. For instance, Suzuki and Miura's (2001: 162) discussion of the use of Japanese pronouns in self-referent situations describes an example of a person alternating between the Japanese first person pronouns *watakusi* (formal neutral register) and *boku* (less formal masculine register) both of which are equivalent to the English 'I'. A speaker is expected to know how to distinguish these forms accordingly. In migrant communities, however, a majority of the people held relatively equal status with each other as migrant laborers. Loanword pronouns could have been easier for speakers in these communities to adopt, as they did not have to be as sensitive about social relationships when interacting with their peers. This could have been especially true for the descendants of these migrants, as honorifics are said to be one of the most complicated elements of the language. At the same time, the loanwords could have contributed to identity construction within a new community of Japanese immigrants as 'Japanese living outside Japan' as opposed to 'Japanese living in Japan'. In Taiwan, local personal pronouns were borrowed into Japanese. This could be a strategy by non-native speakers to avoid using complex honorific systems. In other words, simplifications of pronoun usage could have been based on local languages that did not have the same system of honorifics for pronouns.

6 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed some examples of Japanese spoken outside Japan. Emigration from Japan become a mass phenomenon after the Meiji Era (1868), when a large number of Japanese began to go to Hawai‘i and North America after 1885 through arrangements made by the governments. Following these first waves of migrants, the government started a migration scheme to South America. Consequently, a large number of migrants moved to places in Central and South America, including Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, and Argentina. While the North American migration ended before the war, migration to South America continued after the war. Examples from communities of migrants and their descendants in Hawai‘i, Canada, and Brazil were discussed. Because migrants in these regions were predominantly from western Japan, the Japanese language varieties spoken in these areas exhibit some western Japanese dialectal forms such as the negation marker *-n* as in *wakaran* (Standard: *wakaranai*) ‘don't know’, *noman* (Standard *nomanai*) ‘don't drink’, or *siyoran* (Standard *sitenai*) ‘isn't doing’. Today, the number of speakers of the pre-war varieties of Japanese in these places is fast declining, since only groups of elderly *nikkeijin* who learned Japanese from their family members or community schools before the war, are able to use these varieties. The post-war *nikkeijin* shifted their languages to dominant languages of the regions, and if they know how to speak Japanese, it is usually the standard variety acquired from modern Japanese language education methods.

There was also significant emigration to the territories of the Empire of Japan during the colonial period, including Manchuria, Korea, Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands, Pacific islands, and other parts of Asia. However, most such emigrants repatriated to Japan after the end of the war. Remaining speakers of Japanese languages in the former colonies include Japanese who stayed in the former colonies after the war and their descendants and local people who had Japanese education during the Japanese administration. Examples from Sakhalin, Taiwan, and Micronesia (Palau) were surveyed. Because these migrants' demographics differ from one place to another, it is difficult to find common characteristics across these areas; however, one common denominator is the current status of Japanese language. As in the *nikkeijin* communities, the numbers of Japanese speakers in the former colonies are steadily declining. Except for small groups of senior citizens, the colonial varieties of Japanese language are no longer used, having been replaced by local languages after the war. Researchers working on Japanese spoken outside Japan (in *nikkeijin* communities and former colonies) are generally in agreement that pre-war varieties of Japanese will vanish in the near future due to language shifts.

It was mentioned in the introduction that this chapter overlaps the same geographic areas covered in an earlier publication by Shibuya and Chien (2013) regarding the Japanese language spoken outside Japan. Nonetheless, the author hopes that the contents of this chapter have contributed in broadening further understanding of the language contact and linguistic change phenomena pertinent to overseas Japanese. This is particularly the case since Shibuya and Chien's (2013) monograph targets a more general audience than linguistic specialists. (For more specialized discussions on a status of Japanese in the world, see Chapter 21 (Shibuya, this volume).

Additional Abbreviation

DIR directive

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Daniel Long

19 Language contact and contact languages in Japan

1 Introduction

The history of the Japanese language, and indeed the history of Japan in general, is often presented as one of isolation punctuated by periods of contact with other cultures. One could easily contend, however, that the opposite view reflects the reality of the situation: Japan has experienced a history of repeated and multifaceted language contact with relatively minor periods of isolation. The Japanese language accumulated vocabulary from neighboring languages such as Chinese, Ainu, and later from European languages such as Portuguese, Dutch, French, German, and English. Loanword issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 17 (Daulton, this volume), especially those arising from language contact with English.

Since the end of the 19th century, industrialization and urbanization promoted demographic movement. Emigration policies were enacted and about 1 million Japanese left their home regions. Migration occurred on a domestic level as well. People in different parts of Japan moved to major cities of the country, to Hokkaido for agriculture and animal husbandry (cf. Chapter 16 (Asahi, this volume)), and to Japanese colonies such as Korea, Manchuria, Taiwan, Palau (cf. Chapter 18 (Hiramoto, this volume) for details). All of this movement led to contact between language varieties, whether that be dialects of Japanese, or foreign languages.

This period saw an increase in the contact with such ethnic groups as the Ainu and the Ryukyuans in the far north and far south of Japan. The Bonin Islands located south of mainland Japan had their own unique history in terms of language contact. Neither was this movement unidirectional. From the turn of the 20th century when Japan expanded its colonialism into the Asian-Pacific, Japan received an influx of people from the colonies of Korea and Taiwan. With the end of World War II came the influence of the US military bases throughout the country. Language contact continues to this day in places such as Yokosuka, Fussa, and Okinawa.

Later in the century, immigration reversed course. Since the 1990s, Japanese society has witnessed a wave of immigration from other countries especially South America, South East Asia, and South Asia. The establishment of such ethnic communities in Japan brought those languages into contact with Japanese. This has resulted in studies of both short-term language contact phenomena such as foreigner talk or teacher talk (Long 1992) as well as long-term phenomena such as code-switching (Yim 1993; Nakamizu 2000) and mixed language (Long 1999a).

In the relatively short span of a century, linguists have assembled an impressive amount of knowledge regarding contact languages involving European languages.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-020

However, there has been far less research conducted on contact languages which do not involve European languages.

The purpose of this chapter is to assemble these phenomena in one place and to reorganize the extant (albeit limited) data into a common framework. For the most part, the various contact language varieties dealt with here are disappearing or have already disappeared, as speakers died away or because of changes in the social context rendered such varieties unnecessary.

This paper starts with a brief description of the history of language contact in Japan with reference to Ainu, Chinese, Korean and other languages (Section 2). Section 3 examines eight cases of language contact from different points in history. Section 4 attempts to generalize the contact-induced language changes through proposing a typology of socio-historical aspects of contact phenomena. Section 5 summarizes the findings and gives a perspective of language contact study in Japan.

2 A brief history of language contact in Japan

A complete history of Japanese language contact would have to begin with the various (and controversial) theories which hold that the Japanese language developed after two (or probably multiple) languages experienced contact and (according to some theories) creolization. I argued elsewhere (Long 2006) that Japanese has been evolving through internal as well as external changes in the language. From the history of human migration to Japan, we know that the Jomon people (and thus their language) were distributed throughout many parts of Japan when the Yayoi people arrived from mainland Asia with their language. These two languages coming into contact with one another may be the genesis of the Japanese language itself. It is also likely that pockets of a Jomon language remained untouched in more isolated areas and later contact in these areas may have produced some of the current Japanese dialectal variation. Dialects of Hokuriku or Tohoku in the north or of the Hayato people in the south of Japan may be the result of such contact (Figure 19.1).

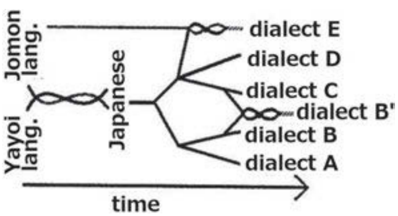

Figure 19.1: Language evolution and the role of contact.

The language contact history of Japan is closely related to Korea and China, areas which have had a profound impact on Japanese. Massive lexical borrowing occurred a millennium and a half ago which today accounts for almost half of Japanese vocabulary (see the HJLL volume on the history of the Japanese language for details). Japanese government officials and Japanese Buddhist or Confucian monks learnt Chinese, Korean, and Sanskrit. The role of interpreters was significant as well.

Hosaka (2000) documented some evidence of language contact in seventh century Japan through analyzing written materials. She firstly pointed out language contact between Korean and Japanese. As we know from *Shin-nihonshoki*, Koreans were dispatched to Japan, and they studied Japanese. Conversely, young Japanese boys aged 4–15 studied Korean, occasionally in Korea. Contact between Chinese and Japanese has an even longer history. A number of Japanese were sent to acquire Chinese to become interpreters in the employ of the national or local government. As Hosaka shows, language contact surely took place in Japanese history, but the limited amount of written materials means we have few if any accurate descriptions of the details of this language contact. The rest of this section, therefore, will focus on loanwords in Japanese over the past millennium.

Lexical borrowings took place throughout the centuries in a number of waves, beginning with Chinese and Sanskrit, followed by many European languages. In order to illustrate the multilayered nature of these borrowings, Ogino (1988) performed quantitative analyses. Using Minoru Umegaki's dictionary of loanwords (Umegaki 1972), Ogino analyzed diachronic change in loanwords in Japanese from the 8th century to the 19th century (Figure 19.2). Due to the difference in scale in borrowings from Chinese, these are not included in the figure.

As shown in Figure 19.2, the language of borrowings has shifted over the centuries from Sanskrit in the Heian era to Portuguese (Muromachi) and Dutch (Edo) to English (Meiji-present). Ogino also discusses the different lexical domains of the loanwords: Buddhism from Sanskrit; Christianity and new devices from Portuguese; new commercial items from Dutch and English; medicine (German), music (Italian); art and fashion (French). The influence of English origin loanwords has been immense. For details, the reader is referred to Chapter 17 (Daulton, this volume).

3 Case studies of language contact and contact languages

This section will look into examples of language contact and contact languages, namely the following eight.

1) Ainu-Japanese contact language in the 17th century
2) Yokohama Pidgin Japanese
3) Chinese
4) Korean
5) Bamboo English
6) Ogasawara

7) Southern Min influence on *Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi*
8) South American immigrant communities in Japan

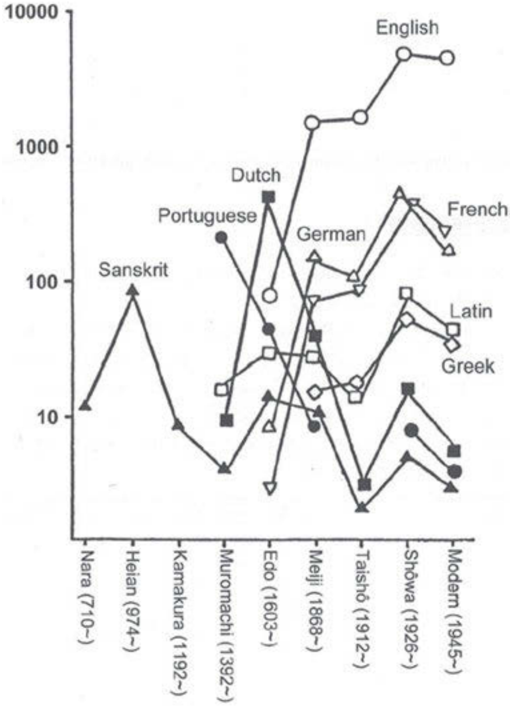

Figure 19.2: Shifts in the origin of Loanwords throughout Japanese history.

At this point, I should put in a word about the nature of the data considered in this chapter. As is often the case with historical studies of language contact, the data presented here are less than ideal. Linguists require a level of reliability in data. Much of the data here is piecemeal and its accuracy and reliability are uncertain. However, in the absence of ideal data, any data is preferable to none at all. This is especially true because one of the purposes of the present chapter is to focus more attention on the topic at hand and encourage other scholars to sift through extant materials as sources relating to language contact.

3.1 Ainu-Japanese contact language in 17th century

In modern times, contact between the Japanese and the Ainu has not resulted in anything we could think of as a contact language. In centuries past there are some indications of a contact language albeit without the adequate quality of linguistic documentation linguists crave. In spite of the paucity of evidence, we will look at these intriguing possibilities later. Before that we will look at some of the other linguistic effects of several centuries of contact between the two languages.

Aside from speculation about possible contact languages involving Ainu, we do know that the Japanese language has borrowed a small number of words from Ainu. The Japanese considered themselves culturally and technologically superior to the Ainu and one can easily imagine that Ainu felt inferior in some respects themselves. As is the case in other parts of the world (English and indigenous languages in North America and Australia, to name a couple) where indigenous groups are encroached upon by a group that is seen as superior to them, the Japanese borrowed mainly animal and plant terms and place names from the Ainu.

The latter category includes names like Sapporo, Tomakomai, and Wakkanai. These place names are easily identifiable as non-Japanese even to the average Japanese not only because of their opaque meanings but because of a sense that they sound "foreign".

In linguistic terms this is because they do not follow Japanese phonotactic rules. These include such rules involving initial /r/ Rausu, Rikubetsu, Rumoi, Rebun; initial voiced consonants Betsukai, Bibai, Biratori; initial /p/ Pippu, Pashikuru, Ponbetsu, and common geminates Wakkanai, Fuppushi. Table 19.1 is a list of Japanese borrowings from Ainu (Shiraoi Tanoshiku Yasashii Ainukotoba Kyōshitsu 2012).

Table 19.1: Japanese borrowings from Ainu.

Japanese words	meaning	Ainu etymology
todo	sea lion	tondo
ottosei	fur seal	onnep
kombu	edible kelp	konpu
rakko	sea otter	rakko
tonakai	caribou	tunakay
shishamo	small fish	susham, susam
shamo	Japanese people	shamo (neighbor person)
utou	auklet bird	utur (protuberance)
eto pirika	sea bird	etu pirika (beautiful beak)

The Ainu language also borrowed a number of words from Japanese. These tend to be terms for manufactured rather than natural objects. Table 19.2 shows a few words gleaned from exhibits at the Shiraoi Ainu Museum Poroto Kotan. Their existence as Ainu words can be verified in the online Ainu Dictionary (The Ainu Museum 2020) which combines words from the Chiri (1953), Kayano (1996), and Tamura (1996) printed dictionaries. These dictionaries often do not mention the Japanese origin of the words, however, so I verified these in discussions with Itsuki Nakamura, the director of the Shiraoi Ainu Museum (personal communications 2012.10.20; 2014.10.17).

In looking at pre-modern linguistic contact between Japanese and Ainu, there are several historical facts which need to be reviewed. We might expect that the Japanese, as the dominant party, would have forced the Ainu to use the Japanese language in communication between the two groups. While this is in fact what happened in the latter 19th century when the Japanese assimilation policies were enacted, it was surprisingly not the case in the earlier centuries. On the contrary, the Japanese government prohibited the teaching of Japanese to the Ainu and its use by them. It was seen as strategically advantageous to the Japanese, in controlling the flow of information, for them to have translators who learned the Ainu language. Boys from the family of Lord Matsumae in northern Honshu (after acquiring their mother Japanese tongue) were chosen and sent to live among the Ainu to learn their language. When they had reached maturity and become sufficiently bilingual, they returned to their Japanese homes and traveled into Ainu territory as translators.

Table 19.2: Ainu borrowings from Japanese.

Ainu words	meaning	Japanese etymology
sake	liquor	sake
tama	bead	tama
pasuy	chopsticks	hashi
pera	spatula	hera
pisakku	ladle	hishaku
patci	bowl	hachi
tanpaku	tobacco	tabako

Aside from these designated translators, there are indications that there was a simplified variety of the Ainu language used by the Japanese, and it is possible that a pidginized Ainu may have been used as a trade language. We know that there was contact among several different language groups along the Santan trade route which stretched from northern Honshu through Hokkaido into Russian Sakhalin and into northeastern China, and we know that the Ainu people and their language played a central role in this trade route. Let us look at data which suggests that a contact variety of Ainu existed.

The first person to write down the Ainu language was an Italian Jesuit missionary named Girolamo de Angelis (1568–1623). He came to Japan in 1602 and was active in Shizuoka. In 1614, with the prohibition of Christianity in Japan, he traveled to the remote region of Tohoku away from the power of the central Japanese government. In 1618 and again in 1621, he traveled to the Matsumae settlement on southern Hokkaido. He wrote reports of these experiences, published in Italian (translated from de Angelis' Portuguese manuscripts) in 1624, which included a list of several dozen Ainu words. It is generally thought that de Angelis did not record these words directly from native speakers of Ainu, but rather from Japanese speakers. Many characteristics, such as open syllables where Ainu should have closed ones seem to indicate the kind of foreigner mistakes that Japanese speakers make. There are other peculiarities in the word list. It appears to mix elements of different geographically distant Ainu dialects, namely of southwestern Hokkaido and far northern Hokkaido. This makes sense when we consider that these are two points along the trade route where the Ainu would have communicated with foreigners (the Japanese to the south, Russians and other ethnic groups to the north). Ainu linguistics expert Hiroshi Nakagawa, in his study of de Angelis' records, concludes that it is possible that the variety of Ainu used for communication between Japanese and Ainu was not a single geographical dialect of Ainu, but rather a result of this contact, i.e., a contact variety of Ainu (Nakagawa 1988).

3.2 Yokohama Pidgin Japanese

The Pidgin Japanese of Yokohama and other open ports (Yokohama Pidgin Japanese, henceforth YPJ) has received little attention in academic circles and is virtually unknown among the pidgin and creole scholars of the world. It has received very thorough analyses in two papers, Daniels (1948), which concentrates on the origins of its lexicon, and Kaiser (1998), which identifies numerous syntactic criteria which mark it as a pidgin in the context of contact linguistics.

This pidgin was used as a lingua franca by the multiethnic trading and diplomatic community which developed in port cities such as Yokohama in the late nineteenth century. Our knowledge of this contact language is derived from a small tongue-in-cheek booklet originally published as Atkinson 1879. The pidgin consists of a Japanese grammatical structure with lexemes from Japanese, English, Malay, Chinese, Chinese Port English (itself a pidgin), French, Portuguese, and others. This multilingual makeup is seen in the sentences below.

In the linguistic examples used throughout this chapter, I have attempted to distinguish between the language which forms the grammatical structure of the contact language (i.e. the substrate) and the language or languages which mainly supply lexical items (i.e. the superstrate). In the example sentences, words from the syntax-supplying language (in this case, Japanese) are shown in regular script, while words from languages other than this (e.g. English, Malay, etc.) are italicized. I have followed this practice throughout this chapter. This may be a bit confusing because words of Japanese derivation are italicized for some of the language varieties discussed here and not for others, but I have chosen this format to differentiate between the superstrate language which contributes most of the lexicon, shown in regular script, and other substrate or adstrate languages, shown in italics. The examples below from Atkinson

1879 use his unique (and inconsistent) Romanization which often resorts to mnemonic devices for easily memorization as seen in the spelling of *yoroshii* as 'you're a shee' in example 1.

(1)

Num	*wun*	you're a shee	arimas?
Number	one	good [JPN yoroshii]	is

'May I see your best one?'

In these examples, we find words such as *consul* and *house*, reflecting the reality of this pidgin's partial reliance on English for its lexicon. Lexemes from other languages are found as well, such as *chapeau* 'hat' (from French) and *shabone* 'soap' (from Portuguese *sabão*). These words had entered the Japanese language prior to this pidgin. Their incorporation into the pidgin indicates that Japanese speakers were searching for words they already knew which could also be understood by Westerners, such as these European borrowings.

(2)

Watarkoosh'	nang eye	*chapeau*	arimas.
1SG	long [JPN nagai]	hat [FR]	be

'I want my tall hat.'

(3)

Consul	*bobbery*	sto.
consul	bobbery [PE]	person [JPN hito]

'lawyer'

(4)

House	arimasen.	Skoshee	high kin	maro maro	arimas.
house	not	a little	see [JPN haiken]	walk [JPN mawaru]	is

'I am not the resident here. I am just visiting.'

In YPJ there is some confusion between the usage of words referring to number and amount, like *sukoshi* 'few, a little', and size, like *chiisai* 'small, little'. The word *takusan* 'many, much' is often misused by non-native speakers of Japanese because it can be used in the sense of 'hito ga sukoshi/takusan iru' (few/many people) and 'mizu sukoshi/takusan nonda' (drank a little/lot of water) but not 'nihongo sukoshi/*takusan hanaseru' (speak a little/lots of Japanese).

Some of the usages (e.g. sentence (5)) are "pidginized" in the sense that they would not be correct in Standard Japanese (SJ). But other usages (e.g. sentence 6) are consistent with SJ. The error in sentence 5 could be expressed in second language error analysis in terms of "chiisai → sukoshi" meaning "chiisai may be corrected to sukoshi". As we will see in subsequent sections of this chapter, contact varieties in the later 20th century (examples (18) and (19) of section 3.5) show the opposite "error" in which *sukoshi* is used in the sense of *chiisai* (written as *sukoshi* → *chiisai*).

(5) Meeds cheese eye arimas.
Water small is
'There is a little water.'

(6) Matty, skoshe matty.
wait a little wait
'Wait a moment.'

(7) Skoshe am buy worry arimas.
little condition bad [JPN warui] is
'(I/she) is not feeling well.'

As for its lexicon, this pidgin also relies on language varieties which themselves are contact languages. Some of these words did not catch on in Japanese, such as Pidgin English *bobbery* 'noisy disturbance' (used in Indian English and believed to derive from the Hindi phrase *bāp re*). Others quickly made their way into the dialects of port cities, and a few even entered mainstream Japanese nationwide. One such word is *champone* 'mixed', usually reported to be from the Chinese *chan-ho*, but which is more likely derived from Malay *campur* 'mix, mingle, put/bring together [things of different kind]'. This latter etymology is further reinforced by the existence of the Okinawan word *champuru*, and by the fact that it is *campur* (as opposed to several perfectly serviceable synonyms) that is commonly found in contact varieties of Malay.

(8) *Champone* hanash.
mix speak
'I mix my languages.'

(9) Mar *chobber* *chobber* shinjoe.
horse food food give
'Give the horse some feed.'

The reduplication *chobber chobber* 'food, eat' is thought to be related to the Chinese Pidgin English expression *chow-chow* (the source of GI slang such as *chow-line* 'queue for meals', *chow down* 'eat voraciously') and is reflected in the 20th century Japanese terms *chabu-dai* 'low table for eating', *chabu-chabu* 'to eat' and *chabu-ya* 'shop serving light meals for foreigners'. The term *amah* 'wet nurse', from Portuguese *ama*, appeared first in Indian English and spread into China and Japan. The found was subsequently included in a collection of dialectal words used in the city of Kobe, one of the earliest and largest open ports in Japan. It was widely enough known in the early twentieth century that Japanese authors were able to use it in popular fiction as an unglossed term.

Other terms from YPJ which found their way into mainstream Japanese include *peke* 'unacceptable, no good' from Malay *pergi*, and *ponkotu* 'to hit; a wrecked car' from Malay *pungut* (Long 1999b). It is no coincidence that these words all derive from Malay, for this language played an important role as a maritime and trade lingua franca throughout Southeast Asia centuries ago. In fact, the first two of these three lexical items are commonly reported in contact varieties such as Bazaar Malay and Dutch Malay (a variety spoken by Dutch and Eurasians).

The main substrate languages contributing to YPJ are English and Chinese. As is typical in pidgin formations it is the superstate language (Japanese) which contributes the overwhelmingly majority of vocabulary (this is the reason we think of this variety not as Pidgin English but as Pidgin Japanese). The influence of substrate languages is seen in features such as word order in (10).

Let us assign numbers to the six words in the YPJ sentence and discuss their order in its Japanese and English translations. The basic order of the YPJ sentence seems to more closely resemble the Japanese word order in (10) except for the displacement of features 5 and 6 to the sentence end. This change in word order is easily accounted for when we consider English word order which places this temporal expression at the end.

(10)	Watarkshee	tempo	highkin	nigh	nangeye	tokey.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1SG	coin	see.NEG		long	time
	'I	have not	seen	a tempo	for a long	time.'
	1	4	3	2	5	6
	Watasi wa	nagai	aida	tempo wo	mite	inai
	1	5	6	2	3	4

One characteristic commonly seen in pidginization is the loss or simplification of stylistic differences. In YPJ, we indeed see examples of extremely polite expressions mixed with highly rude phrases. Look at the following lengthy example (Atkinson 1879: 28). The passage is given in a translation exercise with no correct answer listed. Thus, we have to make informed guesses about what a couple of features were intended to convey. However, the accuracy of these speculations about these parts however does not affect the overall impression of the stylistic simplification.

(11)	Ginrick shaw	motty	koy	ginricky shaw	arimasen	mar	motty
	Rickshaw	hold	come	rickshaw	be.NEG	horse	hold

	koy!	Mar	*sick-sick*	betto	*drunky drunky,*	koora	*serampan.*
	come	Horse	sick	groom	drunk	saddle	broken

Oh my	*piggy*	jiggy jig,	watarkshee	*pumgutz*	sinjoe	arimas.
2SG	not	hurry	1SG	punch	give	is

'Bring the rickshaw. If there is no rickshaw, bring the horse. If the horse is sick and, the stable boy drunk, the saddle broken, you get out of here fast or I'll give you a thrashing.'

The word *sinjoe* in this passage appears to originate in the highly honorific Japanese word *shinjō*. Similarly, the term *watarkshee* is *watakusi*, the most polite 1st person singular pronoun. Contrast these with the rude order form *motty koy* (*motte koi* 'bring'), the rude 2nd person singular pronoun *oh my* (*omae*) and content words like *pumgutz* which is translated in this text as 'punish' but which in other texts is used in the sense of 'punch, slug' or even 'kill'. (see the analysis in Long 1999b)

3.3 Chinese

Many Chinese live in Japan today, but this is nothing new. From ancient times, there were "foreigners" from mainland Asia living in Japan among the Japanese. It was from the Chinese that the Japanese obtained their writing system and gained thousands of new vocabulary items. About 40 to 50 percent of the modern vocabulary of Japanese is of Chinese origin, depending upon how and what one counts. Still, there is limited information (see Hosaka 2000 data in Section 2) about the day-to-day contact of spoken languages that occurred when seventh century Chinese speakers tried to communicate with the Japanese.

Chinese communities developed in early modern (latter 19th century) Japan in port cities such as Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki. In spite of the fact that this happened only one and a half centuries ago, there is precious little concrete information about the language use during this period. We do know that the Chinese were part of the language mélange which resulted in YPJ.

Twentieth century contact varieties used by the second and the third generation Chinese-Japanese have received a little academic attention. In Japan, particularly with the Korean and Chinese-speaking communities, the term "newcomer" is used in reference to people who came to Japan since the 1990s when the Japanese economic environment was more attractive than in their homelands, and when their homelands as well as Japan loosened travel restrictions. As a retronym to contrast with this expression, the term "oldcomer" was coined. The distinction between these two groups is not as random as one might think, because, although many people from these areas came to Japan in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, political and economic factors meant a dearth of immigrants from these areas during the three decades following the War. Kazuyuki Nomura conducted fieldwork in an oldcomer community in Yokohama and found several interesting factors in their contact variety (Nomura 2003). It did not show the simplification processes of pidgin (as had been clearly seen in the 19th Century Yokohama pidgin used by the Chinese in that period). Rather Chinese words are embedded into Japanese language matrix sentences. These are not simply cultural lexemes that one might expect but rather include functional morphemes like pronouns, conjunctions, verbs of existence, and negation. It is of interest that personal pronouns seem to be a feature where Japanese is most avoided. This is especially interesting considering that Japanese first-person pronouns are also avoided in many other contact varieties involving Japanese.

(12)

Wǒ	*yào*	betu	no	*dànshì*	*méi*	*yǒu*	de
1SG	want	another	one	CONJ	not	exist	CONJ
kore	katta	no.					
this	buy.PST	SFP					

'I wanted another one but there wasn't one, so I bought this one.'

(13)

Nani	yo,	*nǐ,*	*wǒ*	ni	wa	zenzen	sonna	koto
What	SFP	2SG	1SG	to	TOP	not	that	thing
hanashite	nakatta	jan.						
tell	PST	TAG						

'What? *You*'ve never told *me* that before, eh.'

(14)

Wǒ	no	mama	ga,	*nǐ*	no	mama	ni	atta
1SG	GEN	mon	NOM	2SG	GEN	mom	DAT	meet
toki,	*wǒmen*	no	atumaru	koto	hanasita-tte	yo.		
when	1PL	GEN	assemble	thing	tell-QUOT	SFP		

'When *my* mother saw *your* mother she told her that *we* were getting together.'

The use of non-Japanese first-person pronouns is found in many contact varieties involving Japanese, from the usage of "me" in Ogasawara Mixed language or in languages of Hawaii or Vancouver Japanese immigrant communities, the usage of *yo* or *eu* by the children or grandchildren of Japanese immigrants in Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, etc. For details, the reader is referred to Chapter 18 (Hiramoto, this volume).

Very little work has been done on the old Chinese communities in Japan, but here are a few observations we can make based on the work of Nomura. (1) The contact phenomenon we are seeing here is closer to the mixing seen in Ogasawara than the "drastic grammatical simplification" that we saw in Yokohama Pidgin or Bamboo English (and indeed of anything labeled a pidgin). In other words, we have what Bakker and Maarten (1994) have termed "intertwining" of Japanese and Chinese, but neither is "broken", i.e. ungrammatical. This also differs from the contact language used by both Japanese and local ethnic groups (Chinese, Mongolian, Manchurian, Korean, Russian) in the Japanese colonial puppet state of Manchukuo. That contact language (labeled many different ways, but most often called *kyōwa-go*) could be called a double pidgin because both the Japanese parts and the Chinese parts are "broken". In contrast, the contact variety used by old Chinese ethnics in Yokohama is not broken. (2) The degree of mixing is small. True, we only have three examples here, but we may still compare these with those for our other contact varieties, and we see that we have only 10 words from Chinese, but 30 from Japanese. Of course, we could argue about what constitutes "one word", an especially big problem when comparing agglutinative Japanese with isolating Chinese, but these finer points are best left for another paper with more space and more example sentences. The point is that what appears to be going on here is that we have native speakers of Japanese who pepper their speech with Chinese (mostly in the form of personal pronouns) to remind each other of their unique roots and to emphasize differences between themselves and the majority of speakers in Japan. In other words, this appears to jibe with linguistic phenomena seen in other communities worldwide (including ethnic Koreans right here in Japan) wherein snippets of the ancestral language are incorporated symbolically into the adopted mother tongue for purposes of solidarity and ethnic pride.

3.4 Korean

Research on Koreans in Japan began with the work of Yim Young-cheol whose PhD dissertation (subsequently published as a monograph in 1993) was based on data collected from hundreds of Koreans in Japan (first and second generation and beyond) asking about their language use in various domains and situations. Further he collected troves of data in the US as well from Korean-American communities in Texas, New York and California. He was able to compare the two societies to see the difference which various socio-historical factors had on language usage. For example, time: Japanese-Koreans had been there longer than their US counterparts. Ethnic prejudice and pride: Koreans in Japan encountered more overt prejudice, but could also hide their background and blend in whereas their American counterparts could never enter the WASP majority. Geography: US Koreans formed enclaves where the elderly could function without learning the language of their host country whereas 100 percent of their Japan counterparts had acquired that language. History: Some Koreans in Japan were brought there as forced labor, but those in the US went of their own volition.

Two decades later, Sanada, Ogoshi and Yim (2005) produced a collection of writings from a dozen scholars working on what had blossomed into its own field of sociolinguistics in Japan.

As with the Taiwanese of Ishigaki (and in contrast with the Westerners of Ogasawara), the Koreans in Japan have not developed a mixed language, but nonetheless there are some interesting studies of language contact features. For example, both Japanese and Korean have nouns which can be used as verbs by pairing them with 'do' verbs *suru* and *hada* respectively. In language contact situations, we find the use of seemingly redundant combinations of verb+*suru* or verb+*hada*, while nouns+*suru* and noun+*hada* do not appear. To make things more confusing, (though apparently easier for immigrant speakers to use) mixed forms "Korean verb + *suru*" and "Japanese verb + *hada*" are reported. The former is somewhat more common in the first-generation Koreans in Japan (i.e. native speakers of Korean). These are a kind of "simplification through avoidance" strategy in which the speaker is able to avoid performing different kinds of conjugations on various classes of verbs. A speaker only needs to remember the conjugations of the two 'do' verbs.

Further variation is reported in two forms in which Japanese verbs are combined with the Korean 'do' verb *hada*. One variant is the stem form (*shibori* + *hada* 'wring'); the other is the dictionary form (*shiboru* + *hada*). Of these two forms, the latter is reported to be more common among the first-generation speakers. It is found even in the second generation speakers, i.e. those raised in Japan for whom Japanese is their first language. Interestingly the latter is the less grammatically acceptable of the two patterns (Kim 1998). There is no simple way to illustrate these conjugational points in English, but it may help the reader to imagine speakers of some hypothetical contact varieties of English using variation constructions such as "I do running" or "I do to run", "I do run-run".

There are reports of the second- or third-generation ethnic Koreans in Japan peppering their speech with Korean words they know, such as *aboji* 'father' or *omoni* 'mother', even when they are monolingual Japanese speakers, in an effort to express their Korean identities. Similarly, some speakers mix Korean first-person pronouns with their Japanese sentences source. However, neither of these language mixing strategies could be said to be typical of the majority of ethnic Koreans in Japan.

There is also a commonly known cultural stereotype of the "strange" Japanese spoken by Chinese residents, which was formed one and a half centuries ago and remains up to the present day. Ironically, there is no such common stereotype for Koreans in spite of the fact that ethnic Korean residents in Japan did, for the past century, far outnumber ethnic Chinese in Japan. One could attribute this to a sense of guilt or political correctness on the part of the Japanese. In other words, while the Chinese living in Japan came on their own will, many of the Korean residents are the offspring of forced laborers brought to Japan during the Imperial times.

It is true that there are reports that, during the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake, marauding bands of Japanese hooligans, egged on by rumors saying "Koreans were poisoning well water" in the ensuing pandemonium, were looking for Koreans and killing them at random. It is said that marauding bands used a linguistic shibboleth for identifying Koreans. They asked passers-by to say *jū-go en* 'fifteen yen' and listened for the telltale Korean accent characteristic by which word-initial "j" became devoiced to "ch". Ironically, in modern-day Japan, linguistic stereotypes of "the funny way Koreans speak" are uncommon.

Think of it like this: if someone stood up at a party and tried to do a stereotypical "imitation" of Chinese, all Japanese there (whether they saw this as a bigotry or not) would understand what group it referred to, while a similar attempt to imitate Koreans would probably bring blank stares, at least from non-linguists. It is a bit odd that there were common linguistic stereotypes of the "strange" Japanese spoken by Chinese but not of the "strange" Japanese spoken by Koreans, but neither is there are any obvious linguistic, sociological, or historical reasons for this difference.

3.5 Bamboo English

There are several reports of a contact language used by U.S. servicemen during the post-World War II occupation. It comes as little of a surprise that a makeshift language developed as American GIs (who were involved in almost every sector of public administration from policing the streets and putting out fires to rebuilding destroyed structures and administering medicine to adults and vaccines to children) attempted to communicate with the Japanese with whom they worked. There would also have been contact after hours in bars, in dance halls, and on sandlot baseball fields. Only that tiny handful of soldiers who served as translators had any grasp of the Japanese language, and the Japanese people's inability to speak English, infamous even today, was even more horrendous after years of a xenophobic military government. Thus, the question is not whether a makeshift contact language arose as a lingua franca between the two groups – it would be illogical to assume otherwise.

The question we face is, what was the nature of this language? When linguists speak of a contact language forming, we are talking about much more than simply individual Japanese speakers using simplified and "incorrect" English, or "broken Japanese" spouting from the mouths of Americans. The key point about a contact language (pidgin, creole, etc.) is not just that it is broken, but that its speakers "break" it in a consistent manner.

The contact language seems to have served two different functions: as an intragroup and inter-group language. The former function fits the definition of a cant, definable as an in-group language used to distinguish between in-group members and outsiders. A cant need not necessarily be a complete language system (something in which a variety of ideas and concepts can be expressed). Cants often refer to collections of words and phrases which are used among group members for their own enjoyment, to label things of special significance to the group, to identify themselves as a group in contrast to outsiders, and to indicate that the individual user himself is a member of that group (Algeo 1960: 122–123; Goodman 1967: 47).

The second function was more commonly associated with contact languages: as a common means of communication between Japanese and Americans who need or wish to communicate with each other, but who did not have a good grasp of the other's language. The limited published references to the contact phenomena of this period provide us with a handful of expressions that are used by the Americans. Examples of phrases found in such publications include English reduplication (*samo-samo*, *change-change*), and Japanese reduplication (*dammey-dammey*). It is difficult to determine from the limited information available whether the grammatical rules governing phrase structure and word formation were derived from Japanese or from English, or from both.

Interestingly, Japanese, along with a pidginized English formed in Japan, was a common means of communication between U.S. military personnel and the local population in Korea during the Korean War. A rather substantial amount of material purported to be representative of this contact variety is found in Webster (1960). Although it would be naïve to take this text as authoritative on the finer points of Bamboo English, an examination of even its most general characteristics reveals the following points.

1. word order rules and general overall structure come from English
2. lexicon draws upon English, Japanese, and Korean
3. there are typical pidgin features such as reduplication and verb+'em (*catchem*) for transitive verbs

Korean Bamboo English is significant because it represents the use of Japanese language elements without the presence of Japanese native speakers; there were only Koreans and Americans.

Sentence (15) is reported as an utterance in a bar by an American serviceman to a Japanese man who was leaving with a woman he picked up. The "test" here may be used in the sense of 'test drive'. (We know of a preponderance of car-driving metaphors for sex, such as references to prostitutes or women of questionable morals as *rental cars* or *yellow cabs*.)

(15)	*Sayonara.*	*Meter-meter*	*daijobu;*	testo	testo	*dammey-dammey.*
	Goodbye	look-look	alright	test	test	bad-bad

'Goodbye. It's okay to look, but you can't try them out.'

The word order of "have-yes" (17) and "hava-no" (16) is the same as Japanese *motte-iru* and *motte-inai*. This indicates that these verbs, although using English word forms are actually structured on Japanese principles.

(16)	Laundry	hava-no.	Water	*taksan*	cold.	You	speak	*taksan*
	Laundry	have-NEG	water	very	cold	you	speak	many

cigarettes	catchie	oneday?
cigarette.PL	catching	one day

'I do not have the laundry (because) the water is very cold. Did you not say that I could have many cigarettes if I did the laundry in one day?'

(17)	*Meda-meda*	one time,	number	one *jo-san*	*taksan*	*chi chi*	hava-yes.
	Look-look	one time	number	one girl	many	breast	have-AFF

'Look, look one time. This girl has great breasts.'

At a first glance, there appeared to be some similarities between the 19th and 20th century pidgins used in Japan for communication between Japanese and foreigners, i.e. Yokohama Pidgin and Bamboo English. However, there is a major difference in the syntax. The 19th century pidgin is basically Pidgin Japanese, that is, Japanese is the language which supplies the syntax and thus dictates the word order. In the 20th century varieties, it is clear that English is the base language supplying the syntax.

As for the core vocabulary, *taksan*, *skoshi*, *daijobu*, *watashi* and *chop-chop* (or slight variants of these) appear in both varieties. However, a closer look reveals that these words are used in different ways. In the 20th century contact variety, *takusan* is used as an intensifier (*taksan cold* 'very cold', Webster 1960); this does not seem to have been the case in the 19th century variety, where the expression was only used in the same way as in mainstream Japanese varieties to mean 'much'. There is a language contact phenomenon here with *skoshi*. In Standard Japanese *sukoshi* means only "a little, a small amount" (*chiisai* is Standard Japanese for "small in size"). But in the 20th century variety Bamboo English, we find lexico-semantic simplification with *skoshi* used not just in the sense of 'a little' but also covering the meaning of 'small', as seen in the utterance (18). In the 19th variety, the word seems only to have been used in the original Japanese sense of 'a small amount, a little'.

(18)	You	*skoshi*	boy	catchie	*taksan*	cigarettes,	no?
	2SG	small	boy	catch	many	cigarettes	TAG

'You have accumulated a lot of cigarettes for such a small boy.'

(19) is from the Bamboo English rendition of Cinderella originally quoted in Webster (1960: 164–165) and it is familiar to many scholars through its inclusion in a sociolinguistics textbook (Wardhaugh 1998: 69–70). Here, *skoshi* is used not as in the mainstream Japanese sense of "a little" but in the sense of "small".

(19) *Taksan* years ago, *skoshi* Cinderella-*san* lived in *hootchie*
Many years ago, little Cinderella-san live.PST in house
with sisters, poor little Cinderella-*san* **ketchee** no fun,
with sister PL poor little Cinerella-san catch NEG Fun,
hava-no social life.
have-NEG social life
'Many years ago, little Cinderella lived in house with sisters, poor little Cinderella had no fun and had no social life'.

In Yokohama Pidgin example (5) we saw the error "chiisai → sukoshi", but with Bamboo English it is the opposite "sukoshi → chiisai". What these two contact varieties share (regardless of which word form wins out) is a collapse of the semantic categories of "small in number, small in volume, small in size".

The first-person pronoun *watashi* is used in with 3rd person singular English verb forms in the 20th century variety; this is not so in the older variety. Words of Korean origin are indicated with [KR] in (20).

(20)	*Watashi's*	*ipsumnida* with	*aboji's*	SOP's
	1SG.Be.3SG	exist [KR]	father[KR].GEN	SOP.PL

'I've had it with the sergeant's regulations.' (Algeo 1960)

The presence of the adjective *daijōbu* in both varieties can be easily explained by its common usage in the Japanese language itself, and by its multiplex meaning. The term *chop-chop* is not even Japanese-origin, but it is thought to be derived from Chinese Pidgin English.

Judging from the above examples, we can see that the 19th and 20th century contact languages do not appear to have been related because (1) although they share some vocabulary items, these are extremely common in Japanese and thus they are the ones that we would expect foreign learners to adopt in the earliest stage, (2) even those lexical items shared between the two varieties are often used in different ways, and most importantly, (3) in spite of the existence of similar lexical items, the syntactic foundations of the two contact languages drew on two separate languages.

3.6 Ogasawara Mixed Language

Contact linguistics research of the past few decades has revealed types of language contact beyond pidgins (including the various subcategories of jargon, prepidgin, limited pidgin, stable pidgin, expanded pidgin), creoles, and creoloids. One is the concept of "Mixed Language" as developed by Bakker and Marten (1994). In this section we will examine the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands and three contact language varieties which are thought to have been developed on those islands. These varieties are (in chronological order) a pidginized English which developed into a creoloid English, and subsequently became a component of the Ogasawara Mixed Language (henceforth OML). We will examine how the concept of Mixed Language differs from pidgin and creole later.

For now, suffice it to say that the Ogasawara Mixed Language is about 50 percent English and 50 percent Japanese (whereas pidgins typically have 80 or 90 percent of their vocabulary from a single language). Also, it does not show the drastic simplification of grammar and vocabulary that is exemplary of pidgins, nor the restructuring seen in creoles.

This means that whereas pidgins and creoles are largely incomprehensible to speakers of the original superstrate (lexifier) language, with the Ogasawara Mixed Language, the English parts are basically comprehensible to English speakers and the Japanese parts to Japanese speakers. Bonin Pidgin English and Bonin Creoloid English developed in the 19th century and few records exist to show what these varieties sounded like. We may never know the extent to which Bonin Pidgin English congealed into a homogeneous contact variety, so it may be more realistic to think of this as a coverall term for the various non-native "broken Englishes" that the native speakers of more than a dozen different languages used within this community. At any rate, positing the existence of a pidgin and subsequent creoloid English is simply the best guess we can make based on what evidence does exist.

The evidence that does exist is of three types: written records, circumstantial information, and remnants of these earlier contact varieties fossilized in modern day speech. First, we have records by visiting ships' captains that say things like "the islander had little English" but nonetheless continue to explain that this person related complex ideas, not simply the "here and now" sort of ideas which can be explained by pointing to things, such as "they stated it was frequently visited by whalers for food and water" and "the natives stated that there was no other way of returning except the ravine by which we came". These records tell us two things, the islanders could speak English and it was not of native proficiency.

Second is the circumstantial evidence, which can be summed up as "there were a few dozen children being born and raised on these islands, their parents were communicating with each other using non-native English, so what else could they have acquired as their 1st language but a creole or creoloid?"

Thirdly, we find characteristics in the modern day speech of the islands which seem contact-based rather dialectal, such as non-usage of articles (the, a, an) and non-usage of plural markers. In a nutshell, this way of thinking goes, "the English of the Bonin Islanders is infinitely more complex and native-like than, say, the second-language English used by native speakers of Japanese, but at the same time it has too many non-native features which are not found in any native dialect of English."

In other words, the important thing to realize is that Bonin English is more than a "non-standard" variety; it demonstrates "non-native" roots, i.e. that it indicates a break in the distant past in the transmission of English from native-speaking adults to the community's children. This is the heavily distilled version of the theory; although our evidence comes only in snippets, these are numerous, and Long (2007: 39–98) spends sixty pages analyzing these. One further note, Shin Abe makes the argument that the Japanese language used on Ogasawara is itself a koiné combining elements of Hachiojima and other dialects (Abe 2006). If we are counting, this Ogasawara Koiné Japanese would make our fourth contact variety on the islands after Bonin Pidgin English, Bonin Creoloid English and the Ogasawara Mixed Language.

Finally, the use of two different toponyms in the names of these contact varieties has no special significance other than to respect the fact that the islands have long been known in Japan by the name Ogasawara and in the outside world as the Bonins.

Now, we need a bit of historical background. The Japanese took over the islands now known as the Ogasawaras in the 1870's and embarked on a rapid settlement plan, sending settler families from Hachijojima and other parts of Japan. The islands that the Japanese began colonizing were already occupied, however, by a mixed band of a hundred-or-so Europeans, Pacific Islanders, and their offspring. As their common language, these settlers had been using a contact variety of English which developed on these islands in relative isolation.

After the Japanese arrived, the younger *kikajin* (naturalized people) began to acquire the Japanese language. They also began to mix their English with Japanese, creating a mixed language which has still been in use to this day (albeit, probably in a somewhat different form).

The contact language used in the Ogasawaras differs greatly from the other contact varieties discussed in this chapter in its genesis and subsequent usage. By their very definition, contact languages generally develop as a means of communication between two groups which do not share a common language. This is indeed why the first contact language on the Bonins, the English-based one, developed, but the OML does not appear to have fulfilled this function. We have no record or testimony that suggests it was used by ethnic-Japanese speakers outside of the community of Westerners. All evidence indicates that the Westerners used (mainstream) Japanese to communicate with their Japanese neighbors. Rather, the Ogasawara Mixed Language was used within the Westerner community. One of its functions seems to have been a cant – a secret in-group language, used to render the group's language incomprehensible to outsiders and to bolster a sense of in-group membership. Thus, although this language variety developed out of the contact between two source languages, its function was not that of a lingua franca.

Ogasawara Mixed Language basically consists of Japanese syntax and English vocabulary. But these two languages do not appear to have been mixed in a random manner, but rather following a set of loose rules. These rules are not adhered to 100 percent of the time and might better be termed "strong tendencies". For example, Japanese serves as the matrix language with English as the embedded language. They are intertwined not only at the word level, but at the phrase and clause level as well. Phrases dealing with time (e.g. yesterday, next year) tend to be from English rather than from Japanese. English also supplies adverbs of degree (e.g. about, almost), expressions involving numbers (e.g. two days), and pronouns. Such tendencies appear to be even fuzzier (less rigidly observed) because there is a continuum between OML and mainstream Japanese. For example, one of the prototypical features of OML is the use of English *mii* 'me' as the first-person pronoun. Perhaps it would be more accurate to term this usage is "English-derived" because it is used for the subject case (*me wa*), indirect object case (*me ni*), and the plural forms are not *we*, *us*, and *our*, but *me-ra wa*, *me-ra ni*, *me-ra no*. This being said, in a discourse of several-minutes in length, one will find Bonin Islanders also using Japanese and English first person pronouns like *watashi* and *I*, etc. However, these are generally found in utterances which are solely in Japanese or English, as opposed to utterances in OML. Such discourse should be viewed as using three languages varieties or codes: the "Bonin English"-only code, the "Ogasawara Japanese"-only code, and the Ogasawara Mixed Language code. Thus (and this is admittedly confusing) the use of pronouns like *watashi* and *I* need not be seen as an “exception to the rule in which *me* is the first-person pronoun”, but rather as a speaker’s diversion into the other two codes which these speakers control.

There are also a few words which were derived from neither English nor Japanese. These words are mainly from Hawaiian, and are mostly plant and animal names, including *arahii, uufuu, tahara, tamana, nukumome, biide biide, puhi, hoorei, moemoe, ruuwara, pimaka*. There are a few features of OML which indicate the influence of other Pacific contact languages. From Chamorro we have *kankon, gwirii, shiikamba, tagantagan*. From Ponapean we have *fumpa*, and from Palauan *kabobo*.

Even in mainstream Japanese, English loanwords are used generously. There are many differences between this usage and the OML. A major one is that in mainstream Japanese, English-origin loanwords are always used with the Japanese phonology (five cardinal vowels, open syllables, /z/ and /ʃ/ substituted for /ð/ and /θ/ and so on), whereas in the OML, English words have English phonology and Japanese words have Japanese phonology.

Another difference between loanwords and the OML is that it is not just individual words but entire phrases or clauses in English are incorporated into Japanese matrix sentences. The underlying English grammatical rules for word order, conjugation, concord, etc. must be seen as having been imported into the Japanese sentences are well. As I said before, functional elements like definite and indefinite articles and plural “s” are not always present, but the variable absence of these is a very different matter from the grammatically incorrect usage of these elements often seen in the English attempted by Japanese speakers. In the following examples, I have italicized the English-origin elements just to visually distinguish them from the Japanese elements.

(21)

Sore	de	*just*	*the*	*wife*	dake	atsumatte	mō	otoko
That	CONJCT	just	DET	wife	only	gather	already	men
invite	shinai	mon.						
invite	do.NEG	PART						

‘So then just the wives got together, they didn’t invite the men.’

(22)

Me	no	*sponsor*	no	*French*	*door*	ga	warete,	*water*
1SG	GEN	sponsor	GEN	French	door	NOM	break.GER	Water
ga	*up*	*to*	*the*	*knee*	datta.			
NOM	up	to	the	knee	COP.PST			

‘My homestay family’s French door broke, and the water was up to the knee.’

(23) Uchi no *Mama* wa *no leg man* mo mita-ttsutta-zo.
1SG GEN mama TOP no leg man TOP see.PST-say.PST-PART
Ano heitai no *clothes* kite. *You* no ojiisan
that soldier GEN cloth.PL wear.GER 2SG GEN oldman
too, he had lots of stories.
PART, 3SG have.PST lots GEN story.PL
'My mother said she once saw a man with no legs. Wearing soldier clothes. Your grandpa too, he had lots of stories.'

(24) Sono toki *me sad* datta yo.
That time 1SG sad COP.PST PART
'I was sad at that time.'

(25) Uchi no *mama Jxxx* de *pregnant* datta kara,
1SG GEN mama [name] INS pregnant COP.PST CONJCT
Jxxx was born in November da kara.
[name] Be.PST bear.PST DAT November COP CONJCT
'Cause my mother was pregnant with Jxxx. Cause Jxxx was born in November.'

These examples show the typical OML, Japanese matrix sentences with entire phrases (up to the knee, just the wife) or clauses (me sad) incorporated into them. The second sentence of the utterance in example 23 (*You* no *ojiisan too*, *he had lots of stories*) shows that the opposite (English matrix sentences with Japanese incorporated into them) is also found, though much less often.

I mentioned earlier that almost all of the educated guesses we can make about traits the 19th century creoloid may have had are based on the English elements of OML. Phrases such as "just the wife" and clauses like "me sad" seem too different from mainstream varieties of English (i.e. non-contact, native-transmitted varieties whether standard English or dialect) to consider them simply dialects, but at the same time they seem too similar to these to consider them creole; thus the creoloid designation.

On the one hand we find a variable non-distinction between singular and plural and between different cases of pronoun, but on the other hand the definite article has been maintained (albeit variably). Furthermore, although absent sometimes, we do not find errors in article usage of the type that Japanese-native users of English often make.

In other words, the speaker significantly does not say "just a wife" which would be incorrect usage. Again, "no leg man" would be "a man with no legs" or "a man what ain't got no legs" in mainstream varieties and thus sounds creole-ish, but "was born" retains complex grammatical principles like auxiliary verbs and participles and thus does not sound creole-ish. There are words like "mama" where the phonology for English and Japanese is identical and thus it is difficult (or meaningless) to definitely assign them to one source language or the other, but these words are minute in number. In summation, we can say that OML is a Mixed Language in the Bakker and Maarten

(1994) sense of the word, in that it is a contact variety which does not show the drastic simplification or restructuring typical of pidgins or creoles, but rather intertwines Bonin Creoloid English and Ogasawara Koiné Japanese in approximately a 50-50 ratio.

3.7 Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi and the Taiwanese of Ishigaki

Not all "contact varieties" found in Japan are the result of contact between foreigners and Japanese. In Okinawa, we find a language variety called "Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi". It is a result of contact between local Okinawan language varieties and mainland varieties (especially Tokyo Standard, but also Kyushu dialects) of Japanese. The language varieties of the islands of Okinawa and Amami (commonly grouped together as the Ryukyuan language) are Japonic languages which share a common proto-language ancestor with mainland varieties. They are, more appropriately, considered as sister languages of Japanese, rather than simply as dialects due to the fact that they are not mutually intelligible with mainland dialects. In fact, sub-varieties of the Ryukyuan group such as Miyako and Yonaguni are not mutually intelligible with each other either.

In 2006, I conducted fieldwork with the substantial community of Taiwanese who live on the island of Ishigaki in Okinawa prefecture. I was fortunate enough to have at the time a graduate student from Taiwan and a native speaker of Japanese to accompany me with the fieldwork, so we were able to conduct semi-structured interviews from various standpoints. The Taiwanese of Ishigaki have not developed a mixed language in the way that Ogasawara has. Nonetheless, their language is of great interest to scholars of language contact.

Geography plays a significant role in the linguistic uniqueness of the Ishigaki community, just as it did with Ogasawara. Readers may not be surprised to learn that Ishigaki is closer to Taiwan than it is to the capital of Japan (Tokyo). They may be shocked to realize that the two are even closer than the former is to the capital of its own prefecture (Naha City, on Okinawa main Island). Ishigaki is home to a community of some 500 Taiwanese, ranging from first to third generation, who have retained many aspects of their linguistic and cultural heritage. Several larger ethnic Chinese communities exist on the main islands of Japan in cities like Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, but the unique geographical effects of living on an island (reduced contact with the outside and intense contact within the community) have helped this group maintain its heritage. In our research, we examined aspects of language use (bilingualism, code-switching, interlanguage phenomena) and culture (ethnic organizations, yearly festivals, grave styles) and contrasted them with other small island communities like Ogasawara and Minami Daito.

Next, we will provide some basic facts of this community. Period of Immigration: Migration from Taiwan to Ishigaki occurred not just once but continued over many decades in three waves. First was prewar when Taiwan was a colony of the Japanese Empire from 1895 to 1945. Immigration continued in the post-war period with the US-administered Ryukyu government. All of the islands of Okinawa (including Ishigaki) reverted back to Japanese authority in 1972, and immigration continued post-reversion. What this means linguistically is that the community had a continuous influx of native-Taiwanese speakers for half a century. So, for example, in the 1980s, the community had second-generation speakers (for whom Japanese was the mother tongue and Taiwanese was a second language) who were middle-aged, living aside native Taiwanese-speaking young adults. Most of the Taiwanese in Ishigaki came in the 1950s and 60s.

The social status of the Taiwanese is far from low. Many originally came to develop the pineapple industry. Many are wealthy and respected as pillars of the overall island community. Prejudice against them, while not unheard of, is practically non-existent compared to that which Koreans have faced in places like Osaka and Kyoto. Because of this, few hide their ethnic roots as many Koreans do. Unlike many Koreans who shun becoming naturalized as Japanese citizens, many of the ethnic Taiwanese in Ishigaki took Japanese citizenship after the reversion in 1972. Many adapted their family names to Japanese ones at this time. Exact numbers are hard to establish, but in 2006, there were over 500 members of the Ishigaki Branch of the Ryukyu Overseas Chinese Assembly. They do not live in a single part of the island, so there is no "Taiwanese neighborhood". Their homes and businesses are scattered all over Ishigaki Island (and even on Iriomote). Community Maintenance is achieved through yearly events such the autumn "Toshikō Festival". Geographically and psychologically, they are closer to Taiwan than to Naha City. They feel their Okinawan lifestyle has more in common with Taiwan than with Tokyo. They are Japanese citizens, but in speaking with them one gets the impression they are living in "Ishigaki Island in the Eastern Pacific" rather than "Ishigaki Island, Okinawa Prefecture, Japan". Data were collected in the fall of 2006, when we attended the annual festival and collected "semi-structured" interview surveys aimed at getting linguistic data through oral history telling. Both audio and video recordings were made.

Pre-war, all Taiwanese learned Japanese at school. After coming to Ishigaki, many Taiwanese residents continued to have contact with Taiwan through trade, relatives, etc. Taiwanese residents have a great deal of everyday linguistic contact with their ethnic Okinawan neighbors since housing is not regionalized.

First-generation speakers have a complex linguistic repertoire. First is Japanese. This is not standard native-like Japanese, but rather consists of (1) inter-language elements showing the effects of their 1st language (Southern Min) and (2) elements of the local version of Standard Japanese called "Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi". Second is Chinese, but this is not Mandarin, rather Southern Min, also known as "Taiwanese". This is a variety of the Southern (Yu) dialects of the Chinese language family. It is not mutually intelligible with Mandarin, and many cannot speak Mandarin. Third, the island is home to the traditional Ishigaki dialect of Ryukyuan (a sister language to mainland Japanese), but this language is not used even by their ethnic Okinawan neighbors, so the ethnic Taiwanese can neither speak nor understand the traditional dialect. So, in a nutshell, diglossia is the order of the day, with little or no language mixing observed or reported.

For second- and third-generation speakers, their native language is Japanese. There is little or no code-switching "Standard Japanese" and "Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi" because most speakers do not realize that the Japanese they use daily would sound odd in mainland Japan and indeed see themselves as speaking the Standard. A surprisingly large number of the second generation can speak or understand Chinese. This is because family and trading ties have been retained. Many adults talk of spending summers in Taiwan with relatives, and so are fluent in Southern Min, and some even studied Mandarin there as well.

By and large, the Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi of the ethnic Taiwanese of Ishigaki is indistinguishable from that of their ethnic Okinawan neighbors. My co-researchers and I were however able to uncover a few interesting exceptions to this. I will introduce one grammatical feature here, the particle *kara* which is roughly equivalent to English 'from' in Figure 19.3. The semantic (or functional) range of *kara* may be thought of in three concentric circles. It is most restricted in Standard Japanese. In the local version of Standard Japanese (Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi) the semantic field is greater. But in the speech of the ethnic Taiwanese of the island the field has been expanded even more.

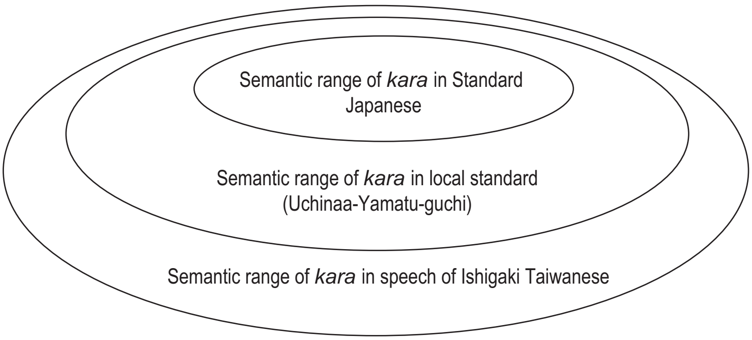

Figure 19.3: Semantic range of *kara*.

In Table 19.3, the sentences are all actual utterances from our linguistic interview data. The first two levels are usages which would be found in Tokyo as well, that is the spatial usage of *kara* (*Tokyo kara kita gakusei* 'a student who came from Tokyo') and the temporal use of *kara* (*sanji kara renshū* 'practice from three o'clock'). These are easily translated into English *from* as well. In addition to these usages, all across the islands of Okinawa Prefecture we find usages like levels 3, 4 and 5 as well. I have deliberately translated these as *from* as well, to give English readers a taste of how odd *kara* would sound in these instances to speakers of Tokyo Standard Japanese. Level 3 is *Gakkō kara oboete* 'I learned it *from* school' which would more likely use *de* in Standard Japanese and translate something like *at* in English. Level 4 would be "by" in English and *ni* in Standard Japanese and our usage example is *Mise hito kara iwareta* 'I was told *from* the shopkeeper'. Level 5 begins to sound even odder in

English (which would be rendered with a conjunction such as *and/or)* and in Standard Japanese (*toka*) as seen in the example *Pain kara, satō kibi kara* 'from pineapples, from sugar cane. . .' As the chart shows, levels 6 through 11 are all served by *kara* in the speech of Taiwanese speakers but would not take *kara* in either Tokyo or Naha.

Table 19.3: Comparison of -*kara* in three language varieties.

	Usage examples from interviews **English translation**	**Meaning** **Standard Japanese equivalent**	**Ishigaki Taiwanese**	**Uchinaa-Yamatu-guchi**	**Standard Japanese**
1	Tokyo *kara* kita gakusei a student who came from Tokyo	from kara	○	○	○
2	Sanji *kara* renshū practice from three o'clock	from kara	○	○	○
3	Gakkō *kara* oboete I learned it from school	at de	○	○	×
4	Mise hito *kara* iwareta I was told from the shopkeeper	by ni	○	○	×
5	Pain *kara*, satō kibi *kara* From pineapples, from sugar cane	or, and toka	○	○	×
6	Hatake utte *kara* From we sold the fields	after -ta kara	○	×	×
7	Kodomo daijōbu kana *kara* shinpai suru I wondered from "Are the children alright?"	quotative to	○	×	×
8	Nōgyō yarō kana *kara* yo I was thinking I might farm, from.	sentence final particle	○	×	×
9	Kōkō no sensei *kara*. He's a high school teacher, from.	sentence final particle	○	×	×
10	Hoshii no mono *kara* totte . . . and take from anything you want	object particle wo	○	×	×
11	San-nan *kara* Okinawa ni oru From my third son is in Okinawa	subject particle wa	○	×	×

Finally, we have the question of whether this expansion of the semantic field of *kara* is simply an effect of the Min language or not. The answer seems to be no. There is no shortage of Taiwanese native speakers living in Tokyo and speaking Standard Japanese. While there are naturally interlanguage features of their Japanese (phonemic confusion of /r/ and /d/ and even /n/ for example), I have yet to find any Taiwanese living in Tokyo who report usages like those in levels 3 to 11 by either themselves or those around them. Thus, it seems to be a combination of living in a place where *kara* is already in a state of flux, where its usage already exceeds that which one encounters in textbooks, etc. and of being a non-native speaker of the language and thus unsure precisely where to draw the line at *kara*'s usage. Indeed, this is a feature which is due to the unique situation of the language contact which bore it.

3.8 South Americans

The largest group of minority-language-speaking residents in Japan are speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. Ethnically, most of these are of Japanese descent. In South America, Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Brazil developed a contact language called "*koronia-go*" (language of the *colonias*, the term for immigrant settlements) in the literature. When those speakers moved to Japan, further language contact occurred, resulted in a variety known as *dekasegi-go* (language of guest workers).

Koronia-go has expressions like *yakyū wo nageru*. At first glance this Japanese does not appear to be strange; in English, this would translate as 'to throw baseball', and indeed Japanese uses this expression. What is odd is that *koronia-go* uses this same verb in the sense of 'to play baseball', something Japanese does not do. In this sense Japanese uses only the verbs for 'to do', i.e. *suru* or *yaru*. The expression *yakyū wo nageru* is the result of interference from Portuguese (Table 19.4). In that language the verb *jogar* is used to mean both 'throw' and 'play', as seen in expressions like *jogar beisebol* 'to play baseball', *jogar futebol* 'to play soccer', and *jogar uma pedra* 'to throw a rock' (Nagata 1991:178). Another common feature in South American communities of Japanese descent is the use of first-person pronouns from both Spanish and Portuguese in otherwise Japanese sentences.

Table 19.4: Distribution of verbs in Koronia-go as contrasted with Japanese and Portuguese.

English	Stand. Japanese	Koronia-go	Portuguese
to play soccer	*sakkā wo suru*		*jogar futebol*
to play baseball	*yakyū wo suru*	*yakyū wo nageru*	*jogar beisebol*
to throw a baseball	*bōru wo nageru*		*jogar uma bola de beisebol*
to throw a rock	*ishi wo nageru*		*jogar uma pedra*

Next, let us look at some typical examples of *dekasegi-go* from Saito (2015). One characteristic is the insertion of Spanish and Portuguese words into Japanese sentences.

(26)

Nimotsu	hakobu	kara	*ajuda*	shite.
Baggage	carry	CONJCT	help	do.GER

'I have to carry these bags, so help me.'

The opposite phenomenon is also grouped together under the moniker *dekasegi-go*. That is to say, the introduction of Japanese words into Spanish/Portuguese as nonce loans. These are often words like *shachō* 'company president' which have different connotations in their Japanese contexts than they would if translated into their romance language counterparts. In other words, speakers feel the Spanish/Portuguese word would be inadequate, and those around can be assumed to understand the Japanese terms anyway, so there is no downside to using them. Also, words like *daijōbu* 'okay' are part of the most basic Japanese understood by even South Americans with limited language skills.

(27)

Há	um	trabalho	do	*yakin.*
be.PRS	ART	work	GEM	nightshift

'I have the night shift.'

The mixing of the languages is not limited to codeswitching between words in a sentence but is even seen at the morpheme level in which Japanese verbs like *gambaru* 'giving it one's best shot' have Spanish/Portuguese conjugations attached to them becoming hybrids like *gambateiar* or *gambatear*. The converse of this is seen when Span/Port. verb stems are used with the Japanese all purpose "do" verb, as in *toma shite* or *coma suru* 'to take, to eat'. This way of speaking is playfully termed *Japañol* or *Japonguese*. This mixing seems to be spurred on more by a fondness for wordplay and using language as a solidarity or self-identifying device, rather than out of any sense of communication necessity. While in Japan, using these hybrid forms the speaker is telling herself and those around her "We may have faces like other Japanese, but we have a cultural background that they do not". I have witnessed firsthand the use of such mixing in *nikkei* communities in Bolivia and Paraguay who were born in South American, went to Japan as young adults to work for a few years and subsequently returned again to South America, where it used with a wink and nod to show others in the community "we used to live in Japan".

4 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen several contact varieties involving Japanese. These are interesting phenomena, but what is their relevance for linguists? One possible contribution of this research is to the study of Japanese in specific, and the other is to the study of human language in general.

Firstly, as we find what differs and has changed in Japanese when coming into contact with other languages, we also discover what does not change. In other words, we can discover the unchangeable parts of Japanese; the core, if you will, of the language. Secondly, the importance of contact linguistics has become more and more apparent over the past century. Linguistic features which dominate during pidginization and creolization may indeed provide profound insights into the "default settings" of universal grammar.

The problem with searching for universals in pidgin and creoles has been that the overwhelming majority of contact languages have the same language family (Indo-European) as their lexifiers (superstrates). While it is true that some Yokohama Pidgin had an English component, this was as a substratum, and while the OML is half English, it nonetheless differs significantly both in linguistic structure (being 50 percent English, rather than 90 percent English) and in socio-historical background (English is far from being the dominant language here) from the myriad Pidgin English varieties which dominate linguistic textbooks. At the very least, we may conclude that research into contact languages involving Japanese provides phenomena outside the traditional European-centered pidgins and creoles.

Additional abbreviations

AFF	affirmative
TAG	tag question
FR	French
KR	Korean
PE	Pidgin English

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Part VII: **Language policy**

Hiroyuki Sasahara

20 Chinese characters: Variation, policy, and landscape

1 Introduction

This chapter considers the writing systems of Japanese from a sociolinguistics perspective. First the writing systems in Japanese society as a whole will be considered, followed by consideration of the connections to social situations and to social groups.

The writing system of Japanese stands out in every way. Japanese has a varied, complex system, in terms of its character set, its usage, and its orthography, not seen anywhere else in the world. There are a large number of character variations unique to each small group and situation. This is an ideal environment in which to construct a theory of orthography (Kono 1994). Such a theory encompasses not only *mozigaku* ‘character studies, grammatology, graphemics, philology’, which is concerned with the history and genealogy of characters, but also descriptions and analyses of the postwar use of characters. A special edition of the journal *Gengo Seikatsu* on the “economics of language” in December 1993 touched on the efficiency of *kanji* and partially added sociolinguistic consideration (Coulmas 1993, 2003).

Japanese has the most varied kinds of elements in characters in the world. The usages of each character are also full of variety. The degree of character variation, i.e. choices of characters in different sociolinguistic situations, is the largest in the world.

Typologically speaking, Japanese has both ideographic *kanji* (actually, since they have readings, they are logographic) and syllabic *hiragana* and *katakana* derived from them. There are also quite a few circumstances in which phonetic *rōmaji* ‘romanization, alphabet’ are used (in addition to train station names, there are letter grades like “A”, initials like the H, pronounced *etchi*, of *hentai* ‘lewd’, and English words like FAX, OPEN, and CHRISTMAS), giving Japanese an extremely rare writing system in which all these types are used in parallel.

Phylogenetically, there are historically two lineages of writing systems: one is the Phoenician alphabet line, which is thought to derive from Egyptian hieroglyphics and includes the Roman alphabet, and the other is Chinese characters (*kanji*) and the characters derived from them, which are both used routinely, giving Japanese an unparalleled writing system.

Acknowledgements: I would like thank John Haig for his translation, comments and help in improving the style of this chapter. I would also like to express my gratitude to Fumio Inoue and Yoshiyuki Asahi for their encouragement and support in the process of my writing this chapter. This research on which this paper is based is supported by a JSPS grant, grant number 19K00633.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-021

In addition to their Sino-Japanese readings (*on'yomi, on*), *kanji* have native Japanese readings (*kun'yomi, kun*), a clear difference from the use of Chinese characters in Chinese, Korean, or Vietnamese. Within the Chinese character cultural sphere, a portion of the educated class retained commonality in Chinese characters enough to communicate by writing characters. However, that was true from the Tang dynasty up to the middle of the twentieth century, and, in fact, each has always been changing in its own direction.

These elements and usages come together to form a system. Variations arise in response to the situation in which character is used, creating a dynamic state of complexity. The language landscape, public or private, the writing materials and differences in the medium of use, a broad range of elements come into play. In addition, each social group presents different patterns in the character choices. That is, one can observe differences in writing due to social groupings by such factors as social class, region, occupation, gender, or age. These are compounded by policies and fads in each era. Societal and personal expression in some cases conflicts in the characters used for names. Japanese characters and the orthography will be considered and described from the sociolinguistic perspectives. By doing so, it is possible to elucidate the relationship between characters and society as well as Japanese characters and users in particular through looking at their systematicity through descriptions.

2 The variety of elements in Japanese writing

Firstly, this section characterizes characters in Japanese society. Attention is also paid to historical circumstances.

Japanese adopted the logographic characters called *kanji* from China some 1,500 years ago. With them as a base, they gave Japanese *kun'yomi* readings to themselves, for example assigning the Japanese word *yama* 'mountain' to the character 山 and generated unique meanings for them. Furthermore, they changed the form of the characters, and even creating new characters such as *tooge* 'mountain pass'.

Also, in the Heian period, the monosyllabic *hiragana* were devised from the scripted form of *kanji*, and the *katakana*, also monosyllabic, were derived by taking parts of characters in their squarish printed form. In this way, a tendency towards increasing variety has been observed from the earliest stages.

Hiragana were born of the scripted ('grass writing') form of *man'yōgana* in the Heian period (e.g. あ from 安) and the ladies of the court developed them as a script to write their stories, essays, and Japanese poetry (*waka*). On the other hand, *katakana* were developed by Confucian scholars and Buddhist priests by using parts of *man'yōgana* to represent the whole thing (e.g. イ from 伊). These phonetic characters were considered to be of lower status socially than *kanji* and were called *kana*, that is *kari no moji* 'provisional letters', but as time went on, they diffused to some portion of the general populace. In this way, Japanese character formed a number of societies that shared the same writing system from an early stage, and within each of them, variety deepened in both the elements used and in their uses. In the Edo period, as Japanese came into contact with Western languages, mixture of *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana* developed into another orthography.

Synchronically, even looking only at the present day, the Japanese writing system in the narrow sense of writing systems is formed of *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*, together with Roman letters, Arabic numerals, and Roman numerals. This mixture can be viewed as the richest in the world.

Each of these sets of related or similar characters are also rich; for example, the *jōyō kanji* mandated by Cabinet directive as a goal for general use amount to 2,136 characters. In addition to the *jōyō kanji*, more than 1,000 other characters are in daily use in newspapers, magazines, and the mass media. The quantity varies by social class such that the range of characters in use is not clear. There is a character dictionary that boasts of having more than 50,000 entries, including characters that have already fallen out of use, but even that is not comprehensive, suggesting that the *kanji* system is not closed.

The *zitai* 'received form of *kanji*' is also rich in variety. For example, the current *jōyō* form of the character for 'country' is 国, but the older form is still used today in proper nouns. Some can indicate a sense of tradition and antiquity, even a sense of correctness with regard to it. People and social groups make the most of the knowledge and awareness. Among the older generation, there are people whose names include the variant form 圀.

Regarding the Sino-Japanese readings of characters as well, there are quite a few words for which there is some variation in writing homonyms that are also identical in meaning; for example *zyunshu* 'strict observance (of laws or rules)'; *kanroku* 'presence, dignity'. The social norms for some are not clear, and there are conservative users who dislike the difference in nuance that comes from a new way of writing.

As factors that bring about such awareness, one can adduce such factors as governmental policies based on systematic principles, social custom, and frequency of use, psychological factors like an individual's knowledge and awareness, and physical factors such as the writing materials, but, in reality, all of these mutually influence each other in a cyclic manner.

In addition, other communications media are found in Japanese society like stylus writing, impressing letters into the surface of paper (found in East Asian countries like China and Korea), braille writing (there is also *kanji* braille), and sign language (there are also sign characters). Also, while shorthand is the form that most pursues economy in writing, there are many other forms; in an individual's memoranda, individualistic characters that are not traditional "grass writing" or simplified characters serve this purpose. Also, one's signature on a document serves not only the purpose of rapid writing, but, as a result of one's writing habits and practice, also shows characteristics differentiating one's signature from others'. However, in Japan the use of *inkan* 'stamp, seal', a custom originating in China, for formal documents is still a deeply rooted practice.

Sanskrit characters originated in ancient India and came to Japan via China and Korea, together with the Buddhist sutras, become the target of worship and today live on stupa on a grave or inside a religious charm. In addition, a set of characters called *jindai moji* 'age-of-the-gods characters', believed by some to have been used in ancient Japan, are sometimes found at Shinto shrines. The possibility is high that these were actually created in the Edo period by *kokugakusha* 'national scholars'. These have retained a character as "group writing" (to be discussed later), but in general the readings and meanings are not known, and they have become simply icons evoking feelings of mystery.

3 Variety in the uses of characters in Japanese

In Japan, nearly all of the richly varied characters described above have multiple pronunciations and meanings. Even the phonetic *kana* exhibit such characteristics at times. For *kanji* especially, the *on'yomi* derive from Chinese, but depending on the period of borrowing and the dialect from which the reading was borrowed, there is a distinction between the *go-on* 'Wu reading' and the *kan-on* 'Han reading'. Furthermore, the reading *yu* for the character 'transport' (originally read *syu*) was assigned by analogy with other characters with a similar character shape that have the reading *yu*, and it became the customary reading. In medical circles, the character '(body, nasal) cavity' is read *kuu* rather than the usual *koo*, avoiding a readings clash with such characters as 'mouth' and 'hole'. One could term it a "group reading" *on'yomi*.

In addition, a *kun'yomi* is added. For 山 the *kun'yomi* is the native Japanese word *yama* 'mountain'. In this way, in the *jōyō kanji* list, on the average each character has one *on'yomi* and *kun'yomi* each for a total of two readings.

In Japanese, there are words like *zehi* 'right or wrong (noun)' and *zehi* 'by all means (adverb)' for which the way of writing changes depending on what part of speech it is.

Kanji are categorized as logographs today, but in Japan they also function as ideographs. For example, on the price list for admission to an amusement park, one might find 小人 'child' and, depending on the person, they may read it to themselves as *syoojin*, *kobito*, *kodomo*, or *kotona*. It is a written expression expressing an idea and can be said to be symbolic writing with no clear reading. In addition, some understand the meaning without giving it a reading, making it a true ideograph, or it could be called a symbolic expression. This could be a method that attempts to directly express the meaning as a symbol, without *okurigana*. There are sequences of characters without a clear reading in internet terminology, as well as pictograph-like *kao moji* 'face characters' ,emoticon, ascii art, and mistaken characters or readings of characters that have become established (writing 既出 as *gaisyutsu* for 外出 'go outside' or reading 脆弱 as *kizyaku* instead of the correct *zeizyaku* 'frail' [cf. 危 'danger' with the *on'yomi ki*]). Such uses deepen a sense of comradery and exclusiveness.

4 Variety in the circumstances of character use in Japanese

This section examines the relation between sociolinguistic circumstances and characters. The way characters are used is determined by social circumstances, as is the case with spoken language. I will leave the discussion of variation in script and orthography according to media type and writing material (method of recording) to a future paper with many *kanji* notations.

4.1 Variation due to the situation

Japan's literacy rate, at least in the metropolitan areas, has been said to have been comparatively high ever since the Edo period. In the period just after World War II, it was over 90 percent (because of this literacy survey, the switch to romanization urged by the American educational mission was not carried out. Yomikaki Nōryoku Chōsa Iinkai. 1951; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo. 1966; Unger 1996), and, according to UNESCO, it is over 99 percent now. However, looking at characters individually, there are some characters that Japanese can read in common and other characters for which this is not necessarily true. Regarding the 切 "OFF" on electrical appliances and the 小人 "child" on the price list at the entrance to Disneyland, these were typical examples that even educated adults who have received not only compulsory education, but also higher education cannot read with confidence, but they can generally grasp their meanings, and such examples can be found throughout the town. This is clearly different from other nations in the Chinese character in cultural sphere. There is a level of literacy whether people can write words like *himawari* 'sunflower' and *mikosi* 'portable shrine' in *kanji*, and also whether they can read them. A tendency can be seen for people who can read such difficult *kanji* words to be respected and they are quite often become topics for television programs and newspapers and magazines.

Depending on the style and the medium, there are tendencies in the usage of characters. Words and writings like *heigei* 'glaring at', *tangei* 'conjecture, surmise', *hen* 'volume, chapter', or *chū* 'footnote', are unevenly distributed among certain social groups dealing with literary works and are generally considered literary, old-fashioned, difficult *kanji* words. In handwriting, *senmon* 'specialty' is often miswritten with a dot added to the upper right of the first character and the second character miswritten. Such common misswritings are known to *kanji* educators as "phantom *kanji*"(*kyōtsūgoji*).

The various variations arising in *kanji* are also related to the genre of the writing, the content, and the nature and number of the audience (readers).

4.2 Formality

In formal situations and documents one strongly believe that one should use characters that have been considered to be correct. In fact, the transcription activity has been practiced. For the origin of this, one can point to the Tang dynasty dictionary *Kanroku jisho(Ganlu Zidian)* by Yan Yuansun, in which he identified the three types of character shapes described below and discussed the circumstances under which each should be used, and this influenced Japanese society to some degree.

In prewar Japanese language studies, differences in language arising from circumstances and social groups were called "phases" (Kikuzawa 1933). It is a concept that can be applied to characters and the writing of language with characters.

Kanbun, which was written Classical Chinese, was also used for official documents in Japan. In the writing reformation after the war, it was determined that in principle official documents would be written using *tōyō kanji* and, later, *jōyō kanji*. The writing direction was changed to match the Western horizontal right to left format, and attention was given to the uncleanliness of the surface of the poor quality paper of the time and punctuation marks were determined to be the compromise forms "、。" rather than the Western ", .". ("!" and "?" are not used.) Vertical writing, which had a long tradition, was held to be more suitable than horizontal writing for Japanese language notebooks and was suited for the text of novels. Some also consider it to be easier to read, and on some electronic media it is possible to choose the writing direction. In some cases, such as comic books, both writing directions are used in parallel depending on the situation.

Since before the war, cursive characters, abbreviated characters, and symbols have been prohibited in peoples' names in the family registers controlled by the national government. However, unusual usages are found and through a variety of circumstances, secular characters are allowed for family names even today.

Some company names, personal names in family registries, and place names in land registries, and certificates of residence in prewar adopt old character versions or variant characters. However, there are quite a few cases in which easily recognized forms are used or cases in which, because the character does not come up on a personal computer or, even if it does come up, it ends up turning into some unrecognizable character. A character that does appear on the screen is chosen as a replacement. Such character types and character forms are a problem for electronic submission of forms in electronic government and have led to the establishment of a "uniform character form" in such governmental units as the Ministry of Internal Affairs and

Communication and the Ministry of Justice. There are also people who choose to write easily written, commonly used forms in private situations. One can recognize an awareness of abbreviating characters to the extent they remain acceptable, and there are people who simplify, for example the *gata* 'lagoon' character of the place name *Niigata*. Furthermore, in company names, the use of romanization is now permitted, but it is still not allowed for the names of people. Even those who are especially particular about the strokes in their family name, they register using *hiragana* when they become candidates of an election. When one judges the validity of a questionable ballot, one tends to accept the ballot with a broad-minded writing.

In the world of such arts as *kabuki* 'kabuki play' and *jōruri* 'jōruri: dramatic recitation accompanied by shamisen' it has been a superstition since the Edo period that the titles outside the theater have to be written with an odd number of characters, which has even led to the creation of new characters.

4.3 Recipient (Reader)

When writing text for a non-specific audience made up of multiple people, it is common to use *furigana* '*kana* showing the reading of a character' or to write completely in *hiragana*. There is the expression "*hiragana* for children" showing consideration (There are also techniques such as writing the script for a child's role in *hiragana* known as "role notation").

The writing of the word for children *kodomo* as 子供 dates back to the Edo period, but postwar a secondary interpretation arose since the use in *kodomo* is not related to the *otomo* 'accompany someone of higher status' or *osonae* 'an offering to the gods', and people began to call for a *kanji-hiragana* mixture to write the word and through educators this use has spread to the mass media as well. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in recent years has settled on throughout the Ministry at the direction of the MEXT Minister. Similarly, a new interpretation that *shōgaisha* 'person with a disability' are not *gai* 'damage, evil influence', together with the mistaken idea that the use of this *ateji* is a postwar phenomenon, have led to the use of the *kanji-hiragana* mixture and even the resurrection of the older form, which have spread through public offices and agencies and companies to become widely distributed. These changes in writing came from a certain awareness due to a late-appearing popular understanding regarding human rights, and people have appeared who see the presence or absence of discriminatory consciousness in the written expression. However, it would be rare for there to be such an awareness from the children involved, and, as for the opinion of handicapped people themselves, voices holding that usual form is fine are deeply rooted, and no conclusion has emerged to gain societal consensus. If *gai* 'obstacle' becomes the only character for this word, concerns about what kind of character sense will it arouse remain from various events.

Between people, the writing of the polite personal suffix -*sama* has from the past varied in politeness depending on the form of the character used, the degree of scripting, the choice between *kanji* and *hiragana*, and one can detect attitudinal expressions in the choices. In letters and emails between closely connected people, there is a tendency to use a lot of *emoji* like “🍺” and emoticon (*kao moji*) like “(^^)”, which tend to focus on the expression of eyes to express emotions, in order to express modality to the recipient (reader) in an unmistakable way so as to reduce the distance to the recipient and make communication smoother (Sasahara 1999; Tanaka 2001; Sasahara 2002; Miyake 2012; Oyama 2015). Already the name of a course at a certain university has included a heart mark and it has even appeared in the names of intersections and bridges, but there are also opposing voices coming from a normative consciousness of the circumstances (the university course was later abandoned).

4.4 Circumstances

When it is necessary to write something down quickly, abbreviated characters and abbreviated notation, which serve the role of shorthand through economy of writing in a memo, frequently appear. Writing the righthand portion of the second character 議 of *kaigi* ‘conference’ as the *katakana* ギ *gi* or replacing the second character 務 of *jimusho* ‘office’ with the *katakana* ム *mu* are examples of this. Casual characters are used in a notebook for personal and place names or for technical terminology. In the prewar *Hyōjun Kanji Hyō (An)* ‘(Proposed) List of Standard Characters’ (1942) it was specified that abbreviated characters were not to be used in either handwriting or print in reference to the emperor.

4.5 Linguistic landscape

Language is expressed in characters on signs, various kinds of indications, and displays directed at multiple, non-specific passersby. The whole town functions as a kind of text and casts quite a bit of influence on those who pass by those writings. In addition to one’s own language, one sees the use of foreign languages, and this situation has been studied (Shoji, Backhaus and Coulmas (eds.) 2009; Uchiyama, Nakai and Long (eds.) 2011). Even in regions that have not become multilingual, one sees multilingual signage.

There is a strong tendency for characters and writing to be used with an awareness of the public eye, but, on the other hand, advertising impact and new outstanding expressions also stand out. A handwritten display prepared by an individual appears as a part of his or her character life. In Japan, although there is a tendency for popularity to be concentrated in occupations using horizontal writing. In the capital region, *kanji* are the most common, occupying about 30 percent of writing, with *hiragana*, *katakana*, Arabic numerals, and romanized Japanese each at about 10 percent.

On expressways, the Japan Highway Public Corporation used a font that omitted strokes and dots so that they could be read by speeding cars. However, in recent years, a switch to fonts high in versatility takes place. In movie subtitles, due to a physical constraint and wanting to avoid having the strokes of a character pushed together, one can often find abbreviated characters for characters like *geki* 'attack' with some of the horizontal strokes removed, but together with improvements in the technology, vent holes in the character's strokes became unnecessary, and they have switched to previous fonts. Together with the development of electronic devices, characters for which the character shape is composed dots have increased throughout the town and on screens.

There are those who, when seeing old character *daigaku* 'university' on a sign, get a greater sense of tradition than with 大学 and feel that the test scores of students are probably higher as well. The old forms are also found in the names of newspapers, such as *Yomiuri* 'Yomiuri newspaper', on paper money and on *inkan* 'personal seal, stamp', and with the additional choice of *reishotai* 'clerical script' or *tenshotai* 'seal-engraving style'. Some project tradition and authority in the choices. In the linguistic landscape, on a signboard of a tavern, instead of the character for liquor learned in school 酒, a traditional cursive form with the 儿 in the right side replaced by two vertical strokes and the single horizontal stroke inside the bottom part of the right side replaced by two horizontal strokes frequently appears (Sasahara, Yokoyama and Long 2003). Use of *hentaigana* "variant *kana* forms' that look like they were written with a brush to write such words as *soba* 'soba noodles', *shiruko* 'sweet red-bean soup with mochi', or *senbei* 'rice cracker' can project a sense of a traditional Japanese store and high quality. Use of *hentaigana* in personal names is subject to restrictions in various ways and it is only elderly women who use them. Between *ryū*, *tatsu* 'dragon' and its older form, besides a sense of them being different characters, many differentiate the forms by a nuance of the character, which give rise to the difference between Western and Eastern dragons, and as a societal tendency, they differentiate them on signs, in novels, and in personal names, with the exception of newspapers.

As for the historical linguistic landscape, there is an aggregated record for the Showa period for Tokyo (Masai 1972). Furthermore, it is possible to reconstruct through a variety of methods. Concerning the landscape of lost sign boards and *noren* 'short curtain hung at a shop's entrance', if one attempts to use still existing ones, one can trace back to the Edo period using actually remaining ones for Osaka written forms. In Edo, it was popular for pharmacy sign boards to include words in Dutch, and prohibitions against the use of such foreign language signs were twice promogulated. There are also photographs dating back to the fall of the Edo shogunate and, while there are not so many including sign boards, one can look forward to making use of picture postcards and videos.

In addition to descriptions and records, there are picture such as illustrations in publications and *ukiyoe* 'woodblock prints', some of them visual images from the middle ages, and they are widely available from archives and databases on the internet, but it is necessary to consider how realistic they may be.

5 Variety due to use of Japanese characters by social groups: Group writing

This section describes differences in the use of characters by various social groups. It corresponds to the study of sociolinguistic variation.

The smallest unit for investigating peculiarity in each range of the use of writing would be the differences between individuals. Unique phenomena that characterize an individual's writing are observable in the shape, pronunciation, and meaning of *kanji*. The mistakes of individuals lack sociality, but since they are interpretable as first glance, they barely maintain their function as written expressions. In particular, quirks in penmanship (shapes of handwritten characters) are strikingly linked to the individuality of each person.

5.1 Fads

Kanji can be identified that become fads either in society in general or in particular groups. The character *shō, aki* 'bright, shining' was found in the Chinese classics and adopted as an era name *Showa*, and as the era changed from *Taishō* era (30 July 1912–25 December 1926') to *Shōwa* era (26 December 1926–7 January 1989), the character was used as company names like *Shōwa XX*, and personal names like *Shōzō*. Then, in the *Heisei* era (8 January 1989–30 April 2019), the character had become a past fad. The characters *shō* 'soar, fly', *ryū* 'precious gem', and *mai, bai, ichigo* 'strawberry' were added to the list of characters allowed in personal names in the latter half of the *Shōwa* period and could be said to be fad characters for personal names.

The character for *kizuna* appears frequently, especially after around the time of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake to write the word *kizuna* 'bonds (between people), (emotional) ties', and it was selected "*Kanji* of the Year" by popular vote and has conveyed the state of the times to posterity.

5.2 Social class

Using *kanji* in a way faithful to the Chinese way was the culture of the intellectuals, but it was difficult to completely avoid any interference from one's native language.

Even in writing *kanbun*, strongly influenced by Japanese grammar and Japanized uses of characters, irregular usages appeared. This were called *washū* 'Japanese smell (of *kanbun* writing)', and appeared long ago from the Suiko era. (approximately 592–628).

There used to be a large imbalance in the literate class. Gender differences will be discussed later, but *kanji* were formerly reserved to the nobility, officials, and priests and were symbolic of one's position, intelligence, and refinement; they were not only used for practical applications but were also sometimes treated as esthetic materials for the arts. The specialized occupation of calligrapher arose. Since great effort was required to acquire that system, it was also the subject matter of a keeping the people "ignorant and easily subjugated". *Kanji* reserved for the emperor and court nobility (such as *kanji* used for their names not being used for their inferiors, leaving the last stroke of a *kanji* off, and ways of writing titles) and special ways of reading *kanji* (such as *yūsoku yomi* 有職読み 'well-versed in court usage readings' and *kojitsu yomi* 故実読み 'historic customary readings') appeared. When *hiragana* and *katakana* were invented as described earlier, in the middle ages, peasants used a very few *kanji* and *katakana*. As peasants (*hyakushō*), who were not too familiar with how many readings *kanji* had, read the *kanji* with analogical *on'yomi*, such readings came to be called *hyakushō yomi* 百姓読み. Readings of compounds mixing *on'yomi* and *kun'yomi*, such as *jūbako yomi* 重箱読み (*on* + *kun*) and *yutō yomi* 湯桶読み (*kun* + *on*) came to be looked down on as an unrefined kind of word formation. Powerful people like the emperor and warrior class and religious leaders gave people of low status one-character names. In addition, people who received criticism or discrimination were given names or posthumous Buddhist names chosen from unsuitable *kanji*. After Christianity was banned, when writing "Christian" in *kanji*, it became necessary to avoid the normal *Kirishitan* because the Shogun's name included the same character, and so a series of characters with bad meanings 'cut-death-red' was substituted.

In the Edo period, a style of calligraphy based on the *gyōsho* 'slightly scripted' form of characters called *oieryū* 'the samurai class style' was made the official writing style, and there were many people who, even though they had acquired the *gyōsho* forms and the highly cursive *sōsho* 'grass writing' forms, could not correctly write the square, unscripted *kaisho* forms. The idea that one's knowledge of *kanji* represents one's refinement is deeply rooted among many people even today. Not only the warrior class, but also many ordinary people learned reading, writing, and the abacus at places like the *terakoya* 'temple elementary school'. Westerners visiting Japan in the Meiji period were amazed at the fact that even stable boys were reading books.

In the Meiji period, Mori Ōgai wrote novels that made heavy use of difficult *kanji* in a style that is difficult to understand because of overly stiff and fixed formal style. For his grandchild's name he tried naming him with an older character form of 爵 *shaku* 'baron' reading it as *jaku* (incorporating the Western name "Jack") and caused an argument among his relatives. Around that time, Noguchi Hideyo's mother wrote *benkyō* 'study' with katakana and simpler characters. At the time, the feudal social position system was still strongly in place and, since the school attendance rate for women was lower, illiteracy was especially common among women. However, it was necessary to learn characters in order to take the midwifery examination. Similarly, in connection with literacy, even today one sees analogous written expressions among children, such as writing *suimingu* 'swimming' using *kanji* character for water *sui*, which has the *on'yomi sui*. Differences in educational environment, attitude toward study, and learning ability show up when taking dictation. Hardly any Tokyo University students write the mistaken *kanpeki* 'perfect', but nearly everyone mistakenly writes *sōheki* 'two matchless things'. Those who have passed the top level of the Kanji Proficiency Test nearly all can write. There is a tendency for high school graduates to call for the use of *kanji* in television subscripts (Shioda 2009). It has been pointed out that high school graduates call for *kanji* use in writing native Japanese, Sino-Japanese, and foreign words (Shioda 2018).

As described above, the forms of characters were abbreviated in the mimeographed handouts, booklets, and brochures that movements, especially the labor movements from before the war, produced due to material limitations. Far left revolutionary activists continued on from the placards of the student demonstrations and used the simplified characters adopted by the Chinese Communist Party as well as their own abbreviated characters. On the other hand, conservative right-wing thinkers consider the pre-1947 characters and *kana* spelling to be the legitimate ones and use them by preference.

5.3 Occupation

In the Edo period, textbooks called *ōraimono* were sold in the marketplace. A doctor of Chinese medicine wrote a character for *awabi* 'abalone', based on the Chinese guide to medicines, but the patient read it as *hugu* 'pufferfish' following the custom of using a Japanese *hyakushō yomi* and because of this misunderstanding, it ended up a fatal accident; many such stories have been handed down. These days, most fishmongers write the names of fish in *kana*, but at a *sushi* shop, *kanji* are common. In the latter case, *furigana* are sometimes added, but the use of *kanji* can be considered to contribute to creating an atmosphere of high quality and tradition.

The psychology of considering *kanji sushi* 'sushi' and *kōhī* 'coffee' to evoke a greater sense of high-valued items of high quality than usual writings of *sushi* and *kōhī* can be widely observed among the Japanese and on signs and in advertisements and menus; one sees a connection with the merchandising economy. The size and form of the character, the printing font, the colors of the lettering and the background all heighten the effects produced. However, in actuality, secular characters with little history to them, *karē* 'curry', get mixed in. Some people cast an influence on writing like when in a greengrocers one may see *ateji* that give one a sense of playfulness such as *nin-niku* (man-meat) for *ninniku* 'garlic', comfortable-capital for *rakkyō* 'Japanese leek', or kya-separate for *kyabetu* 'cabbage' (Sasahara 2010).

These days they have moved to electronic medical records, but when doctors handwrote medical records, they used scripted forms, either to conceal something from their patients or for the sake of writing quickly. The way of writing the same thing varies depending on the field, even in the *Gakujutsu Yōgoshū* 'collection of academic terminology' compiled by various academic societies and MEXT. For example, *sokei* 'groin, inguinal region' is written differently in the medical field and in zoology. In addition, differences arise depending on the academic society or the industry, such as *netudendō* 'heat conduction' or two *katakana* spellings *konpyūta* and *konpyūtā* 'computer', a foreign borrowing. The government ministries use different ways to write *tanpaku* 'protein'. In the law governing their use, 'stimulant drugs' is written *kakuseizai*, but following the 2010 changes to the *jōyō kanji* list, the name of the law appears in television subtitles and chyrons.

As a general rule priests and monks use the *go-on* reading of *kanji* that came to Japan in ancient times while Confucianists use the *kan-on* readings that came to Japan after the dispatching of envoys to Tang China. It is the influence of imperial edicts at the court, but many words deriving from Buddhist terminology are read using the *go-on* readings even today. Depending on the sect and the type of sutra, the text of the sutra is sometimes read using the *kan-on* or the *go-on*. Those Buddhist sutras written in *kanbun* include Sanskrit words like *darani* 'mantra' (Sanskrit dhāraṇī) written with *kanji* used phonetically, and, in general, they tend to be taken as something difficult to understand with unclear meanings. In Japan, a country based on the rule of law, where a jury system has also been introduced, the work of changing legal terminology into colloquial language is progressing, and there have been changes where the differences from the usual are striking, such as reading 'will' as *igon* instead of *yuigon*, but some have argued that the older reading can be maintained as specialist terminology.

Formerly peculiar readings of *kanji*, called *yūsoku yomi*, *kojitsu yomi* or *myōmoku yomi* 名目読み, were actually used among the nobility. One example is reading *hakuba* or *sirouma* 'white horse' as *awouma* based on an old custom. Even today, the name of the *Reizeike* 'Reizei family' of Kyoto retains the reading *Reizei* instead of the expected *reisen*. *Kanji* peculiar to a group, called *ichijimei* 'one character name', arose in the middle ages when Doctors of Chinese medicine combined the *kanji* for the name of a medicine into a single character. The terminology of Japanese sword making also uses many made-up characters like a code. Social group characters appeared in each industry in the Edo period, such as for sword making and for *sake* brewing. Newly formed characters were also found in industries connected with agriculture, fishing, construction, food, and plants. Unlike made-in-Japan characters that were used with *furigana* in literary works, these characters were created in order to write group words that would be understood within an industry rather than to write words in the common language. The *ninja*, who were spies, used combinations of left-hand radicals like 氵 'water radical', 亻 'person radical', and 木 'tree radical', together with *kanji* like *aka* 'red', *shiro* 'white', and *murasaki* 'purple' to make a phonetic syllabary code called the *shinobi iroha* 'ninja syllabary'. These were introduced in publications and, since four characters appeared in the title of a ninja comic, they were included in the JIS *kanji*, were registered in the Unicode, and can easily be used on electronic devices. Among merchants also, each merchant family developed secret price markings corresponding to numerals in order to conceal information.

The combined character ⿴囗卜, corresponding to 図 in *tosyokan* ‘library’, is used by people who work in libraries for economy in writing. Since the number of characters is reduced, this goes beyond the level of the shape of one character and exists on the level of similar or related characters, *jishu ‘character variant*’, one can call it “*group jishu*’. This is primarily limited to handwriting.

The abbreviated character for *ken* ‘rights’ is understood and sometimes used by those connected with the legal field and those studying Chinese, in addition to the older generation. This can be called a “group character form”. Students and researchers in the sciences who conduct chemistry experiments abbreviate the first character of *roka* ‘filter’. This is an abbreviated character approved of by academic societies and is used in textbooks that have received MEXT approval. As a result, it was included in the JIS *kanji* and is included in some dictionaries. Differences in the degree of interest in *kanji* can also be observed between social and regional groups (repeatedly dealt with in Bunkachō *Kokugo ni kansuru Yoron Chōsa* ‘public opinion poll concerning the national language’). It is well known that people in the humanities tend to read as *yugami* ‘warp, skew’ while people in the sciences and people with an interest in the guitar tend to read it as *hizumi* ‘strain’.

Even at the level of hobbies, group characters become understood characters and eventually used characters. Not just readers but also people who like comics, games, and popular songs acquire the written expression of their respective worlds. In the world of bead art, 砡 is read *gyoku*, and a character that hardly appears in dictionaries has come to have a unique new meaning ‘white glass’ and people have become accustomed to it.

5.4 Gender

In the Heian period, the custom arose for men to write using *kanji* (*otokode* ‘men’s hand’, *otoko moji* ‘men’s characters’) and women to write using *hiragana* (*onnade* ‘women’s hand’, *onna moji* ‘women’s characters’). In that context, Seishōnagon was criticized by Murasaki Shikibu, author of *Tale of Genji*, in her diary as “impertinently scrawling *mana* (*kanji*)”. Ki no Tsurayuki, was said to be able to write graceful *hiragana* and is said to have been the author of *Kōyagire*, the oldest surviving copy of the poetry collection *Kokin Wakashū*. *Hiragana* and *sōgana* ‘*man’yōgana* written cursively’ were called *onnade* ‘women’s hand’ and used characters written in an irregular hand and characters compounded into a symbol and written cursively to represent special terms like *mairasesōrō* ‘cause one to go or come’.

At present, there are also women who calculate that it is cute to use a lot of hiragana in e-mails and in letters and the like, and write the title *kun* ‘Mr.” in *hiragana* in order to demonstrate their cuteness. When the diminutive title *chan* is written as ©, many male students cannot read it.

Adding the postpositional particle へ, exceptionally read as *e*, to the address on an envelope and then decorating it with two slashes through the right side is something female students have done since before the war. At the same time, writing *tubomi* ‘closed’ in *hiragana* across the seal of an envelope as a plea for it not to come open is related to the custom of writing *kasiko* ‘yours sincerely (normally only used by women)’ in *hiragana* at the bottom of a letter. Even today there are character shapes that are held to be girly, and the *maru moji* ‘round characters’ and *chōtai hetauma moji* ‘vertically elongated, crude but captivating characters’ by the younger generation, as well as their implementation on electronic devices as *gyaru moji* ‘gal characters’, are born of a desire for cuteness, and they go through cycles of waxing and waning (Yamane1986). It is easy for gender differences like these to appear in handwriting, and even in everyday square characters, the influence easily appears in the way strokes link together and the way strokes end, especially in characters like ふ ‘hiragana *fu*’, ゆ ‘hiragana *yu*’ and 恋 *koi* ‘love’. One can also see cases of codeswitching in which one imitates the handwriting of a model appearing in magazines or on television or of a popular classmate, but switches to proper handwriting on a test.

Among junior and senior students, one can observe some decorating characters with 口, writing 大人 *otona* ‘adult’ as 因囚 or 幸せ *siawase* happiness’ as 圉せ, ignoring the meanings of the resulting characters. They may also write in colorful colors. Sometimes these appear with males or in publications, on electronic devices, or in the lyrics on the screen at *karaoke*, either calming the situation or inviting frowns of disapproval.

The fact that a gender difference can be seen both in the amount and kind of use of *kao moji* like (> <) and emoticon (*emoji*) like 🥺 that makers have designed, especially in the frequency of use of ♡ (heart mark), as well as the purpose of use, such as consideration for another, and the interpretation of them was pointed out earlier.

Characters with 女 *onna* ‘woman’ as the left-hand radical have been criticized as classist and feudal in the Communist Peoples’ Republic of China, and in Japan as well, the character 婦 *fu* ‘lady’ has been viewed as composed of and *hōki* ‘broom’, and criticisms have also been raised about the components of *yome* ‘bride’ (‘woman’ + ‘house’), *syūtome* ‘mother-in-law’ (‘woman’ + ‘old’), and *sitto* ‘jealousy’ (‘woman’ + ‘rapid’, ‘woman’+ ‘stone’). However, there are various theories about the origins of these characters.

In general, more women than men can correctly write *kesyō* ‘cosmetics’ and there is a tendency for more women than men not to know the meaning of the character *in* ‘licentiousness’. The character *kan* ‘wicked, rape’ was given the *kokkun* ‘meaning added in Japan’ *kasimasii* ‘noisy’.

In the family name *Saotome* (lit. ‘young girl’) or Azuma (lit. ‘my wife’) and the place name *Bizyogi* (lit. ‘beautiful woman tree’), traces of naming by males remain. The place name *Sakari* (lit. ‘18 woman’), perhaps meaning a woman in her prime (*onnazakari*), remains along with various oral traditions. The skew for names with *sei, makoto* ‘truth’ or *syō, tobu* ‘fly’ to be men’s names and for those with *ko* ‘child’ or *mi* ‘beauty’ to be women’s names is striking, but changes due to fads are also feverish. Quite a few women find it difficult to introduce the *kanji* 美 in their own names.

In addition to gender, differences due to age and interests in the playful creation of new *kanji* are strikingly observed.

5.5 Age

Variations due to one’s generation also appear. For example, the older generation’s written expression and characters reflect changes in government policy and in society; they frequently use older ways of writing like *o-* ‘polite prefix’, for the particle *made* ‘as far as’, for the in-giving verb *kureru*, and older *kanji* for *chie* ‘wisdom’. They may also use the pre-1947 forms of characters for *gaku* ‘learning’ or pre-1947 *kana* like *wi* and *we* or *kana* spellings like *ihu* for *iu* ‘say’. In addition, generational differences appear in the use of character variants for *se, sei, yo* ‘world’, in the use of the *kana* repetition sign ゝ/ヽ and the multiple kana repetition sign of an elongated く (／＼). Due to the decrease in opportunities to handwrite characters, abbreviated characters-for *dai-* ‘ordinal number prefix’ are not being taken up by young people, either because they do not want to write abbreviated characters or because they cannot. As for the quantifier for counting age mentioned before *sai*, elementary school second-graders learn the form. Since they do not learn the correct form until junior high school, folk etymologies regarding the character shapes and meanings are riff. Fads in personal names easily change with the ages and the frequency of use of characters like *kame, ki* ‘turtle’, *ko* ‘child’ have decreased greatly along with changes in their images and changes in the opportunities to learn them.

Generational differences and group differences, even differences by word appear because of government policies in the use of *okurigana* ‘conjugational *kana*’ like *okonau* ‘carry out, conduct’ and in such things as the use of ヴ to represent the “v” sound versus using a *katakana* from the *ba* column. Expressions like え゛ to represent a suffering sound appear in informal media like comics and novels directed at young people, who use them in letters. On the other hand, the number of young people who consider writing sentence-final particles in *katakana ganbatte ne* ‘do your best’ to be old-fashioned is increasing.

5.6 Proper nouns

The majority of family names in Japan derive from place names. In olden times, only the nobility and warrior families had family names, A clan, or main and branch families were distinguished by using different readings or variant character forms. Due to differing policies on registration and differing times for their formation, differences have crept into family registers and resident certificates. The whole picture is unclear because the government has never done a survey, but according to a commercial company, there are 200 variations of the second character in the name *Watanabe* 辺. And a single family name *Saitō* also show variations. There are *Yoshida* people who think that they were farmers because the original form of the first character in 吉田 *Yosida* has 土 *tuti* 'earth, dirt' as the top element. The pre-1947 form corresponding to *sawa* 'swamp' is complicated but includes the portion 'happiness', and feelings among the younger generation is that the older character should be used as is in television subtitles (Shioda 2005).

As for the specialness of *kanji* used for personal names, one can appreciate how old their source is from the fact that it is written in the introduction to the eighth century *Kojiki* 'record of ancient matters' that, since the *kun'yomi* for the compound *Kusaka* is found in the original text, it would be used as is. Later, a great number of *nanori kun* 名乗り訓, *kun'yomi* for personal names, such as *tomo* for 朝 and *nori* for 徳, appeared. As already mentioned, there are gender differences in the *kanji* used for personal names with *isamu* and *yuki* used in men's names and *ri* and *no* used in women's. For writing the final *o* in men's names, several writings appeared showing that there were fads in the selection of *kanji*.

The names of military ships after the war became the names of the ships of the Self Defense Forces but came to be written in *hiragana* rather than the original *kanji*, demonstrating that *kanji* are also involved in politics.

As group names, there was an antisocial *bōsōzoku* group the created a character combining *sakana* 'fish' and *arasi* 'storm' into one character and read it *burizādo* 'blizzard'; complicated characters and *ateji* are created to display a group's greatness. Similar examples can be found in the names of religious organizations and bands and serve the role of increasing a feeling of comradery and connectedness, strengthening the bonds of the group.

For 'Keio University', characters incorporating the letters K and O inside the radical 广 are used for the first two characters of the university's name since before the war, mostly by students of the university; a combined form with both K and O under the 广 in a single character is also used. In this way, non-*kanji* elements are sometimes adapted to become elements of *kanji*.

The *kanji* in place names often reflect the region's or the district's characteristics, but there have been movements since long ago to change to *kanji* with better meanings or to write the name in *kana*, and sometimes movements by residents to preserve the traditional *kanji* also arise. At the beginning of the Meiji period, *Tōkyō* was written with one stroked added for *kyo* and read as *Tōkei* . A lake has been named 栗湖 with the reading *Maron-ko* 'Chestnut Lake', where *maron* is from French. This would be acceptable as the name for a confection, but there is an awareness that this is not appropriate for something that strongly has such an official character as a place name.

5.7 National writing policies

The view that Japan does not have a clear legal provision regarding a standard language, and there is only the common language based on the Tokyo dialect used by announcers on public station broadcasts is prevalent. Since the Meiji period, language policy, mainly based in the Ministry of Education (later MEXT), has been policy directed at writing, mostly at organizing *kanji*, and that has continued to this day. Since the Edo period, various people of the educated class from a variety of viewpoints, thinkers, Dutch scholars, doctors, and academics, have called for the abolishment of *kanji* and the introduction of romanization, but after the war this was resolved by the National Language Council's official recognition of writing in a mixture of *kanji* and *kana*, with a limit on the number of *kanji*, and two romanization systems, the *kunreishiki*, which accords with Japanese phonology, and the Hepburn system, based on English spelling. The suggestion of the American Education Mission to adopt romanization was rejected based on the results of Japan's first literacy survey using statistical methods. The mixed *kanji-kana* writing system was made the officially correct method, but the writing system for individual words or situations was not clearly spelled out.

The *jōyō kanji* list promulgated by Cabinet directive incorporates not only rules for writing language, but also follows changes of the age and social uses in adopting types of characters and readings. The draft of the Constitution of Japan and the law contain the words *gyomeigyoji* 'the Emperor's name and seal' and *chin* 'imperial we', the characters *osore* 'fear' and *fu* 'attached', and so these characters were included in the *tōyō kanji* list issued at the time. Sericulture was an important industry for a while after the war so the characters *mayu* 'cocoon' and *kaiko* 'silkworm' had a high frequency of use and were also included.

Handwriting of characters was the custom and so a policy of simplifying characters was pursued and the old character for 'country' *kuni* was changed to a form that was already in use among the populous. The old characters were replaced by the simpler *kei*, *tori, niwatori* 'chicken' based not on its use in the classics but on a handwritten form used in the meat industry (Yomiuri Shinbun Shakaibu 1975–1976). In the 2010 revision of the *jōyō kanji* list, five characters like *monme* 'unit of weight: 3.75 grams' and *sen, zuku* 'pig iron' were dropped from the list based on a decrease in their frequency of use in novels and the like, following changes in the times and society.

Regarding the character shapes in the *jōyō kanji* list, for the characters added in the 2010 revision, in principle the so-called Kanxi Dictionary forms registered in the Unicode created based on international standards were given preference. However, use of certain abbreviated forms in handwriting was permitted and, for the character *utu* 'depression', which is widely used on the internet, a policy was proposed that even though one may not be able handwrite it, it was sufficient to be able to type it on electronic devices. This character is necessary to certain groups and situations and its nature as a highly phasal character (group character, situation character) was strengthened.

Trends in real society are late in being reflected in government policy. As described previously, the character *sen* 'gland' was a character 200 years ago used only by Dutch studies creator, but gradually, through appearance in woodblock printed books it came to be a group character used by doctors and then came to be used by the general public (Sasahara 2006, 2007a). Newspapers first began using it in print without *furigana* after the war, and, with the 2010 revision it finally entered the *jōyō kanji* list. *Men* 'noodles', *donburi* 'bowl of rice topped with chicken, meat, or seafood', and *ra* 'Latin, (also, first character in *rāmen* 'ramen')' can be said to have been added in response to changes in society, but mixed in were *kanji* with a decidedly old-fashioned air used in the novels included in the corpus chosen as being representative. Accepting the fact that, due to changes in peoples' awareness of the etymology of characters, use of 混む *komu* 'become crowded' was added to the list.

MEXT (Cultural Affairs Agency) has the role of preserving traditional culture and reviving traditional arts, so the third character in *kabuki* and the second and third characters in *jōruri* were added, but some of the characters that only appear as zodiac signs are still not included.

MEXT held the *jōyō kanji* to be the *kanji* of the public arena, and moreover, with the need to keep elementary and secondary education in mind, simplified complicated characters for the purpose of children's and pupils' education, Regarding education, passing through the prewar era of state-designated textbooks, after the war a division in MEXT separate from the *tōyō kanji* division designated which *kanji* were to be taught at which grade levels (*kyōiku kanji* 'education *kanji*', later renamed *gakushū kanji* 'learning *kanji*'). The development of the *kyōkasho* 'textbook' font (called *hyōjun jitai* 'standard character forms') used when printing elementary school textbooks made uniform forms that had varied by publisher.

Concerning further details of character forms, each classroom has its own standard due to individual teachers and when grading exams and making admission decisions, a problem arises with regard to the range of permissiveness. The Council for Cultural Affairs National Language Subcommittee, in order to eliminate this problem has attempted to spread the thought processes behind the *jōyō kanji* list. The *insatsu hyōjun jitai* 'printing standard character forms' and *hyōjun jitai* 'standard character forms' have been adopted on the administrative level of the printing industry and the action level in education. On the other hand, although Japan is a country where the rule of law prevails, the fact cannot be overlooked that even the text of laws and official papers use characters that are not on the list and character forms that go against permissible forms and a sense of normativity.

The Ministry of Justice added the *jinmeiyō kanji* 'characters for use in personal names' list, characters not included in the *jōyō kanji* list, as characters to be used in the names of newborns, but there have been repeated court cases regarding the use of simple characters in daily use. In particular, in 2003, the Supreme Court recognized *so, sō, zō, katu, katute* 'formerly' to be a simple character in daily use, deciding that the Ministry of Justice regulation known as the *jinmeiyō kanji* 'characters for use in personal names' list was void and illegal; this was an epoch-making decision in which the judiciary branch condemned the *kanji* policy of the executive branch in a nation that maintains the separation of powers. Efforts are made for cooperation in the policies of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, such as the *jōyō kanji* list, and the policies of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, such as its character codes, but due to differences in their purposes and over compartmentalized bureaucracy, there are aspects where the cooperation is not perfect.

Group shifts also exist in the way *hiragana* are used. Since the phonology of Japanese changed in the Kamakura period, in the world of *waka*, the *hiragana* spellings set out by Fujiwara no Sadaie (Teika) considering the state of use at the time, known as *Teika kanazukai*, are used which stand in opposition to the historic *hiragana* spellings (*rekishiteki kanazukai*) used by the *kokugakusha* 'national studies scholars' in the Edo period.

The former way of writing *Roshia* 'Russia' in *kanji* used *ro* 'fool' for the first syllable, but was changed to *ro* 'dew', and the Japanese embassy in New Zealand adopted *nyū* 'milk' via a public appeal for ideas as an *ateji* for the first part of *Nyuuziirando* 'New Zealand', but it was dropped after New Zealand objected. There was also a movement to change *doku* 'alone', the country character for *Doitu* 'Germany'.

5.8 Geographical differences

Variations in language arising from spreading across geographical, spatial distances are taken up as dialects. Dialect variants are often written in *kana*, but not necessarily; *kanji* are also used. Compared to spoken dialects, awareness is weak, but there are also regional differences in the use of *kanji*. Already in the Nara period unique, locally created characters, readings, and character meanings were in use to express the products of the region in the *fudoki* 'descriptions of regional climate'. Group characters with some regional characteristics also appeared.

The character for *tani* 'valley' is used in eastern Japan, it also expresses the dialectal forms *ya*, *yatu*, *yati*, and *yato*. These readings starting with *ya* are especially common in place and family names, and the areas where they are prevalent divide Japan into east and west (Sasahara 2013). This was confirmed to have been true in the

Nara period and in proper nouns local readings for *kanji* remain over a broad area. The way of writing family names have regionality, such as the distribution of ways of writing *Sakamoto*, and regional differences such as reading as *Nakajima* or *Nakashima* are also seen. Family names including infrequent characters *kuma* 'corner, shade' and *sono* 'garden, yard' are concentrated in Kyūshū. The character *Na* is noticeable in the place names *Nara* and *Kanagawa*, and the character *kai, umi* is often found in the names of children in oceanside regions.

How to read the characters for *iru* in the colloquial sentence *Hito ga iru* 'A person exists.' divides eastern Japan, where it is *iru*, from western Japan, where it is *oru*. In Kyūshū, there are dialects in which there is a tendency to read *koi* 'strong (coffee), dark (color)' in the dialectal form *koyui* or *koii* and *haku* 'sweep' as *hawaku*. There is a possibility of *syuutome* 'mother-in-law' being read *syuuto* in Kansai. Some Kansai words like *honma* 'really' have ways of writing them in *kanji*.

There are also regional characters (dialect characters) used to write the common language (Yokoyama, Takada and Yoneda 2006; Sasahara 2007b, 2013, 2020). The reason one often sees on signs of *Kyōto* is the result of old character forms. Regional differences in the frequency of use of the different ways of writing the word for the Japanese dish *sushi* appear in the names of sushi shops and on their signs and their distribution can be seen (Sasahara 2013).

6 Conclusion

Postwar, the character *gei* 'art, artistic skill' was changed with the introduction of the *tōyō kanji* list. A variety of simplistic assertions linking society and *kanji* have been made, such as saying that because *situke* 'discipline', a made-in-Japan character created by a master of etiquette in the Muromachi period, was not included in the list, discipline in Japan has become neglected. Through *kanji* education that assumes the use of writing utensils like pens and pencils, the standards regarding a number of trifling differences in the forms of characters, such as a leftward, upward hook to the bottom of the vertical stroke have been left unclear and judgement of whether or not a character is correct has been left to each individual educator (in order to correct this situation, in 2016 the Agency for Cultural Affairs issued *Jōyō Kanjihyō no Jitai, Jikei nikansuru Shishin* 'guiding principles with regard to the characters and character forms in the *jōyō kanji* list'). Based on the national policy of limiting the number of characters in use, newspapers now changed writing for *rankaku* 'overfishing, overhunting' and *gienkin* 'donation for (charity or disaster relief)', causing those knowledgeable about *kanji* to lament that the meanings of the words and the character of the image evoked had changed.

There are many cases in which interest is shown, not in the changes the *kanji* has undergone, but in the origin of the *kanji* when it was created. The folk etymology from some educator, full of ethics and emotion, holding that the character 人 *hito* 'person, human being' is composed of two people supporting each other, was included in the lines of an actor playing an educator in a television drama with a high viewing rate and broadcast as if it were true, leading to quite a high belief in this as a source for the pictographic character. Such beliefs based on reports felt to be profound or on one's intuition, can be taken as one factor in taking *kanji* as culture. On the other hand, concerning origin theories from scholars as well, there is only an awareness of various authorities and of the mystique of *kanji* and doubts are seldom cast on them, and, not only do they appear in dictionaries, but through the mass media, they cast an influence on the consciousness of the general public as well.

The postwar limits on the number of *kanji* pursued as a matter of national policy, raised the literacy rate of the Japanese people and encouraged democratization through newspapers and the like, but, as a result, the equalization of the ability to use *kanji* and raising of the standard progressed, and limitations came to be seen as regulations, and in the end, a change in policy was urged for the presentation of a looser standard through the *jōyō kanji* list. On the other hand, the normative consciousness regarding *kanji* has rather increased among individuals, and the situation has developed in which that is shared socially. It is not unusual for deviations from such a situation to be tied to one's character evaluation. There are official tests and the *Kanji* Proficiency Exam, and such things appear as quiz items in the mass media including television programs and newspapers and are often taken up as topics and manifestations of refinement; it is possible to take this as having become a social custom shared by the whole of society.

It has become normal to choose the *kanji* for a newborn's name through stroke number fortunetelling known as *seimei handan* 'name horoscope'. This is widely believed to have probably started in ancient China, but it is actually a replacement for fortunetelling based on the pronunciation and first appeared in Japan in the Meiji period and spread through remarks by Kumasaki Ken'ō appearing in a women's magazine after entering the Shōwa period. There are no analytic results based on statistical processing that would be proof, at least none that have been released publicly, but this fortunetelling method has spread to the *kanji* culture of China and Korea as well, tied to Eastern mystical ideology and has influenced the selection of many names. The fact that a rigidification of awareness regarding *kanji* has progressed throughout the *kanji* cultural sphere is probably not unrelated to the fact that it is a time when *kanji* can be input into a computer. While the characters that can be used in naming are officially limited, their readings are unrestricted, so names that are difficult to read, such as writing 一二三, normally read *Hifumi*, and reading it as *Warutsu* are increasing, and are a factor threatening the social nature of *kanji*.

Kanji are not only a barometer of education and refinement in Japan, as the saying *syo wa hito nari* 'hand writing is the person' shows, characters tell us of one's mentality and humanity. Handwriting analysis is also sometimes conducted experientially and impressionistically to infer a person's character or living conditions, but it is also conducted scientifically and statistically to identify the writer as part of the investigation of crimes and the like. When the Japanese study Chinese as a foreign language, the Chinese characters can influence the characters of their native language. For application in such fields calling for practical application, the accumulation of materials and research is sought regarding a variety of aspects about *kanji*.

When foreigners attempt to acquire such a complicated writing system as that of Japanese, problems and unnaturalness arise in every aspect. While some do appear who have acquired more detailed knowledge and ability to use *kanji* than the Japanese, there are also those give up on learning Japanese because of the barrier of learning *kanji* whose effects and limits are not apparent. Even for those who are in the *kanji* cultural sphere, it is easy for interference to arise from the *kanji* of their native language (and the reverse occurs for Japanese learning Chinese). *Kanji* are recognized by Japanese as the most proper form of writing, and they have a tendency to imagine that somewhere there is a list on which all the correct *kanji* have been collected. And, for most Japanese, they constitute a writing system that is difficult, but towards which they feel an attachment. At the same time, as described in this chapter, there are problems with the system as a whole, of course, but also with individual characters and words, and people and organizations continue to use *kanji* worried that they have not been able to master them. In a peculiar writing culture embracing such a true state of affairs, it is important to gain a better grasp on both the individual circumstances and the overall picture.

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21 Language, economy, and nation

1 Introduction

As the family tree model of language change describes, languages change automatically, irrespective of or even against the intentions of their speakers. In the history of human languages, however, it is also true that language problems and their (conscious) planning and management by users of the language have been one of the principal factors that promote the development and change of a language that is experiencing problems. Japanese has also experienced multiple kinds of language problems caused by its external as well as internal social and linguistic conditions. Linguistic aspects of language contact in Japan are described in the previous chapters in this part of this book. The topic of this chapter is specifically devoted to recent developments in the Japanese language through the planning and management of language problems induced by contacts with various other languages for multiple reasons.

The principal sources of language problems are usually the diversity of languages and their sub-varieties within a single speech community and the related variation (variables) in the language or the variety. Languages do not exist in a social vacuum. They are imprinted with their own social values that have gradually attached to them in the course of their historical development and use. Thus, English has acquired its present status as a global language because of its speakers' political and economic dominance in the world-wide linguistic market and has had a substantial influence on Japanese phonetically and grammatically as well as lexically. Domestically, the Tokyo dialect has been promoted to the status of standard language in Japan principally because it is the variety spoken in the capital city (the standard language in Japan used to be the variety of Kyoto up to the middle of Edo period (i.e. around 1750)). This diversity of languages and their sub-varieties with the characteristic social statuses and values attached to them often brings about conflicts among them and their speakers and becomes the locus of language problems. Language contact is one of the major sources of these conflicts and problems.

Major language problems in Japan are mostly similar in kind to those that can be observed in other modernized countries (nation-states). The problems include, for instance, the social status of each language and variety (i.e. selection of national and official languages on the one hand and endangered languages on the other) and those related to forms and uses of each language and variety (i.e. standardization, literalization, sophistication, and purification). Various agents such as the national

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am especially grateful to John Haig and the editors of this volume for their translation, comments and help in improving the style of this chapter.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-022

and municipal governments have tried to resolve problems by inaugurating language policies that include status, corpus, and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989).

Japan provides, however, a characteristic example of language development from the viewpoint of language contact. Japan, as a modern nation-state, has largely dealt with language problems through the planning and management of language problems caused by both the millennium-long language contact with Chinese, culturally the most powerful language in Asia, and the recent and dense contact with overwhelming European languages. Both types of contact are characterized by the absence of direct contact between the speakers of the languages. Putting aside the supposed ancient great migration of people that may have created the foundation of the language called Japanese, only a handful people came to Japan from abroad or went out of Japan to the outside world. The language contacts of Japanese were almost always indirect, with little direct interaction between the speakers of the languages concerned (distant non-bilingual or the distant but institutional settings in Loveday's (1996: 13) socio-linguistic typology). The language contact of Japanese had been, as it were, top-down, with cultural contact executed by the people of upper class such as aristocrats, politicians, priests, and scholars. The state of affairs is changing, however, with the recent influx of foreigners from all over the world. Most of them are laborers, students, and tourists who have regular interaction with native Japanese in their daily encounters.

This chapter provides a brief sketch of the present, as well as the historical, language planning and management of Japanese in Japan and in the wider world. Throughout this chapter, we will take the viewpoint or framework of language planning presented in Cooper (1989) and the language management theory advanced by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987). We use the terms "language planning" and "language management" in the following senses, which have been developed, among others, in Nekvapil (2006): "language planning" is an activity which represents examples of social systems of language manipulation (macro dimension), while "language management" is an activity that tries to manage the language problems encountered at particular interactions (micro dimension). Based on this distinction, we will consider how Japan has regulated the planning and management of its languages, taking into consideration the social circumstances of their users and uses. In the following sections, in Section 2 we will briefly look at the formation of Japanese as a national language under the newly constructed modern nation-state in the Meiji era (1868–1912). Section 3 will focus on the current status of Japanese in relation to other languages in the world and Section 4 will be devoted to the description of Japanese in the domestic domains.

2 Formation of Japanese as a national language

Japan as a modern nation-state began in 1868 when the Tokugawa Shogunate (Edo) government gave way to the Meiji government and the *Tennō* 'Emperor' regained political power after some seven hundred years of *samurai* 'warrior' government (Meiji Restoration). At the end of the Edo period, Japan was forced to open itself to trade and diplomatic relations with Western countries under the overwhelming power of the outside world. The Meiji government launched into the westernization of the country, the principal policies of which were enhancement of its wealth and military strength and the promotion of domestic industry. Standardization of its language also constituted part of the schedule for westernization, and several linguists (for example, Kazutoshi Ueda) were dispatched to European countries (especially Germany and France) to inspect the current state of their languages and language policies for the future reformation of Japanese language.

Language planning in the Meiji era comprises all the phases of language planning: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989). The following are some examples:

(a) Status planning. At one stage of status planning, English was nominated to be one of the candidates for an official (written) language of the country, due to the political power of the English-speaking countries and the (seemingly) simple writing system with just twenty-six letters. But the idea of employing English as an official language was not supported by many politicians and scholars, including the American linguist William Dwight Whitney who was consulted on this matter by Arinori Mori, the Minister of Education, Culture, and Science at the time (Okubo (ed.) 1972). Japanese has been the de facto national and official language in Japan ever since the Meiji Restoration.

(b) Corpus planning. Corpus planning in Japan has been mostly devoted to the system of writing. As discussed in Chapter 20 (Sasahara, this volume), putting aside the Roman alphabet, which is used for limited objectives, Japanese employs three sets of letters, *kanji* (Chinese characters), *hiragana* (cursive syllabary developed from *kanji*) and *katakana* (angular syllabary also developed from *kanji*). This complex writing system has always been the target of standardization. The major problems include the number and kind of Chinese characters to be used for daily communication (for example in mass media), education, and personal names, and how each word should be written using the three sets of letters. Reflecting such a complex writing system and the problems brought about by the diverse ways of use observed among its users, some groups have insisted on using the Roman alphabet, abandoning the other letters altogether.

Standardization of the Japanese language itself was an urgent problem to be solved by the Meiji government, especially for general education for all the Japanese people. For this purpose, systematic surveys of the linguistic varieties and forms used in the published writings of the period and the dialect forms used all over Japan were planned and actually carried out. Notwithstanding all this endeavor, however, standard Japanese as a prescribed and codified form of the language has not been established up to the present. The variety of Japanese that has been employed for oral communication in the wider network in Japan is based on some form of koiné which has been formulated through the use of the language in formal encounters over several hundred years (Nomura 2013). The written variety has also been based on the koiné variety at least since the middle of Meiji era. We will use the term “Standard Japanese” to refer to this koiné variety of Japanese for convenience in the following sections.

New words representing Western ideas and technologies were also coined in this period. Most of them are compounds of Sino-Japanese morphemes, created by such Japanese scholars as Yukichi Fukuzawa, Amane Nishi, and Tetsujiro Inoue, who had ample scientific knowledge of both Western and Chinese (classic) writings.

(c) Acquisition planning. The percentage of literate population at the beginning of the Meiji era in Japan is often said to have already been high (male: 40–45 percent, female: 15 percent in about 1870 (Dore 1978: 55), though there are some critics who argue against this number (Rubinger 2008: 201)), owing to the general education offered by private schools, first at temples and then in urban (and later in rural) town schools (*terakoya*, *tenaraijo*) before the Meiji Restoration. The Meiji government established a general and higher education system, partially succeeding the *terakoya* system, and tried to put into effect the outcome of its status and corpus planning mentioned in (a) and (b) above through this education system.

The writing system of the present-day Japanese has become highly standardized through the education system, entrance examinations, the adoption of the standard writing system by mass media, and recent widespread use of personal computers.

As was the case with other nation-states, the use of dialects had been strictly prohibited at school for the purpose of the propagation of Standard Japanese well up to the end of World War II (*hōgen bokumetsu undō*, Dialect Eradication Movement). The policy had, in effect, the purpose of making all the speakers of Japanese monodialectals whose vernacular is Standard Japanese (In contrast to this movement, however, now nearly all the native speakers of Japanese are bidialectal speakers who alternate between at least two varieties, the standard language and the speaker’s native dialect, according to the domain of language use. See Table 21.4 in Section 4.2.2 (b).).

All the above language planning in Japan and its consequences have helped to instill the idea in the mind of the speakers of Japanese that Japan is a country with one nation and one language. As Figure 21.1 shows (Miyajima, et al. 1982: 18), Japanese is characteristic in that most of the residents in Japan speak Japanese on the one hand (vertical axis in Figure 21.1), and most of the speakers of Japanese live in Japan on the other (horizontal axis), and this sociolinguistic condition of Japanese is an another, strong factor that contributes to the promotion of such an idea.

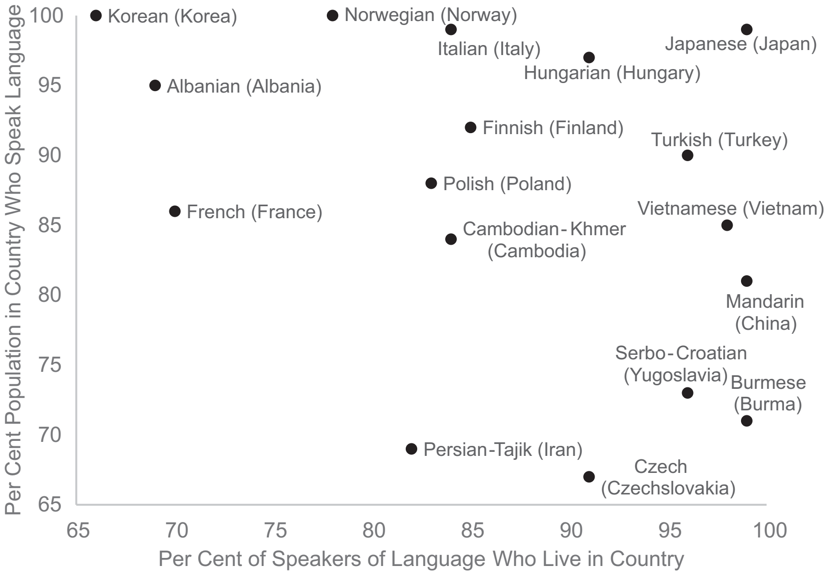

Figure 21.1: Distribution of Japanese speakers (Miyajima et al. 1982:18).

3 Japanese in relation to other languages in the world

In this section, we will have a brief look at the present social status of Japanese among the languages in the world.

3.1 Japanese in the world

The current de facto international language in the world is English. It is widely used in political, economic, commercial, academic, and many other public domains. French and German are also sometimes used in international domains but not so often as English. Inoue (2001: 79) describes the current social status of languages in the world as shown in Figure 21.2.

The number of native speakers of Japanese is about 128,000,000 (Ethnologue 2019). This population is the eighth largest in the world (Ethnologue 2019) and Japanese is estimated, with Chinese and Arabic, to be the "major languages" in Inoue's figure. In spite of the number of its speakers, however, Japanese seldom plays the social role of the "global languages" such as English, French, and German in international public domains. For example, Japanese is seldom employed as an official language in worldwide conferences, whether it may be political, economic, or academic.

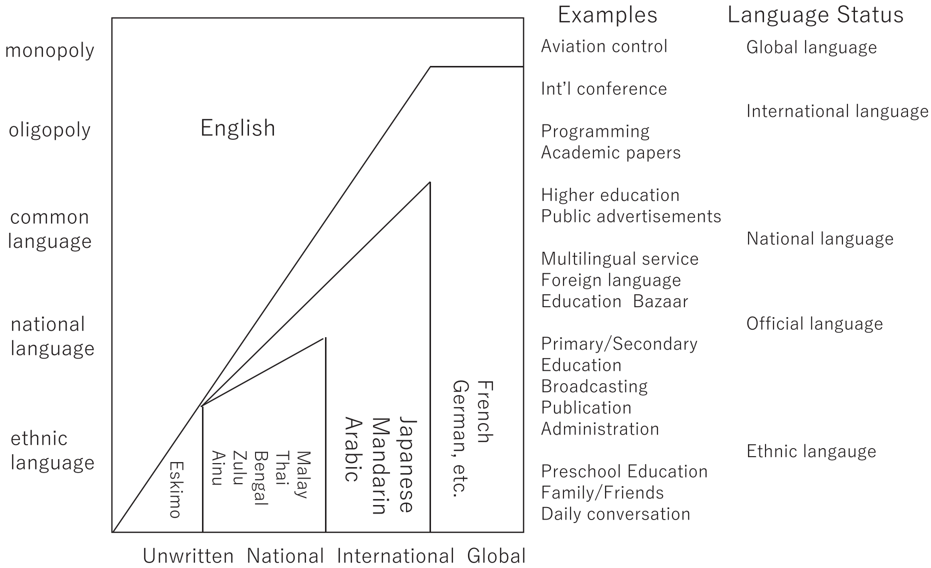

Figure 21.2: Social status of languages (Inoue 2001:79).[1]

Japanese is also seldom used as an everyday language outside Japan, and this is also the reason of its current status as a "major language". Japanese speakers abroad include, for example, (1) descendants of emigrant laborers to Hawaii, the US West Coast, Canada, and South American countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru, (2) employees of Japanese enterprises and their families who are temporarily staying abroad, and (3) Japanese who have married foreigners. The number of people with Japanese nationality living abroad for more than three months amounted to 1,390,370 in 2018 (https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin/index.html, accessed March 12, 2020). For these Japanese speakers, Japanese may be a family language limited to use among family members and it may seldom be used as a community language in interactions among the residents of the community. The exception may be some Japanese "colonias" in South America where Japanese (descendants) live together and Japanese is the common language for interaction among the community members in their daily life. Their maintenance of Japanese as a heritage language, however, is declining, especially among *sansei* 'third generation' and following generations, depending on the loyalty individual speakers have and on the social value they attach to the language.

On the other hand, Japanese language education is prevalent in some countries outside Japan. It is taught as a foreign language in many countries, especially in Asia. The number of learners studying Japanese at schools and other institutes in 2018 was 1,004,625 in China, 706,603 in Indonesia, 531,511 in Korea, 405,175 in Aus-

1 This figure was translated and corrected by Fumio Inoue.

tralia, 184,962 in Thailand, 174,461 in Vietnam, 170,159 in Republic of China (hereafter Taiwan), and 166,565 in the US to name just those countries with more than 100,000 learners (https://www.jpf.go.jp/j/project/japanese/survey/result/, accessed March 12, 2020). The number surely increases if learners studying Japanese by themselves, for example through radio programs, *manga* (comic books), and *anime* (animated cartoons), are included. We sometimes find overseas students in Japan whose pronunciation of Japanese has no trace of their native language. These students are usually those who started learning Japanese watching TV *anime* programs at an early age and acquired the Japanese pronunciation prior to acquisition of its grammar through textbooks.

In any sense, the current prevalent motives for learning Japanese, with its low market value in the domain of worldwide communication, are the learners' personal instrumental use or personal taste and the choice to learn Japanese stems from the learners' own interests, rather than the political strategic choice of foreign governments. In the present state of affairs, the education of Japanese as a foreign language is not connected to imperialism (Phillipson 1992), as was practiced by the former Japanese imperial government in Asian and Pacific countries during World War II. We will turn to this topic (Japanese imperialism) in the next section.

3.2 Japanese in Asia and the Pacific: The historical remnants

In contrast to the present situation of Japanese in the world described in the previous section, Japanese is sometimes used as a lingua franca or for secret talks among older people in the territories formerly occupied by Imperial Japan until the end of World War II. These territories include Taiwan, Korea, Northern China (Manchuria), Sakhalin, Micronesian countries (Republic of Palau, Federal States of Micronesia, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and Republic of the Marshall Islands), and some countries in Southeast Asia. In these regions, the Japanese imperial government constructed and implemented primary education systems whose medium language was Japanese. Older people in these countries still have some proficiency in Japanese and use it as a lingua franca when Japanese is the common language the conversation participants can command. In Taiwan, for example, when different ethnic groups such as Chinese and Atayal cohabit in a single village, Japanese is frequently used as a common language for daily exchange (Chien 2002). The same situation, although rarely, applies to the Micronesian countries for inter-island communication.

The remnants of this Japanese imperialism, which lasted from the late nineteenth century through the end of World War II, can further be observed in such present linguistic situations as follow:

i) Many languages spoken in former Japanese colonies have borrowed dense cultural words from Japanese. For example, according to Yui (1998), the number of borrowed words amounts to 528 in a Palauan-English dictionary (Josephs 1990), and include such words as *denki* 'electricity,' *suasing* 'photo', *simbung* 'newspaper', *hanabi* 'firework', *tengki* 'weather', *bento* 'lunch box', *ninzin* 'carrot', *bioing* 'hospital', *iakiu* 'baseball', *hatoba* 'port', an example of colonial lag, *skoki* 'airplane', *siukang* 'custom', or 'habit', *keskomu* 'eraser', *seizi* 'politics', *daiksang* 'carpenter' (a word with an honorific suffix *-sang*), *otsuri* 'change', *kets* 'stingy', and *omosiroi* 'interesting'. The South Korean government had to adopt a policy for elimination of Japanese loanwords after the country became independent (Park 1989).

ii) In Palau, Palauan and English are the two major official languages and both languages are written in the Roman alphabet. As Figure 21.3 shows (Shibuya and Kan 2013: 151), however, the notice board for an election may sometimes include *katakana* letters to provide information on the candidate to older people who acquired the Japanese writing system at Japanese schools and who have little literacy of Roman letters. In Angaur State, Japanese has the status of official language in addition to Palauan and English (Long and Imamura 2015).

Figure 21.3: Signboard for election (Palau, 2000).

iii) In Taiwan, a creole language based on Japanese has developed (Chien and Sanada 2010) in some villages of Yilan County where speakers of different ethnic languages were obliged to live together in one area for convenience of rule under the Japanese imperial government. Japanese seems to have been pidginized among the first-generation residents in the area through their inter-ethnic communication, and then the pidgin variety of Japanese has been handed down to and creolized by the second-generation speakers. This creole is still used in the villages of the region, although the younger generation has been shifting to Mandarin as is prevalently the case with the rest of the ethnic groups in Taiwan.

The use of Japanese in these countries described above is declining as the speakers get older and pass away.

4 Japanese in relation to other languages in Japan

We now turn to the social status of Japanese in relation to other languages in Japan. Japan has no article related to its national or official languages in its constitution. With the exception of article 74 of the Law of Court which states that "The language in courts should be Japanese [translation by the author]" and regulations on writing systems, Japan seems to have few laws and regulations on the use of languages, either. This is partly because Japanese is the de facto national and official language that is spoken by the majority of people living in Japan (cf. Figure 21.1 in Section 2). There are also several minority languages, however, that are native and non-native to Japan. We will look at the current state of native languages in Section 4.1 and foreign/immigrant languages in Section 4.2 from the perspective of language planning and management.

4.1 The native languages in Japan

As stated above, the de facto national and official language in present-day Japan is Japanese. From the beginning of Meiji era (1868), when Japan started to be a modern nation-state influenced by the political systems of Western countries, status planning was conducted several times, especially when Japan was threatened by or surrendered to the overwhelming power of Western countries. The beginning of the Meiji era and the end of World War II were the two major epochs for this planning. In such cases, Western languages such as English and French were usually included as the candidates for national and official languages in Japan. Both their social and political roles in the world and their simple writing systems were the motives for the choice. The complex Japanese writing system, which employs multiple kind of letters (*hiragana* and *katakana* (both are Japanese-specific syllabaries derived from *kanji* (Chinese letters)) as well as a huge number of *kanji* necessary for daily life, was always one of the loci of the problem of language planning for the development of the nation (cf. Section 2 (b)).

Native languages other than Japanese have never been nominated or discussed officially for national and/or official languages. The native languages in Japan are Japanese and Ainu (Shibatani 1990). The latter is an indigenous language of Northern Japan and UNESCO estimates it as 'critically endangered', the youngest speakers being grandparents and older, who speak it partially and infrequently (Classification and definition of endangered languages are by UNESCO). UNESCO includes in the endangered languages in Japan the Ryukyuan languages (Yonaguni, Yaeyama, Miyako, Okinawan, Kunigami, and Amami) and Hachijō, which are usually conceived of as dialects of Japanese by many Japanese dialectologists. These native languages are declining in the number of speakers, shifting to Japanese or the Japanese-Okinawan mixed variety called Uchinā-Yamatuguchi. Yaeyama and Yonaguni are languages that are "severely endangered", spoken by grandparents and older generations. Others are "definitely endangered" with no children learning them as a mother tongue in the home. The Japanese government as well as municipal governments in charge of the areas where the above languages are spoken seem to have taken little or no political action to protect the languages up to the present, although grass root movements such as private language classes are always observable. The Agency of Cultural Affairs has launched into the research and documentation of the languages with the help of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) and other institutions (http://www.bunka.go.jp/seisaku/kokugo_nihongo/kokugo_shisaku/kikigengo/index.html, accessed March 12, 2020).

4.2 Japanese and immigrants' languages in Japan

Japan has long been considered a country with one nation, one language, and one ethnicity (Section 2). In fact, however, there have been many people of foreign origin living in Japan, maintaining their own languages to various degrees.

4.2.1 The population of immigrants

Judging from the number of foreign residents in Japan (Japan has no census data on language), in contrast to the decline in the population speaking the endangered native languages described in the previous section, the number of foreigners with little or no Japanese proficiency seems to be steadily increasing over the past three decades. Table 21.1 shows the number of special permanent residents and foreign residents living in Japan for more than three months, which amounted to 2.2 percent of the total population of Japan in 2019. Those who have Japanese nationality are not included in this table.

Table 21.1: Number of foreign residents in Japan (June 2019).

Asia	2,369,688
Europe	81,024
Africa	17,223
North America	74,965
South America	270,780
Oceania	15,096
Stateless	640
Total	2,829,416

http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html (accessed March 10, 2020)

In this table, Asian people include, in addition to a large number of newcomers, Korean, Chinese, and Taiwanese old timers who were relocated to Japan under the Japanese rule during World War II, Korean refugees who arrived in Japan under the Korean political unrest and the cold war, and their relatives and descendants. They have been in Japan since then and have acquired native-like command of Japanese. Their heritage languages are declining instead, with the younger people (the second and following generations) shifting to Japanese as their native language.

Most of the people from South American countries are the descendants of Japanese (*Nikkei*) who emigrated to Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, Argentina, and Bolivia from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Most of them are of the second and later generations, and their Japanese proficiency varies from native or near-native to null depending on their individual social circumstances and experiences. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised in 1990 so as to allow those *Nikkei* people to work in Japan because of their ancestors' Japanese origin.

Putting aside those people who have a good command of Japanese, there seems to be a large population of non-Japanese-speaking newcomers whose native languages include Korean, Chinese, Thai, Filipino, Bengali, and Nepali, among others. Those people include, alongside a large number of temporary laborers from the countries in which these languages are spoken:

- Chinese returnees and their families. At the end of World War II, many children of Japanese residents living in China were left there because of the disorder of the local governmental system and of the poor condition of transportation for returning to Japan. They started looking for their relatives in Japan with the aid of the Japanese government following the normalization of the diplomatic relationship between China and Japan in 1972. When they succeeded in finding their relatives, those who wished to immigrate/return to Japan were allowed the right to do so. Most of them and their families have no proficiency in Japanese.
- Brides in rural towns. Many Japanese men in rural farming communities get their wives from foreign countries such as the Philippines, China, and Korea. The wives have to learn the Japanese dialect spoken at their residence, sometimes in addition to the standard variety of Japanese.

Other types of non-native speakers of Japanese will be described in Section 4.2.2.

A variety of language policies for the benefit of the speakers of minority languages are conducted by a variety of agents, which include the national government, municipal governments, private enterprises (workplaces), educational institutions, and volunteer associations. Among these policies, governmental ones have the most wide-ranging effect, but the planners of the policies have the least contact with the people targeted by the policies. Besides, different ministries and offices formulate language policies separately, according to the domains of their jurisdiction, and no single governmental institute is in charge of a unified language policy for immigrants (Tajiri 2010). We will have a brief look at some cases of language policy taken by municipal governments in the next sub-section.

4.2.2 Language planning by municipal governments

The language planning by municipal governments in Japan mostly concentrates, as Backhaus (2012) states in relation to Tokyo, on three areas: (1) oral advice in foreign languages, (2) written communication with foreign residents, and (3) public signs.

The sample cases we will survey in this section of language planning initiated by municipal governments are those of Metropolitan Tokyo and rural Yamagata. Many foreign residents with diverse native languages, cultural backgrounds, and reasons for their presence live in the two cities, but the social circumstances and conditions surrounding them differ greatly between the two cities. Tokyo is the capital and the largest city in Japan while Yamagata is a local prefecture whose population is decreasing with younger people getting jobs outside the prefecture. According to 2015 census data, the population of each prefecture is: Tokyo 13,515,271 and Yamagata 1,123,891. The nationality and the number of foreign residents in each prefecture are shown in Table 21.2. In total, the number of foreign residents occupies approximately 3.9 percent in Tokyo and 0.6 percent in Yamagata.

Table 21.3 shows the distribution by the status of residence in the two cities ("The Act on Amending the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act and the Ministry of Justice Establishment Law" has been enacted and the new status "Specified Skilled Worker" has been included since April, 2019).

Table 21.2: Nationalities of Foreign Residents in Two Prefectures (June 2017).

Tokyo		**Yamagata**	
China	197,510 (38.0)	China	2,221 (33.5)
Korea	92,156 (17.7)	Korea	1,592 (24.0)
Philippine	31,940 (6.1)	Vietnam	810 (10.4)
Vietnam	31,502 (6.0)	Philippine	773 (11.7)
Nepal	25,147 (4.8)	U.S.	149 (2.2)
U.S.	18,516 (3.6)	Thailand	140 (2.1)
Taiwan	18,472 (3.5)	Indonesia	125 (1.9)
India	11,809 (2.3)	Taiwan	122 (1.8)
Myanmar	9,369 (1.8)	Brazil	69 (1.0)
Thailand	8,207 (1.6)	U.K.	55 (0.8)
Total	521,088	Total	6,628

https://www.e-stat.go.jp/dbview?sid=0003147229 (accessed March 12, 2020)

Table 21.3: Status of Residence in Two Cities (June 2017).

Tokyo		**Yamagata**	
Permanent Resident	135,918 (26.1)	Permanent Resident	3,149 (47.5)
Student	104,889 (20.1)	Technical Intern Training 2 ro	771 (11.6)
Engineer/Specialist in Humanities /International Services	67,756 (13.0)	Technical Intern Training 1 ro	677 (10.2)
Dependent	53,769 (10.3)	Spouse or Child of Japanese National	425 (6.4)
Special Permanent Resident	44,116 (8.5)	Student	294 (4.4)
Total	521,088	Total	6,628

https://www.e-stat.go.jp/dbview?sid=0003147248 (accessed March 12, 2020)

"Technical Intern Training" is the status for overseas trainees who participate the three (or up to five) year job training program offered by private companies and are expected to bring back the skill they learn in Japan for the technical development of their own countries (*ro* is one of the two subclasses of the category). The jobs include manual labor in such business categories as farming, fisheries, construction, and the food industry (146 types of work in 82 job classification). The first year (Technical Intern Training 1) is devoted to the acquisition of the skill and the second and the third years (Technical Intern Training 2) are spent for practice of the acquired skill (https://www.jitco.or.jp/en/regulation/index.html, accessed March 13, 2020). "Special Permanent Residents" are those North and South Koreans and Taiwanese people (and their descendants) who have been in Japan since before the end of the World War II and do not have Japanese nationality.

Based on the data such as the above statistics and actual problems encountered by foreign residents, the two cities have executed the following language policies.

(a) Tokyo

As stated above, Tokyo is the capital city of Japan and has the maximum number of foreign residents among the 47 administrative divisions of Japan (18.4 percent of the total population of foreigners as of 2019). Their occupation and native languages are diverse, the former being composed of a large number of students, Engineer/Specialist in Humanities/International Services, and their dependents (Table 21.3).

The language policy of Tokyo is characterized by 'the standard four-language notation system' which employs Japanese, English, Chinese, and Korean for public signs. The web pages of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government are provided in the four languages plus easy Japanese (http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/foreignlanguage.html, accessed March 20, 2020). The English pages include "About Our City", "Guide for Residents", "Business", and "Things to Do". The "Guide for Residents" includes such information as "Living Information", "Life in Tokyo (for foreign residents)", "Medical Information", "Health and Welfare", "Education", "Disaster Preparedness", "Public Security/Disaster Control", "Tax Information", "Consultation Service", "Labor Consultation Service for Foreign Workers", "Transportation", and "Sports". The "Disaster Preparedness" page carries a manual *Disaster Preparedness Tokyo* warning the residents that 'It is predicted that there is a 70 percent possibility of an earthquake directly hitting Tokyo within the next 30 years. Are you prepared?' in its introduction.

Easy Japanese is a simplified variety (or varieties) of Japanese that has been developed for non-native speakers and language-handicapped people. It has been developed by a group headed by Kazuyuki Sato, reflecting the experience of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, which attacked Kansai district including Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto early on the morning of 17 January 1995. Soon after this earthquake, a variety of agencies including the national and municipal governments, mass media, religious organizations, private enterprises, and volunteers started aiding and supporting the victims. Such important information as food/water supply and the temporary places of refuge, however, did not reach foreign residents because of the languages employed for communication. The information was given in English and other languages with the help of, among others, universities of foreign studies, but some foreigners without proficiency in these languages had difficulty in obtaining information. Easy Japanese is targeted to such people who have some degree of proficiency in Japanese and with little knowledge of the non-Japanese languages employed in the delivery of the information. Since the development of Easy Japanese, many municipal governments all over Japan have adopted it in cases of disaster that occurred after the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake.

Another version of Easy Japanese has been developed, extending the target of the language to language-handicapped people in general (not limited to the case of natural disasters), for the purpose of aiding their daily lives (Iori 2016, http://www4414uj.sakura.ne.jp/Yasanichi/, accessed March 20, 2020).

Tokyo was scheduled to be the main site of the Olympic Games in 2020 (later postponed until 2021) and multiple language planning has been and will be put into effect before and during the games, including the choice of languages for notice boards for visitors from abroad as well as the training and arrangement of translators and travel guides for them. A report *Volunteering Strategies for the Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020* (issued in 2016 by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and Tokyo Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Tokyo 2020), https://gtimg.tokyo2020.org/image/upload/production/dtgkfp0p6eek4tftik3t.pdf, accessed March 13, 2020) enumerated such multilingual strategies as follow (p.18–19):

1) Accommodating multiple languages
2) Accommodating various languages, printed materials
3) Utilizing Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

All these planning actions will contribute to the future multilingual policy in Tokyo.

(b) Yamagata

Yamagata prefecture is one of the six prefectures located in the North-Eastern Japan (Tōhoku District). The dialects spoken in Yamagata are very different from the standard variety and it is usually the case that native Japanese residents in Yamagata are bi-dialectal speakers who style-shift between the two varieties (Standard Japanese and Yamagata dialect) depending on the addressees, settings, and topics (i.e. domains). The language choice in the representative domains in Yamagata is illustrated in Table 21.4 (cf. Holmes (1992: 25) after Rubin 1968). SJ stands for "Standard Japanese" and YD for "Yamagata dialect."

Table 21.4: Domains of dialect use in Yamagata.

Domain	Addressee	Setting	Topic	Language
Family	Parent	Home	Planning a family trip	YD
Friendship	Friend	Café	Funny anecdote	YD
Education 1	Teacher	Primary School	Telling a story	SJ
Education 2	Teacher	High School	Question	SJ (/YD)
Administration	Official	City Office	Registration	SJ

As can be observed in this table, the choice between the two varieties is that universally expected, fulfilling the typical social roles of the High variety (Standard Japanese) and the Low variety (Yamagata dialect). The exception is the choice in Education 2. In high schools in Yamagata, male adolescent students tend to avoid using the standard variety, which is the result of their attaching a high value to the covert prestige of the dialect. Standard Japanese in Yamagata (or in the Tōhoku District in general) seems to represent far more femaleness, high status, and outsiderness than in other prefectures or districts in Japan. Yamagata is the dialect-dominant city (Sato 1996) where the dialect is employed in a wider range of domains, even in the Administration domain by older people.

English and other foreign languages are seldom used as far as daily lives are concerned. The use of English outside classrooms is quite a rare practice and native residents may have a chance, for example, to show the way to the station for foreign tourists in English just once or twice in their lives, if they are lucky enough. Their proficiency in English is usually not so high as well.

On the other hand, Yamagata prefecture used to be well-known for its municipal governmental policy of inviting foreign brides from countries such as the Philippines, Korea, and China. The first foreign brides arrived at Asahi Village in 1985. The brides usually arrive in Japan with no proficiency in Japanese and the language problems soon arise within their families and their neighborhood, which constitute high context communities with dense and multiple networks. Tozawa Village, which was one of the first communities to accept foreign brides in Japan (since 1989) has adopted the following language and language-related policies for them (Ando 2009). The total population of the village is 4,766 (male 2,296 and female 2,470) with the population density of 18.2/km^2 in 2017 (http://www.vill.tozawa.yamagata.jp/gyoseijoho/muranoshokai/tokeijoho/, accessed March 14, 2020). The number of foreign brides in 2008 was 38, including 10 Koreans, 10 Filipinas, and 18 Chinese (Ando 2009).

- Establishment of separate Japanese language classes for the Filipinas and Koreans (and later for the Chinese), which simultaneously function as an information exchange and problem-solving center for the brides
- Establishment of a Korean language course for the Japanese spouses
- Preparation of a free (government-sponsored) medical translator
- Preparation of an English questionnaire sheet for medical examination
- Organization of events in which foreign brides play major roles

The homepages of Tozawa Village are translatable into other languages through the Google translation system, as is usually the case with those of many municipal governments in Japan.

In addition to foreign brides, Yamagata prefecture has many foreign workers with immigrant visas of the category "Technical Intern Training" (Table 21.3). The companies that accept such trainees and the individual native speakers that have daily contact with them may employ diverse language planning and language management strategies for communication with the foreign workers in the workplace, but the details of such strategies are not well attested in the literature yet. These foreign workers have only loose networks with native Japanese compared with those of foreign brides who have decided to stay in Japan for good. In order to assist foreign residents in Yamagata in general, the Association for International Relations in Yamagata has published *Yamagata Living Guidebook* in Chinese (2 versions according to the type of the Chinese characters employed), Korean, English, Portuguese, Tagalog, and Easy Japanese (https://www.airyamagata.org), accessed March 14, 2020). Its English version has 79 pages in all and includes such topics as "Welcome to Yamagata Prefecture", "Dealing with Emergencies", "Immigration and Status of Residence", "Housing", "Public Transportation", "Automobiles, Motor Cycles and Bicycles", "Health and Medical Care", "Welfare", "Education", and "Employment".

4.2.3 Some notable language management practices in Japan

A variety of language management practices can be observed in Japan in daily encounters between native and non-native speakers of Japanese, for example between Japanese shop clerks and foreign tourists from all over the world. Japan is one of the fascinating destinations for overseas travel attracting nearly 25,000,000 people from abroad (the number of people who left Japan within 10 days in 2018, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_nyukan.html, accessed March 15, 2020).

English is usually the first medium language for communication in such encounters, but other choices such as foreigner talk or some pidginized varieties of Japanese and other languages may also be used for temporary interactions. In the case of encounters between a Chinese and a Japanese, the so-called "pencil talk (communication through writing)" is sometimes employed, making the best of their common tool for communication, *kanji* (Chinese letters), although overseas student part-time workers studying at Japanese universities and language schools have come to play a major role in such encounters lately.

Among such various cases of encounters and types of language management in Japan, the management taken between foreign athletes joining Japanese professional sport teams and the native speakers surrounding them provide interesting cases from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics. Such professional sports include baseball, basketball, soccer, rugby football, and *sumo* among others. Many professional athletes stay in Japan, sometimes temporarily and sometimes for good, and they learn Japanese in the natural environment (through the interaction with native speakers, colleagues, and teammates around them) to various degrees, maintaining their native languages on the other hand. Among such cases, the professional baseball players and the *sumo* wrestlers may constitute the opposite ends of language proficiency continuum.

Professional baseball players, usually from the US and Central American countries, arrive in Japan with no competency in Japanese and often do not exceed a level of proficiency beyond just using fixed Japanese expressions such as greetings and expressions of gratitude during their stay in Japan. They are already skilled players, quite different from prospective *sumo* wrestlers, and do not expect to stay in Japan for more than a few years. Interpreters accompany them when necessary and such circumstances bring about their low-level competency in Japanese.

Sumo wrestlers also arrive in Japan (from such countries as Mongolia, the U.S. (Hawaii), and Georgia) with no competency in Japanese and usually attain a high level of competency within a few years through their interaction with native Japanese. Miyazaki (2001) summarizes the following contributing factors to their acquisition of Japanese:

– 24-hour support by *shishō* 'teaching trainers', *okamisan* 'wives of the teaching trainers', senior wrestlers, and hairdressers
– communication with neighbors well acquainted with the wrestlers (e.g. owners of small restaurants)
– communication with *tanimachi* 'supporting persons' and groups

Limited occasion for use of their native languages could be further included in this list. With such dense and multiplex networks with native speakers, many of the *sumo* wrestlers often choose to remain in Japan after their retirement, to marry Japanese women and even to become the *shishō* of the *heya* 'stable', after obtaining Japanese citizenship.

4.3 Language landscape in Japan

The language landscape in Japan, especially of Tokyo, is well-illustrated in Backhaus (2007). Public signs written in foreign languages in Japan are mostly for commercial use and public services (Shoji 2009: 26–27), the former targeted sometimes to native speakers of Japanese and sometimes to speakers of the languages, and the latter to the speakers of the languages. They are not for political or symbolic use marking territories for specific ethnic or language groups, though they sometimes help to show that there are foreign residents or tourists who understand the language around the site.

Inoue (2009: 54) describes four stages of the historical development of the language landscape in Japan based on the predominant letters observed in it (Table 21.5).

Stage 1 is the traditional stage where public signs were mostly written with *kanji*. Public signs, such as signboards with loan or foreign words for commercial use (Inoue's Stage 2 and Stage 3 which start at the end of World War II), are usually independent of the existence of speakers of the languages. They are for commercial effect on Japanese native speakers, giving the flavor of foreign culture that is attached to the goods dealt with in the shop. Whether the readers (or viewers) of the signs can read the letters and understand the meaning of the words or sentences does not matter for such signs, so long as the readers can identify which country or culture the sign stands for and what sort of commercial goods the shops deal with. The readers can have a guess of their meaning with the help of pictures, displays, menus, and other equipment that may accompany the letters.

Table 21.5: Historical development of language landscape in Japan: four stages (Inoue 2009).

Stage	Age	Predominant letters (words)	Target	Type of language planning
1	–1945	Chinese characters (Sino-Japanese words)	Japanese	corpus
2	1945–1970's	katakana (loan words)	Japanese	corpus
3	1980–1990's	Roman alphabet (English)	Japanese	corpus
4	2000–	Roman alphabet and other letters (English and other languages)	foreigners	status

As the number of foreign residents and tourists started to increase around 2000 and on, however, public signs with foreign words have begun to play social and practical roles (Inoue's Stage 4). They are targeted to native speakers of the language to give them information necessary for them to survive in Japan. Such public signs include traffic signs, maps (railways, department stores, etc.) and other media depending on the expected readers of the signs. The agents are usually the administrators of

Figure 21.4: Four language signboard (2020).

national and municipal governments and private enterprises, and the addressees include a wider public such as foreign residents and tourists. A notation system of four languages (Japanese, English, two versions of Chinese, and Korean) is gaining currency for such signs (Figure 21.4, cf. Section 4.2.2).

Furthermore, as the number of labor immigrants increases in a particular town and a kind of diaspora emerges, the number of displays, signs, menus in restaurants, etc. increases accordingly in that town and they come to constitute an exotic language landscape. Japan has several such ethnic towns of Chinese immigrants in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, and of Korean immigrants in Tokyo and Osaka, and, in addition to these old towns, new ethnic towns have recently been established by newcomers, for example a Korean town in Shin-Okubo (Shinjuku, Tokyo) and a Brazilian town in Ota City (Gunma Prefecture).

The number of tourists visiting a particular city also influences the language landscape of the site. For example, Osaka is one of the popular sites for sightseeing and shopping (especially for Asian people) and as many as 11,103,445 people visited the city in 2017 (http://www.pref.osaka.lg.jp/kanko/kokusai-data30/index.html, accessed March 16, 2020). Public signs for roads (maps), stations, and public places as well as publications and announcements such as floor guides of department stores have been prepared for those tourists from abroad. As stated in Section 4.2.2, Tokyo is the place where the 2020 Olympic Games were scheduled to be held and the linguistic landscape of not only Tokyo but of Japan over all will change drastically. The presence of foreigners will also bring about such language mixing activities as crossing (Rampton 1995), translanguaging (García and Li 2014), and metrolingualism (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) in the interaction among those speakers with different language backgrounds.

The public multilingual signs and signboards have not had any direct impact on the state of the Japanese language so far, but they may have changed the conception of native speakers of Japanese of the ecolinguistic state of their country. Most native Japanese still believe that Japan is a nation with one language, but the language landscape of present-day Japan has no doubt contributed to the visibility of the multilingual language ecology in Japan.

4.4 Japanese and English in Japan

As can be seen in Table 21.2, the number of immigrants from English-speaking countries in Japan is not so large. Nevertheless, the influence of English on Japanese is observable in a multitude of linguistic and social dimensions as a result of its high social and economic value in the worldwide language market. Japan, as a whole, is deeply embedded in the English-dominant market. We will take up two outcomes of the influence of English on Japanese in this section: loan words and English language education.

(a) Loan words. Loan words from English abound in Japanese. The number is increasing year by year and new words are included in newly published or revised dictionaries. Among these loan words, some are long established and are often employed in daily conversation (e.g. *depaato* 'department store,' *gasorin* 'gasoline', *nooto* 'notebook'), but in general, English words occupy the formal or learned layer of the Japanese lexicon. Newly coined terms of English-origin are usually for academic, technological, institutional, and fashionable use in pursuit of a "high-class flavor".

The situation above, however, does not mean that there are many Japanese speakers of English (cf. Sections 1 and 4.2.2 (b)). Some English loan words are too difficult for native Japanese (especially for older generations) to understand and have been the source of language problems. NINJAL launched into a project of employing more familiar words (such as native Japanese words and Sino-Japanese words) instead of using the English loans. Words taken up in this project include: *aakaibu* 'archive', *aidentiti* 'identity', *inobeesyon* 'innovation', *obuzaabaa* 'observer' to name a few. Instead of these English loans, more basic and transparent Sino-Japanese words with the equivalent meaning are recommended to be used (https://www2.ninjal.ac.jp/gairaigo/, accessed March 17, 2020). Whether the result of this corpus planning will be accepted or not remains to be seen.

(b) English as a foreign language. English is widely taught as a foreign language in the secondary and tertiary schools in Japan. It has also started to be taught as an authentic (not subsidiary) subject at elementary schools as well. This means that nearly all Japanese will have learned English for nearly ten years at school. Behind this situation lies the recommendations or pressure from the domain of economic and commercial worlds where the use of English for world-wide communication is absolutely necessary. In some companies, such as Rakuten Inc., it is reported that English has become the official language for intra-company communication even though the majority of workers are native speakers of Japanese (Top message, https://corp.rakuten.co.jp/about/index.html#strengths, accessed March 17, 2020). The objectives are, among others, to increase the number of foreign workers and to promote the company's status as an international enterprise. Staff meetings which include non-native speakers of Japanese are held in English in many companies and high scores on the TOEIC and other English proficiency tests are becoming prerequisites for advancement in rank and salary. In 2000, The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, which was an advisory committee to Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, proposed in its final report that "[i]n the long term, it may be possible to make English an official second language, but national debate will be needed. First, though, every effort should be made to equip the population with a working knowledge of English. This is not simply a matter of foreign-language education. It should be regarded as a strategic imperative." (p.10, https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/21century/report/pdfs/3chap1.pdf, accessed March 17, 2020).

A large-scale reformation of university entrance examinations was scheduled to be implemented in 2020 and would include tests of speaking skills in English in addition to the traditional reading and translation skills. Although the inauguration of the new type of examination was suspended for political and practical reasons, reformation of the high school foreign language education system, which puts emphasis on the teaching of speaking ability has already been launched. Many universities have also introduced various kinds of English classes and programs for promoting skills for practical use of the language, such as study-abroad programs and English-medium instruction for some subjects. (In addition to English, French and German used to be the representative foreign languages learned by many university students as a part of general education, but the number is declining year by year. Instead, Asian languages such as Chinese and Korean are gaining popularity, reflecting the political, economic, and cultural relationship with the countries in which the languages are spoken.)

There are, of course, counterarguments, for example, against the introduction of English language education for elementary school children (e.g. Otsu 2010). One of the arguments says that what is necessary at elementary schools is not proficiency in foreign languages but a high consciousness of language itself, which would help in learning foreign languages in higher education.

The current situation, in which the majority of Japanese spend their lives without having an occasion to speak English at all (cf. Section 4.2.2(b)), is an obstacle for the promotion of English language education in all levels of school. In such social circumstances, most of the learners do not feel any necessity for learning English, with the exception of passing entrance examinations for high schools and universities, which currently focus on the measurement of reading and writing (and a bit of hearing) skills.

5 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has, from the viewpoints of language planning and language management, taken a brief survey of the current linguistic situation and the language problems of Japanese in relation to other languages both in the world and in Japan. The major points are:

(a) Japanese is currently learned and spoken outside Japan. There are many learners of Japanese all over the world. With the decline of the economic development and power of Japan, however, the number of learners and institutions for Japanese language teaching is decreasing. The Japanese speakers of Japanese descendants (*nikkei*) in Japanese communities in Hawaii, Canada, Brazil, and other South American countries are also shifting to the surrounding languages as the dominant language of each community. Exceptions are *manga* and *anime*, which attract many of younger generation of the world and promote their acquisition of Japanese. In this way, the motivation and the media for the acquisition of Japanese has drastically changed in the past thirty years. All this social situation surrounding Japanese may have little effect on change of the Japanese language itself. What has changed is the social status of Japanese in the world-wide linguistic market.

(b) On the other hand, the number of foreigners staying in Japan for a long time as well as for temporary visits is steadily increasing. Some of them have a good command of Japanese and conduct their interactions in Japanese. But there are also many foreign residents who have little knowledge of Japanese or who learn the language through interactions with native speakers without attending school (workers, wives of Japanese, etc.). Such speakers are relatively invisible at present, among the large population of native Japanese speakers, and many language problems they face are waiting to be solved. As a part of the solution, The Promotion of Japanese Language Education Act has been promulgated, following the revision of Immigration Law in 2019, which aims to accept foreign workers to cover the workforce shortage in Japan. The language landscape of the places and the website pages of the municipal governments of their residence are manifestation which help remove their invisibility.

The survey on the topic presented in this chapter principally concentrated on the macro-dimension of language problems and language planning. This handbook does not include a chapter on the micro-dimensional language management at contact situations by participants with different native languages. We have an ample accumulation of research papers on foreigner talk and communication strategies, but research on the interactions held, for example, between foreign workers and native Japanese workers, foreign wives and their families, or among non-native foreign workers with different language backgrounds is quite insufficient. Future research on these topics is strongly needed to obtain a full vision of the current language problems encountered in Japan and to inaugurate appropriate language policies for the removal of the problems.

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Subject index

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501501470-023