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VARIATION AND CHANGE IN OSAKA JAPANESE  
HONORIFICS:  
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF DIALECT CONTACT

Anna Strycharz

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Linguistics and English Language

The University of Edinburgh

2011

## Abstract

This thesis is a sociolinguistic investigation into the use of local referent honorific suffixes by speakers of Osaka Japanese (OJ). Its main goal is to add to our understanding of the variation and change in the use of honorification among Japanese speakers, by including a combination of methodologies and frameworks within the scope of one discussion. The analysis covers both local referent honorific suffixes HARU, YARU and YORU, as well as Standard Japanese forms, (RA)RERU and so called special verbs. The main focus, however, is on providing a detailed examination of the local referent honorific suffix HARU. An analysis of the distribution patterns of this honorific allows us to explore (i) ongoing changes in its use across three generations of speakers, and (ii) the indexicality of its meaning in use, including the changing social meanings attached to the form seen in the analysis of interactions, distribution and metapragmatic comments.

The analysis shows that the use of both local and standard honorifics in informal conversations of OJ users is decreasing significantly among younger speakers. However, it also highlights the different linguistic behaviour of young men and young women in this speech community, and links their use of HARU with local linguistic and cultural ideologies, showing how they may be affecting both perceptions and patterns of use of the form.

Additionally, the analysis in this dissertation looks at various levels of linguistic structure, allowing us to explore whether the Osaka honorific system does indeed function as a single system, or whether different forms at different levels of linguistic structure have their own histories and trajectories. The analysis suggests that the honorific resources available to OJ users (both standard and local features) need to be seen as a continuum (cf. Okamoto 1998), rather than separate and distinct systems.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in the analysis. The quantitative analysis investigates the ongoing changes in the frequency of use of HARU, as well as its distribution according to a range of social and linguistic functions. The qualitative analysis suggests that HARU is socially meaningful for the speakers, performing multiple functions in the interpersonal domain of discourse. Combining the two approaches to study Japanese honorifics in naturally occurring conversations is an attempt at bridging the gap between a number of previous studies.

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition, and that it contains no material previously submitted for any other degree of professional qualification. The work reported in this thesis has been executed by myself, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

Anna Strycharz

October 2011

## Acknowledgements

Writing of this thesis was a long journey. It was challenging, inspiring and fun, but at times also lonely and tough. There are a number of people whose continuous loving support and faith made it all possible, and I cannot believe I am now on the finishing line – I would not be here without you.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor and friend Professor Miriam Meyerhoff. Miriam is a truly inspiring person, and I am lucky to have met and worked with her. Thank you for all your help, support and faith in me (even when I had hardly any left), for the challenging conversations and the great chats, and for letting me find my own voice in writing this thesis. But most of all, thank you for being there for me and for teaching me so much about life, people, and science.

I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Mits Ota, for his help in some of the most challenging moments. Thank you for helping me get back on track when I needed it, and for all the support in the final stages of writing this dissertation.

Special thanks go to the funding bodies whose generous financial support made my PhD in Edinburgh possible. My studies were supported by AHRC. The fieldwork was made possible thanks to the support of AHRC Overseas Study Grant, and Toyota-shi Trevelyan Trust.

Special thanks go, of course, to all the amazing people who have shared their Osaka with me. No discussion in this dissertation would exist without them, and it is impossible to explain how much I am grateful to have met you on my journey. I am especially grateful to Naoko Yamauchi and her family, for opening their homes and hearts to me (with special loving thanks to Mayuko and Keisuke, who I hope to hug one day soon). Nao's involvement in data collection, and her input in parts of transcription were a huge help during my fieldwork. Big thanks to the Kaitani family, for your generosity, and for those ten-o'clock drinks (!) in your bar downstairs. I would not have met and talked to half of the people I did, if it wasn't for Tamae and Masakazu Sonohara – thank you for showing me your part of Osaka, for making your home my home and for all the meals and laughs we shared. I am looking forward to more. I am also grateful to have had the opportunity to work at Sango Kindergarten during my second stay in Osaka, where I was lucky to meet a lot of really incredible people, and have an experience like no other. On a slightly different note, huge hugs to Karolina Czapor for taking me to Osaka in the first place, for all the late night talks, crazy bicycle rides and all the rest. And to the three incredible ladies who helped me out in times of need, shared their flats, rooms and beers with me when I needed it most: Danielle Pedi, Tracy Dunnell and Jenny Hall. We are all in different parts of the world now, but I hope to see you all in flesh one day. A night of karaoke is in order.

During my PhD I have been lucky to meet wonderful scholars, who have influenced my thinking in a number of ways. I would like to thank Norma

Mendoza-Denton for inspiration; Cindi Sturtz-Sreetharan for her encouragement and insightful comments on some parts of this dissertation; Shigeko Okamoto for invaluable advice at the beginning of my PhD journey and Kayoko Tsuji for sharing her PhD experiences with me.

Doing a PhD at The University of Edinburgh was a wonderful experience. I was lucky to share offices, corridors and coffees with great people, who have helped me in a number of ways. I would like to express my gratitude to Erik Schleef (now at University of Manchester), Caroline Heycock, Claire Cowie and Ian Astley (in Asian Studies) who have shared their expertise with me. I am also grateful to Ziggy Campbell for all his technical help, and for introducing me to some music I would have not known otherwise. I have been lucky to study together with two amazing women, who made it all much more fun. I am grateful to Agata Daleszyńska, for chats (not only about linguistics), walks, plans and late night beers – we have come a long way and there is more ahead of us, I hope; and to Chie Adachi, for sharing a lot of good and bad moments of our Edinburgh life with me. Special thanks also go to my other colleagues in Edinburgh: Remco Knooihuizen (now at University of Groningen), Ifigenia Papageorgiou, Florence Bonancina and Christina Schmidt and all other members of the Language in Context Research Group.

Outside of the university, there have been a number of people whose presence helped me get to the finishing line. I cannot mention them all, but some deserve a special shout-out. I am grateful to Jan and Nadine Hilmar for... (where do I start?) sharing your mattress, floor, wine, home and hearts. For being one of the most amazing couples I have ever known. To Katie Rutherford for reminding me to breathe. Always. To all of the wonderful dancers and yogis I met along the way, who always remind me to keep calm and keep moving – great advice when writing a PhD. Outside of Edinburgh my gratitude goes to Sara Szydłowski, Monika Sitarz, Ola Piotrowska and Wiktor Fraczak – I hope you all know why.

My biggest thanks go to my family, especially to my wonderful parents, Irena and Jan Strycharz, who taught me passion for knowledge, for people and for life; and to my brother, Jan Strycharz, for his support and love, for sticking up for me, and for always asking the right questions. I would not be here without you.

Finally, to my own wonderful family, who are my rock. To my husband, Paweł Banas, who knows what matters, and helps me keep that in mind. And to my lovely son, Antek, who has been showing me something I have tried hard to convey in this dissertation: that one word can have so many different meanings. I love you both.

The effort that went into writing this dissertation is dedicated to my Dad, who would be very proud to see me on the finishing line.

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# Chapter 1

## 1. Introduction

*Kotoba te yappari ikomono ya kara kawatte iku ya na*  
'Language is a living thing, so it keeps changing'  
(Osaka I, AB, Aki, 00'29'23)

When I first told Aki (50), a good friend of mine who considers himself *honma no Osakajin* 'a true Osakan', that I was going to study Osaka Japanese honorifics he looked at me surprised, then laughed. 'Well that's a tough one', he said. 'Might be hard to find...'. Mayuko (30) frowned and suggested 'Maybe you should look at standard honorifics instead?' Meiko (76) and her friend were excited 'Oh, definitely! Sooo interesting! Very different from standard honorifics.' Who wouldn't want to study something that triggers such a mixed response? A week later I went back to Aki and told him I'd made up my mind and that this was what I wanted to study. He smiled. 'I have been thinking about it. Someone should write about Osaka honorifics. I think they're disappearing, you don't hear people using them so often anymore. But they are an important part of Osaka culture'. He thought for a moment and added 'I'll help you. But you have to look at older and younger people. You know, language is a living thing, it keeps changing'. This was during my second visit to Osaka, in 2006-2007. When I went back to do my fieldwork in 2008 Aki kept his promise and helped. I kept mine and analysed Osaka Japanese honorifics looking at people of different ages. The result of this forms the discussion in this dissertation.

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation of the referent honorifics used by speakers of Osaka Japanese (OJ thereafter) in informal interactions. While in the first part of the analysis I provide an overview of all referent honorific features, in the remainder of the dissertation I focus on what has proven to be the most widely used local referent honorific, namely the verbal suffix HARU. During the course of data collection I became aware that HARU, one of the three local referent honorific suffixes (the other two being YARU and YORU which I will also consider), is overshadowing the use of all other available options. This prevalence of HARU can be noticed on a number of levels, and its wide use, multifunctionality, as well as a number of stereotypes linked with this feature prompted me to concentrate on HARU as the focal point of the discussion in this dissertation.

So far the studies discussing Japanese honorification available in the Anglophone literature, focus mainly on the Standard Japanese honorifics (for some exceptions see e.g. Okamoto 1998), with very little discussion of local honorific systems. Few of the quantitative self-reported studies include the discussion of referent honorifics, but the vast majority of qualitative studies analysing spontaneous interactions focus on addressee honorification (but see Okamoto 1998; Yamaji 2000, 2008 and Dunn 2005 for exceptions). In addition, apart from the Okazaki Survey of Honorifics (National Institute for the Japanese Language and Linguistics 1957, 1983), little has been said about the possible changes in the use and functions of Japanese honorifics in the last decades. Anecdotal evidence suggests a decrease in use of honorification among younger speakers, but no systematic investigation has been carried

out to systematically support these observations with empirical conversational data.

The current study is thus a much needed addition to the existing body of research, drawing on combined approaches and methodologies to fully explore a restricted set of linguistic features. In analysing the use of local honorifics (specifically HARU), I offer a multidisciplinary perspective which will increase our understanding of both the general patterns of use of local honorification, and their interactional function.

### **1.1. Osaka Japanese: Standardization, dialect awareness and the *manzai boom***

Osaka is one of the largest cities in Japan (currently at about 3.7 million daytime population), and has historically come to be known as its commercial capital. Nowadays it is also usually associated with good food and entertainment. Osaka Japanese shares a number of features with the supralocal variety, Kansai Japanese, spoken by people in Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto and the surrounding area. I will now briefly look at the status and vitality of OJ, and its relationship with SJ (hereafter SJ).

The status, perceptions of and attitudes towards Osaka Japanese have been changing quite dramatically over the past few decades. With the introduction of standardised curricula, there was no recognition of dialects in the educational system, and even after WWII this trend continued until the mid 1960s. With changes in the national curricula in the late 1970s, the value of local dialects slowly came to be recognised, and the curriculum

amendments that were introduced suggest taking code-switching to be the norm. Students are then (at least theoretically) taught to use the standard and their own variety according to the differences in the setting, domain or context (Shibatani 1990; Carroll 2001) (I talk about this in more detail in Chapter 3, where I introduce the sociolinguistic motivations for dividing people into age cohorts). Some urban dialects are seen as ‘enjoying a resurgence’ (Carroll 2001:194) as a result of these changes, with increasing locally recognised status and vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977), which can be seen also in the increasing presence of certain varieties of Japanese in the media. OJ is precisely one of the urban dialects, which seems to be highly recognizable outside Osaka (e.g. Onoe 1999). Reports from the participants of this study suggest that while some years ago one would not dare to speak OJ when going on a business trip to Tokyo, for fear of being ridiculed, these days it is not uncommon to find people not only using it, but also people who put on *nisemono no Osaka-ben* ‘fake Osaka accent’, as it usually invokes positive attitudes towards the speaker.

Since the 1980s OJ has been enjoying a revival (Carroll 2001), which has sometimes been linked with the increasing popularity of *manzai* – comic dialogue – occasionally referred to as the *manzai* boom (Inoue 2009). A large entertainment company based in Osaka – Yoshimoto Kogyo – is known for *manzai* performances, and is thought to have introduced Osaka-style *manzai* to audiences outside Osaka. These always feature Osaka-born comedians, who speak in the local variety. Prior to this increase in positive attitudes, the Osaka dialect was often perceived as ‘dirty’ ‘pushy’ or ‘overintrusive’ (Carroll 2001). Interestingly, these attitudes can still be seen in conversations



among the people from the older and middle age cohorts in my corpus, some of whom suggested that Osaka Japanese can be seen as *urusai toka, gara warui toka, kenka shiteru mitai toka* ‘loud, or bad-mannered, or sounds like [they’re] having a fight’ (Osaka I, AB, Aki, 00’31’27)<sup>1</sup>. This stands in quite a visible opposition to the reactions found among younger people, who generally tend to see the local variety as ‘cool’, or one people from other areas try to imitate in order to sound funny.

The increase in perceived popularity of OJ has been picked up on by the media, who have e.g. reported on an *Osaka-ben boom* (Yomiuri Shinbun 1993, reported in Carroll 2001). For example, increasing use of OJ has been reported in TV dramas since the 1970s (Kitamura 1988) and the Japanese version of Sesame Street (which aired for the first time in October 2004) features one character, which does not use SJ – Arthur, a little bird, who speaks in Kansai Japanese (*The Japan Times* 2004). OJ (or Kansai Japanese) is also frequently used in anime and manga. In anime and manga, OJ is usually linked with characters who may not be the brightest, but usually are funny and very resourceful when they get into trouble. When dubbed into English, OJ speakers are often given a Southern US accent (e.g. *Azumanga Daioh*, *Magical Shopkeeping Arcade Abenobashi*).

Recognizable phrases (stereotypes) like *ookini* ‘thank you’ or *maido* ‘hello’ can be found on key rings and mugs sold in Osaka. Outside the apartment building near Nakai Park where I lived there was a vending machine that said *ookini* every time you purchased a drink. This

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<sup>1</sup> The excerpts and quotes in this dissertation that are taken from my corpus are assigned the following identification: (name of the corpus, name of the file, pseudonym of the speakers, time).

commodification is widespread, and gadgets with OJ phrases can also be found in other cities throughout Japan. I have also been told that some students (mostly boys) at a university in Sapporo have been heard to put on Osaka accent when telling jokes (Pawel Dybała, personal communication, February 2007).

While this anecdotal evidence serves as a measure of perceived popularity and high vitality of OJ, there is a simultaneous process which suggests increasing and ongoing standardization. Although OJ is claimed not to be as affected as some other varieties, there are visible influences of incoming standardization – and reports of people using SJ in situations which have traditionally been thought to sanction the use of OJ. Hoshina (1991, quoted in Carroll 2001), for example, discusses a job interview carried out in Osaka, where the director of a broadcasting company asked the local applicants questions using Osaka Japanese, but half of them answered in SJ. And from linguistic research conducted in the 1990s we can observe concerned attitudes of linguists that suggest standardization is taking place, as is illustrated by Inoue's statement:

Fast and steady standardization of language is in progress in Japan today. Dialects are often something to be despised or shameful in Japan. Standard Japanese is thought to be the only form appropriate for decent people. (Inoue 1993:3)

It is then not entirely clear how the increasing presence of OJ in the public sphere (principally education and the media) is intertwined with the 'fast and steady standardization', and how these phenomena affect the everyday use of language. Some of the participants of this study have

reported that they do not use SJ, or that OJ speakers cannot speak SJ. I will further explore these suggestions in Chapter 4.

We are witnessing a revival of OJ, at least in the media. Younger speakers, especially younger men, in the database used for this study identify themselves with this trend, and recognise the direct link of the image of OJ with entertainment, an image which older speakers don't relate to. One of the purposes of this study is to explore the extent to which this affects younger speakers' use of local honorifics. Are those new social meanings (like funny and cool), linked by some speakers with the local variety entering the indexical field of specific linguistic features, namely local honorific suffixes? I will explore some of these issues in the discussion in this dissertation.

## **1.2. Why study local honorifics?**

The current study of local (OJ) honorific structure is an investigation situated on the crossroads between several subfields: it is a study of a local variety (dialectology); a study of honorification (Japanese sociolinguistics); an investigation of language variation and change (variationist sociolinguistics); and a discussion of social meaning indexed by linguistic features (semiotics; interactional sociolinguistics). Drawing on the frameworks and methodologies found in those areas of enquiry, the current study is aimed at bridging some gaps found in previous research, and providing new insights into ways of analysing a single linguistic feature.

Studying the uses of, and changes in, the local honorific system is a linguistically and socially interesting undertaking. Linguistically, it offers us an insight into the possible effects of standardization, or dialect contact. I will argue that it does this on more subtle levels than a simple substitution of a local feature with a standard one on various levels of linguistic structure. As honorifics are intimately tied to the social structure of the society (or, more accurately, the perceived importance of certain elements of social structure), the analysis of their use and changes in their use offers an insight into how these linguistic features are tied to the social realm and the changes happening in society. In other words, we can consider whether (and to what extent) they can be seen as reflecting these changes in any way.

This study will contribute to the field of Japanese dialectology by offering a descriptive account of OJ honorifics based on natural data. Considering the increasing vitality of OJ, the pressing issue of standardization, as well as the social sensitivity of the feature under investigation (honorifics), I consider this an important and timely investigation. Apart from the changing landscape of Japanese cities (increasing urbanization and mobility in the post-war era), a number of social changes have also to be taken into consideration. It has been suggested that Japan, in addition to the more visible economic changes, is undergoing more subtle changes on the level of social structure. Attitudes to various social aspects of the hierarchical organisation of the society have been changing, partly due to the adoption of Western ideas and ideals, with what has often been referred to as ongoing democratization (see Inoue 1999 for a discussion of democratization of honorific structures). The multifaceted

modernization, ongoing since the Meiji restoration, is also seen as changing the ways of thinking and belief systems. This is again especially visible in post-war Japan, where changes have been happening faster than ever before. It is not, however, a matter of simply accepting the Western ways of thinking and Western attitudes wholesale, but a more complex phenomenon (cf. Hayashi & Suzuki 1983), whereby people's beliefs and ways of thinking change rapidly with regards to some areas of life, but not others. Thus, we need also to be careful in analysing social (and, to the extent that we believe linguistic changes to be intertwined with the social, also linguistic) changes as simply a reflection of obscure changes in 'ways of thinking'. To the extent that we believe that linguistic changes are intertwined with the social changes, this is also true of the caution we need to bring to bear in analysing linguistic change, too. The discussion in this dissertation aims to provide concrete evidence for observable changes, and specific explanations are sought (specifically in Chapter 6) for changes in the use of local honorifics as related to the changes in how the speakers understand the relations in the society.

The discussion in this dissertation will also make a contribution to Anglophone sociolinguistics. As most of the previous work discussing local honorification has been done in Japanese, the current study bridges a tradition of Anglophone and Japanese research.

Japanese honorifics are perhaps the most widely studied feature of Japanese language, both in and outside Japan. 'How-to' manuals on the use of *keigo* 'honorific language' for Japanese speakers abound, and there are many explanations and investigations of the Japanese honorific system

available in English. Likewise, Osaka Japanese has been a topic of numerous studies, both linguistic and cultural. It is then interesting that little has been said about the honorific system used by OJ speakers. This study sets out to address this issue.

### **1.3. Research questions and motivations**

With the discussion and analysis in this dissertation I am trying to address several research questions. I will now provide a brief discussion of these questions, starting from the most general ones, through to the most detailed ones. This order of discussion is also reflected in the structure of the dissertation.

- 1) What is the distribution and what are the functions of the local referent honorifics among three generations of users of Osaka Japanese?

To tackle this main research question, several other questions are addressed in the course of this dissertation. I start by discussing all of these features found in my dataset (including SJ and OJ options) looking at their linguistic environment, as well as their socio-pragmatic functions. Even though the focus of this dissertation is on the local forms, including also SJ options available to (and used by) the speakers will allow me a fuller understanding of both the functions of local honorifics, and the possible changes in their use. In the discussion of the linguistic environment, I focus

on the co-occurrence of standard and local referent honorifics with other marked standard and local features on different levels of linguistic structure, following the approach outlined by Okamoto (1998). As I look at the distribution of all of the features, I also begin addressing the question of potential change over time in the use of referent honorifics. These research questions, and the first part of the analysis in this dissertation, introduce the larger context and incorporate all referent honorific options.

Having looked at all of the available referent honorific options, I then focus on one referent honorific option HARU, and analyse the variation and change in its use in the remainder of the discussion. I look at the distribution of this form across the two genders, among speakers with different social networks (local and non-local), and the use across three generations.

In analysing the possibility of an ongoing change I focus not only on the frequency of the use of the feature, but also on the changing meanings that are indexed by HARU. First I focus on the multitude of meanings we can observe in interactions, i.e. I assume a speaker-oriented perspective, and then shift to look at the types of referents it is commonly used with. I include a number of the qualities of the referent or addressee that previous research has indicated are significant in the choice of honorific features (such as age, sex, social position etc.), and analyse their contribution to the probability of the use of HARU across three generations of speakers.

Thus the following sets of questions are addressed in the course of this dissertation:

### **Referent honorifics used by OJ speakers**

- 2) What referent honorific options are used by OJ speakers in informal interactions? What is their distribution and function?
- 3) Are these referent honorifics best analysed as separate features with discrete functions and categories, or do they belong to a larger continuum and are thus interdependent?
- 4) Is there a change over time in the use of all/any of the forms? If yes, which ones and towards what?

### **Variation and change in the use of HARU**

- 5) What is the distribution of HARU across different populations of speakers? Which social factors constrain its use?
- 6) What social meanings are indexed by HARU? Are these meanings homogenous across all groups of speakers?
- 7) Can we identify a change in progress in the use of HARU?
- 8) If there is change, what is the nature of this change? Can we observe change in the frequency of the use of HARU? In the meanings it indexes? In the external factors (referent characteristics) that contribute to its use?

Analysing and discussing the possible ongoing changes in the use of referent honorifics, I situate them both locally, and within the changes happening in the Japanese society at large. Incorporating this social context I follow Labov's claim that '...no change takes place in a social vacuum. Even the most systematic chain shift occurs with a specificity of time and place that demands an explanation' (Labov 1972:2). I will argue that these social



pressures and attitudes are especially pertinent to a study of local honorification.

The variety of questions addressed in this dissertation require a multidisciplinary approach. At various points in the discussion I will therefore apply the quantitative model of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1972, 1994, 2001) to look at the distribution of HARU, and to identify factors that significantly constrain its use. I will also draw on the tools provided by interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982). In addition, I will investigate the meanings indexed by HARU by looking at the link between linguistics and semiotics. This approach to the analysis, drawing on a number of different fields and methods of analysis, is designed to provide a better understanding of the feature I am focussing on, and to show how an analysis incorporating a number of different angles can enrich our understanding of the links between an isolated linguistic feature, speakers who use it, and the society they live in.

Having outlined the main research questions I focus on in this dissertation, I will now briefly discuss the structure of this thesis.

#### **1.4. Structure of the thesis**

This thesis is structured as follows: In Chapter 1 I have introduced the background of the present study, showing also why I consider it to be a timely and important investigation. I have also outlined main research questions which will be answered during the course of the analysis. In Chapter 2 I will introduce the main frameworks and approaches which have

influenced the structure and direction of the discussion in this dissertation. As this study provides an analysis of referent honorification (focussing on one feature in particular), I will introduce the key terminology that can be used to explore the use and meaning of honorification (specifically drawing on that used by Japanese researchers and Western scholars in relation to Japanese honorifics). As honorification is one of the central issues found in Japanese sociolinguistic literature, I will combine some approaches to provide an outline of a framework useful for the discussion in this dissertation. In this Chapter I will also look at two main streams of studies analysing Japanese honorifics: quantitative studies of self-reported use of honorifics, and qualitative investigations into spontaneous interactions. I will establish the main benefits of each of the two approaches and show how I intend to bridge the gap between them. Following this, I will focus on briefly discussing how the present study fits into the variationist paradigm, touching on the concept of studying change over time and the kinds of modifications to the existing paradigm that need to be taken into consideration when applying it to the study of honorifics. Chapter 2 is then intended as a review of the frameworks, approaches and terminology applied in the course of analysis in this dissertation.

Following this, Chapter 3 introduces the methodology of the current study. This study is an attempt at bridging the methodological and analytical gaps identified in previous studies dealing with honorifics. While quantitative studies rely on self-reported data, and qualitative investigations focus on naturally occurring interactions, I use both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to analyse spontaneous interactions. This allows

me to look at one dataset using both top-down (thus including larger social categories pointed to in previous research) and bottom-up (including the analysis of functions in interaction, metapragmatic comments and speakers' perceptions and attitudes) approach.

In the first part of Chapter 3, I discuss a number of issues involved in organizing and conducting the fieldwork, and motivate my decision to use spontaneous interactions collected from a self-selected sample of speakers. I also show how I limited the database analysed in this dissertation, including only those interactions which were conducted during a second (or sometimes third) recording session with participants. This allowed me to significantly reduce the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972). This was an important task, as I was not only a researcher, but also very visibly an outsider – I am not Japanese. In this chapter I also describe the sample, explaining how I divided the speakers into age groups, taking into consideration their chronological age, but also a number of other factors (following the approach suggested by e.g. Dubois & Horvath 1999). In the second part of the Chapter 3, I focus on how I prepared the data for the quantitative distributional and multivariate analyses. I discuss in detail the variable context and provide examples and motivations for my decisions.

The first part of Chapter 4 provides an overview of the dataset: what forms occur in the corpus, how often are they used and by whom. I look at the relative distribution of all forms, i.e. all referent honorifics, across speakers by gender and age and show that both the frequency and range of forms are decreasing over time. Following this I focus on the discussion of the co-occurrence of referent honorifics with other marked local and

standard linguistic features. This allows me to discuss the notion of variant choice (Okamoto 1998) or mixed-codes, and suggest that there is high variability in the choice of features (local and standard) in the speech of OJ users. I show that speakers choose from a wide continuum of features, and that this suggests the interdependence of local and standard forms, including referent honorifics. Following this I look at the functions of each form in turn (starting with the standard honorifics, then moving on to the local forms) strengthening the argument that they need to be seen as interrelated, rather than as entirely separate features. In the course of analysing the interactional functions of various referent honorifics I point to the multifunctionality of HARU. As the form with the largest scope of use, its functions are hard to capture in such a brief discussion, and without looking at different populations of speakers. Therefore, having established that we are observing changes in the use of referent honorifics, I move on to focussing on HARU in the remainder of the dissertation.

There are two distinct angles of analysis of HARU I present in this dissertation: a speaker-centred analysis, with the focus on the distribution and use of the form among different populations of speakers, and a referent-centred analysis, looking at the change in the function of HARU over time. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the distribution, use of and attitudes towards this local referent honorific across three age cohorts of OJ users. I provide an apparent time picture of the use of the form, showing a decrease in its use across generations, specifically for some cohorts of speakers, with the exception of locally networked young men, who may possibly be recycling (Dubois & Horvath 1999) the form. I show that the change in the

use of HARU is not only reflected in the decreasing frequency of its use, but also the changing grammar such that the form is increasingly likely to be used in conjunction with addressee honorifics. The focal point of this chapter, however, is the social meanings linked with HARU, which can be seen to change across different groups of speakers. To discuss these meanings I invoke the notion of indexicality (Abercrombie 1967; Ochs 1992; Silverstein 1976, 2003; Eckert 2008). I trace how the referential and indexical meanings of this honorific coexist, looking both at the use of HARU in interactions and at the metapragmatic comments about HARU provided by the speakers themselves. I also show how the changing meanings of this feature can be linked with the changes observed in its use over time.

In Chapter 6, I assume a referent-centred perspective, analysing the use of HARU over time focussing on its function, i.e. what type of referent it is used with. I provide a distributional and multivariate analysis, looking at the same set of referent characteristics (age, sex, degree of familiarity, social position and specificity) for all three age cohorts, and I analyse the relative contribution of these external factors to the probability of use of HARU. In so doing, I trace how the function of this honorific is changing over time, discussing the observable changes against some changes in the structure of the Japanese society. Here I return to underlining the importance of looking at the changes we observe within the local social context. Chapters 5 and 6 thus provide a comprehensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the use and changes in the use of the most common referent honorific found in spontaneous interactions of OJ speakers.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides a conclusion, final remarks and a summary of findings. I discuss the importance of this study, and suggest further key points and areas of investigation arising from presented findings.

## Chapter 2

### 2. Literature review: theoretical frameworks and previous research

For every sociolinguistic project, the framework and methodologies employed need to be informed by the research questions pertaining to the data under investigation. It is, however, often impossible to tell from the onset whether the methods and frameworks that have been chosen prior to data collection will indeed be ones most suitable for analysing the kind of data we obtain. This is especially the case when the data comes from recordings of natural interactions obtained by the researcher herself (as opposed to elicitation techniques, questionnaires or working from already existing corpora). Such is the case with this dissertation. My decisions regarding data analysis had to be modified in the process of the fieldwork and after completing it. The original aim to analyse the distribution of predicate referent honorifics relied heavily on there being variation between OJ and SJ variants. The sociolinguistic situation, however, turned out to be more complex and the approaches had to be modified accordingly, as it turned out that a more intriguing (although unarguably more difficult) question to ask first is not *which* honorific to use, but rather *whether* to use one at all. During the course of fieldwork it also became clear that the meaning of honorifics used by OJ speakers, as well as their function and grammar, are changing across generations. These issues have become my primary interest, and the focus of enquiry.

To be able to attempt this kind of investigation I needed to do two things primarily: (i) modify the variationist approach I had intended to employ (see Chapter 3, section 3.7), and (ii) incorporate an analysis from a number of different angles (both top-down, and bottom-up), including quantitative distributional analysis, analysis of the function of forms in interaction, as well as investigation of social meanings of the forms.

An investigation into the use of OJ referent honorifics provides a fascinating area, in which we can explore the influence and correlation of both linguistic and social factors. The long history of contact with Standard Japanese (and ongoing standardization) needs to be taken into account, as well as the local prestige and vitality of the local variety. In addition, studying honorifics allows us to analyse a feature intimately tied with the social order, and explore the social meaning of linguistic variation and change.

This chapter outlines the theoretical frameworks underpinning the investigation, and the methodologies involved both in the data collection, and in the data analysis. In Chapter 1, I provided the background for the discussion with a look at Osaka Japanese, its vitality and perceptions that surround it, as well as a brief history of contact with Standard Japanese. Now I will therefore discuss the approaches applied in previous similar studies, and show how the current discussion fits into the existing debate on honorifics, dialect contact and language variation and change.

There are two distinct trains of thought that run through this chapter, and that mirror the two areas of linguistic enquiry relevant to the discussion in this dissertation. As I set out to analyse the use, variation and change in OJ



honorifics, the discussion needs to be informed by two fields: the study of Japanese honorification and the study of language variation. A number of different approaches are combined in this dissertation to obtain a comprehensive analysis of the local referent honorifics (see Chapter 3, section 3.6), but in this chapter I focus on bringing in the discussions from the fields I have mentioned above, and show what frameworks have been applied in previous research, how they are useful in the current analysis and what kinds of hypotheses we can draw based on these discussions.

This chapter is structured as follows: first, I will explain the choice of features I am focussing on in this dissertation (2.1); I will then review previous research on Japanese honorifics (2.2), and contextualise my discussion as an investigation of variation and change within the variationist framework (2.3). Finally I will briefly discuss why I find the study of variation and change in Osaka Japanese honorifics an important and timely investigation (2.4).

## **2.1. The choice of features**

For the detailed analysis and discussion in this dissertation I have chose to focus on the following features:

- Referent honorific suffix V+HARU
- Referent honorific suffix V+YARU
- Antihonorific suffix V+YORU

All three forms are found in OJ with some also present in other dialects of the Kansai region. The initial aim to analyse the variation between SJ and OJ referent honorifics was dropped due to a small number of tokens of SJ honorifics (as can be seen in Table 2.1), mostly occurring in formulaic expressions, or within the first 15-20 minutes of the conversation. However, I take note of the use of SJ honorifics and discuss the socio-pragmatic differences between the SJ and OJ forms, as this also seems to be a relevant part of the analysis of referent honorific resources available to the speakers of OJ (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). Metalinguistic comments from the speakers in the sample suggest that the use of SJ honorifics among Osaka speakers is highly restricted, and present predominantly in formal settings (job interviews etc.). Since my primary interest lies in the local forms, the dataset I collected consists of spontaneous conversations in informal settings (see also Chapter 3, section 3.3), thus it may be unsurprising that there is such a small number of SJ honorific tokens in the dataset.

Form	SJ: V+(ra)reru	SJ: Suppletive (special) verbs	OJ: V+yoru	OJ: V+yaru	OJ: V+haru	Total
Number of occurrences	17	17	15	14	381	444

*Table 2.1. Number of occurrences of all subject referent honorific features in the corpus*

The number of verbs suffixed with YARU and YORU is also low (14 and 15 respectively), but these two forms are included in the analysis for several reasons: (i) they are a part of the local honorific system, and are vital to the discussion of the system as a whole, (ii) all of these features are highly recognisable, and therefore even a single use can be seen as socially

meaningful (cf. Dines 1984), and (iii) the functions of YARU and HARU seem to be converging, with the youngest speakers using HARU as the main resource to express referent honorification (in informal interactions).

Restricting the number of features has led to a much more detailed analysis of the three forms, with most attention focusing on the use of HARU as the form overshadowing all the others.

Previous studies into the use of honorifics in Japanese generally fall into one of the two categories: those analysing the use in interaction in a qualitative way (see section 2.3.5.2 below), or those investigating the distribution of forms using quantitative methods based on self-reported surveys (see section 2.3.5.1 below). In this dissertation I set out to combine the two approaches (quantitative and qualitative) to look at the social and functional explanations of the distributional patterns observed in the spontaneously occurring interactions. I also take into account the ‘vernacular’ understanding of honorifics (cf. Wetzel and Inoue 1999) manifested in metapragmatic discourse, which has been shown to often provide another layer of understanding of the observed patterns of variation (see e.g. Johnstone and Kiesling 2008; also see Agha 2002 on metapragmatic typifications with regards to honorifics).

## **2.2. Investigating Japanese honorifics: definitions and methods**

The term ‘honorifics’ usually refers to certain linguistic features that have often been described as signifying deference, respect or social distance towards the nominal addressee (addressee honorifics) or the referent

(referent honorifics) of a given utterance (e.g. Harada 1976; Ide 1982; Makino & Tsutsui 1986; Niyekawa 1990; Shibatani 1990, 2006; Huszcza 2006).

The honorific system is an 'integral component of the politeness dimension of language use' (Shibatani 2006:381); it can therefore be found in virtually all languages as different ways of expressing various dimensions of politeness. There are, however, significant differences when analysing politeness in languages that don't have a fully developed honorific systems and the ones that do (such as e.g. Japanese, Korean, Javanese). In languages like Japanese, honorifics constitute a complex system embedded in the linguistic system itself (in the Osaka variety it is a set of verbal suffixes). They can therefore involve different lexical or morphological elements, thus being present (or indeed absent) on multiple layers of linguistic structure. It is therefore important to understand that in languages with well-developed honorific systems, honorification is (or can be) present on all levels of linguistic structure, and all (or most) utterances have a (non) honorific message incorporated in them. This suggests that both the use and non-use of grammatically encoded honorification is always of some importance, and that every utterance contains information about some level of the *speaker:addressee* or *speaker:referent* relationship (or both). I will consider some examples below.

There are a number of available classifications, proposed both by Japanese and Western scholars with regards to honorification, as well as a number of approaches to analysing this phenomenon. Much, of course, depends on the goal of the given investigation. In the following part of this chapter I will focus on briefly discussing the classifications of honorifics,

introducing the terminology and divisions used throughout the dissertation. I will then look at the methods employed in previous research and show how the current study can enrich our understanding of honorification, based on the example of Osaka Japanese referent honorifics.

### **2.2.1. Definitions and classifications of honorifics**

There are numerous classifications of honorifics (*keigo*) and a large body of research on Japanese language focuses on this highly complex phenomenon. There is also a long tradition in Japanese linguistics of the normative description of honorifics, focussing mainly on their correct usage (e.g. dictionaries, manuals). In this section I will combine a number of approaches to develop a comprehensive classification of honorification that will be useful for the purpose of this dissertation. The terminology used and explained in this section is used throughout the dissertation.

The term 'honorifics' when used in this dissertation is meant to include all forms that stand in opposition to plain forms in Japanese, and no differentiation between the 'polite' and 'honorific' forms is therefore introduced (unlike in e.g. Alfonso 1989). Following numerous other researchers (e.g. Okamoto, Cook, Yoshida & Sakurai) I will refer to all non-plain forms as honorific. All forms of honorification are included in this term, and the various levels of speech are analysed in terms of *plain vs. honorific* (i.e. non-plain) opposition.

Throughout the discussion in this dissertation I will then use the term 'honorifics' to refer to any non-plain forms, regardless of whether or not they

prescriptively are thought to encode a higher status of the referent. While in a number of discussions of Japanese honorific system it is an accepted norm to restrict the meaning of the term 'honorifics' to refer only to those grammatical features that encode the higher status, it is also problematic to apply this to the use of HARU, as we will see in Chapter 6. I will therefore suggest that while the term honorifics may be ideologically applied to those features that encode status difference, it does not necessarily mean that they encode a higher status of the referent or addressee. For my purposes in the analysis I will therefore use the term 'honorifics' in a broader sense, similar to that used by Comrie (1976) and Levinson (1983), and what has been termed *keigo* in Japanese.

With the numerous honorific options available it is not surprising that there is a wide choice of politeness levels available for a Japanese speaker. But since this dissertation focuses on a limited number of features, it seems appropriate to introduce only a broad divide, without necessarily dividing it further into various levels of honorification or politeness.

Ide (1982) divides honorifics into two kinds: (i) those involving a change in nominal referents (much like the politeness expressed in e.g. address forms) and (ii) those involving a change in predicative elements. The first group consists of personal pronouns, titles (*-sama, -san, -chan* etc.), professional ranks (*sensei, shachoo* etc.) and honorific prefixes used with nouns referring to objects (*o-* and *go-*). As the focus of this dissertation is honorific forms involving predicative elements, I will now review those (i.e. predicative) honorifics in a little more detail, since there have been a number of ways in which they can be classified, described and talked about.

Honorifics expressed by means of changing the shape of predicative elements can be broadly divided into two types: referent honorifics (sometimes called *sonjoogo*) and addressee honorifics (*teineigo*), often referred to as polite language (Ide 1982; Miller 1967; Shibatani 1990). These two kinds of predicate honorifics are controlled by two different kinds of relationships (*speaker:referent* and *speaker:addressee* respectively), and it has been suggested that they can therefore (at least theoretically) be used independently of one another (e.g. Shibatani 1990). I will argue in the analysis that this is not necessarily the case, and, following e.g. Okamoto (1998) and Yamaji (2002), suggest that the two need to be seen as interdependent.

#### **2.2.1.1. Referent honorifics**

Referent honorifics are said to be used when the NP of the sentence refers *to someone toward whom respect is due*, who may be but does not have to be the addressee (Harada 1976; Ide 1982; Miler 1967; Shibatani 1990). Referent honorifics can be further divided into referent subject honorifics and referent object honorifics.

Referent subject honorifics (*sonkeigo*) are used when the referent is a person toward whom the speaker is expected to 'show great respect' (Ide 1999:450). They are therefore used when the speaker is being respectful towards the referent, but can also be used when talking about the referent's relatives, possessions etc. (e.g. Huszcza 2006), in other words they are used to 'honour' (cf. Loveday 1986) anyone or anything that belongs to her

immediate surroundings. In Standard Japanese we can find the following referent subject honorific constructions:

- Periphrastic construction: *o/go + V + ni naru*, as in Example 2.1
- *V + (ra)reru* (homophonous with the passive suffix), as in Example 2.2
- Certain separate suppletive verb forms (sometimes referred to as ‘special verbs’)

(2.1) Sensei ga o-warai ni nat-ta  
teacher NOM HON-laugh ADV become-PAST  
*The teacher laughed*

(2.2) Sensei ga warawa-re-ta  
teacher NOM laugh-HON-PAST  
*The teacher laughed*

(Shibatani 1990:376)

In Osaka Japanese we can find the following referent honorific suffixes:

- V+HARU
- V+YARU
- V+YORU

The function of the first two forms (especially HARU) is often compared to the function of SJ honorific suffix *(ra)reru*, and the dictionaries (e.g. Horii 1995) suggest that the two are each other’s (standard and local) counterparts. I will suggest in further discussion that this is not necessarily the case, and that while the SJ and OJ forms might indeed be classified as



referent honorifics, the functions they fulfil in the speech of OJ users differ considerably (see Chapter 4)<sup>2</sup>.

Referent object honorifics (*kenjoogo*) occur in connection with non-subject NPs. These are sometimes also referred to as humbling language/humbling expressions (e.g. Coulmas 1992; Wetzel 2004), as they are intended to show deference towards the referent of the utterance by humbling oneself.

Referent honorifics are canonically described as being used when marking a distinction between an out-group referent and in-group referent – thus *sonkeigo* is used when indexing an out-group member (to whom respect is due), whilst *kenjoogo* when indexing an in-group member (Wetzel 1984; Shibatani 1990; in section 2.2.3.5 below I review this distinction in more detail, and Chapters 5 and 6 offer a critical application of the in/out-group membership as a factor in the analysis of OJ referent honorifics). They are, however, also used when indicating status difference (hierarchy) as well as when indicating high formality of a situation. Formality of the situation in Osaka is indeed thought, at least prescriptively, to be marked by the use of SJ referent honorification (e.g. Palter & Horiuchi 1993). The use of local referent honorifics, however, is not as clearly linked with specific kinds of situations (e.g. more formal contexts than others) as use of SJ honorifics is, and, ideologically at least, their use is seen as fulfilling different functions (for a detailed account see section 2.2.2). It is then unclear to what extent we can

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<sup>2</sup> I have discussed in other work (Strycharz 2009) the socio-pragmatic differences between the two forms, and the problems associated with analysing them as two variants/realizations of underlying ‘referent honorification’. In Chapter 4 I argue that the two (SJ and OJ honorifics) should not be seen as counterparts, as they fulfil different functions.

actually apply the rules that have been suggested to govern SJ honorification as an explanatory tool in investigating OJ honorification. I will return to this issue in Chapters 4 and 6.

#### **2.2.1.2. Addressee honorifics**

Addressee honorifics (*teineigo*), sometimes also called polite language (e.g. Alfonso 1989), index the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, who is also the addressee, when the speaker's respectful attitude towards the addressee is expressed (Miller 1967; Ide 1982; Shibatani 1990). As Shibatani (1990) points out, this kind of honorification is much more widespread, and also found in languages which don't have an otherwise developed honorific system – one example being the use of T/V pronouns in European languages (Brown & Gilman 1968). Addressee honorifics are also normally used to index a general level of politeness between non-intimates (Meyes 2003). They are applied independently of the referent honorific (at least theoretically), and are used to signify the *speaker:addressee* relationship. In the work of e.g. Kikuchi (1994) *teineigo* (polite language / addressee honorifics) is described as being used when speaking '*teinei ni*' (in a polite way). Even though the main focus of this dissertation are local referent honorifics, I will look briefly at the way OJ speakers use addressee honorifics as well, and critically approach the proposition that these forms are used as markers of broadly defined politeness.

There is therefore a visible divide between referent honorifics, which are meant to index respect to some other (either by exalting the other or

humbling the self), and addressee honorifics, which seem to index general politeness. This general divide, however, takes into account the workings of honorification within one variety (in most cases SJ) – the situation is complicated further when there are two varieties in contact with one another, both of which have their own separate honorific systems.

For the purpose of current analysis (and adapting the terminology from both Japanese and Western scholars), we can therefore broadly divide honorifics into the following:

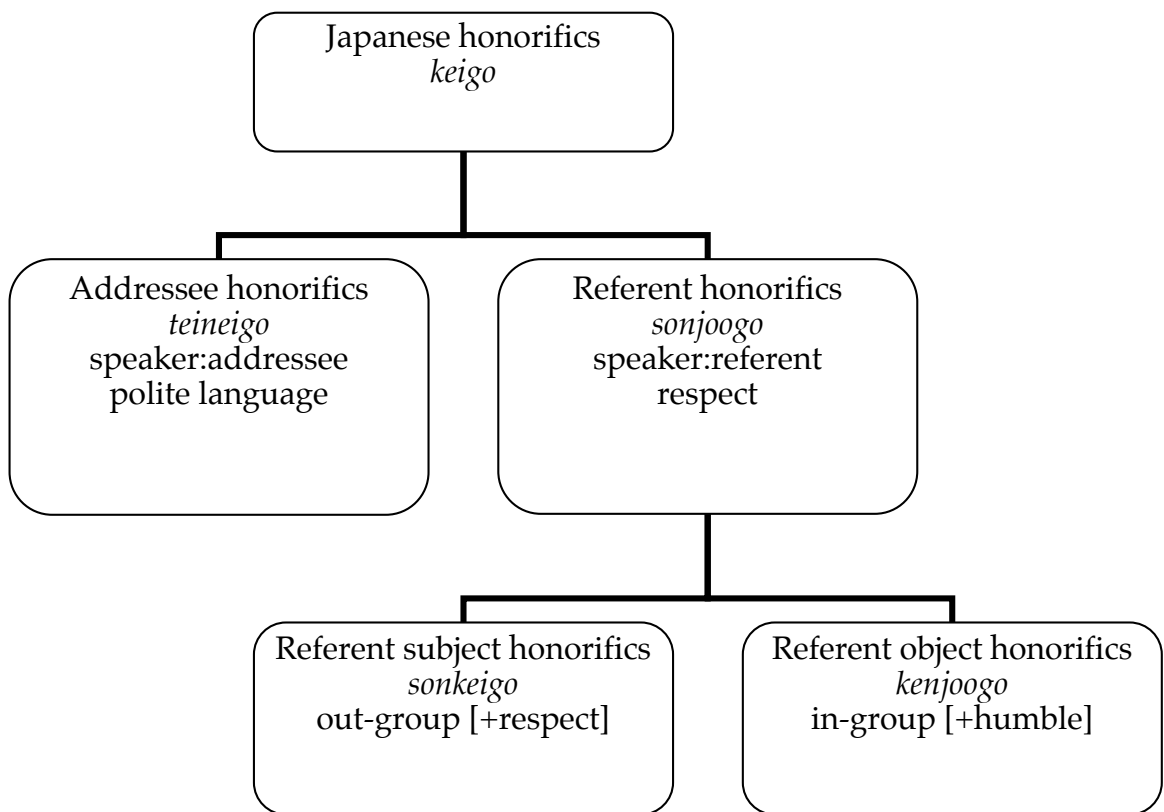


Figure 2.1. General division of predicative honorification in Japanese

Figure 2.1 provides a general division of Japanese honorifics, focussing on the honorific domain. The terminology used for the description of the relationships is drawn from a number of accounts of honorification, both Western and Japanese. As has been suggested, addressee honorification and referent honorification are represented as two separate domains,

controlled (at least theoretically) by two different types of relationships: *speaker:addressee* and *speaker:referent*. Referent honorifics are said to signify respect towards a referent of the utterance. This can be done in one of the two ways, using either referent subject honorification or referent object honorification. Referent subject honorifics are marked on the verb that describes an action of the subject, who is a referent. Referent object honorifics are marked on the verb that describes the speaker, thus using referent object honorification is a way of expressing respect by humbling the self. The forms I am focussing on in this dissertation can be classified as referent subject honorifics.

Although it has been said that referent honorifics and addressee honorifics are generally controlled by two different kinds of relationships, and can therefore be applied independently of one another, in reality the two are also 'governed by a general requirement of concord and harmony' (Shibatani 1990:377), and therefore are often influenced by one another. In this dissertation I take note of Shibatani's suggestion, as well as those presented in other research (see e.g. Yamaji 2000, 2008), and even though my main focus is referent honorifics I analyse them also from a *speaker:addressee* perspective. I will also briefly discuss the correlations between the use of referent and addressee honorifics, to be able to understand the actual function of both forms of honorification in the speech of OJ users, and their relationship with one another.

I will now discuss the OJ honorific system, with reference to the above frameworks and divisions, and suggest that in analysing local honorific systems we need to bear in mind both the different trajectory of local

variants from SJ variants, and their relationship with the SJ honorifics.

### 2.2.2. Osaka Japanese honorific system

Osaka Japanese is one of the dialects that have their own system of honorific suffixes. Kato (1973), cited in Miyaji (1996) suggests that with regards to the presence of *keigo* in local dialects, Japan can be roughly divided into two areas: the part where there is no local *keigo*, that is the coast of Pacific from Fukushima to Shizuoka, and the area of Kii Peninsula, and the rest of Japan, where some form of local honorification is present. Western Japan is thought of overall as an area with a number of local honorific features (Miyaji 1996). One of the features that stand out in the Osaka variety are the local referent honorific suffixes, the main focus of this dissertation. Historically, the use of *keigo* was associated with Kansai dialect, specifically with the speech of people from Kyoto and the area. Kanto dialect (the area of present-day Tokyo) did not have *keigo*.

Some sources (e.g. Sato 2003) suggest that there exists a local form for the addressee honorific/ polite copula form, i.e. OJ *dasu* for SJ *desu*. Okamoto (1998) suggests this form has become obsolete, and this is supported by the fact that there are no occurrences of *dasu* in my corpus. I therefore focus on analysing the referent honorific suffixes, which have been attested as the most common honorific (i.e. relational) strategies, both when addressing and referring to other people, in previous research (e.g. Miyaji 1987, 1996; Seiichi 1992), and also can be found in the speech of OJ users in my database. These are the forms I identified in section 2.1, i.e. the referent honorific verbal

suffixes HARU and YARU and what has been termed an antihonorific (or minus honorific) form YORU.

Previous research into the use of local honorifics consists almost entirely of self-reported surveys usually conducted on a large scale (cf. sections 2.2.4.1 and 2.2.4.2 below), the approach stemming from traditional dialectological surveys. While all of those studies confirm that in Osaka HARU is indeed the main strategy to express honorification, followed by either YARU (Miyaji 1987) or the SJ suffix *(ra)reru* (Seiichi 1992), they don't necessarily agree as to the function of the forms, and their use with regards to different addressees and referents. Thus Miyaji's study reports that people use HARU mostly to refer to a third person, and occasionally also to address, while Seiichi claims that HARU is used both for referents and addressees, but in the case of the addressee it has a larger scope of use: it is used to address people of higher and equal status, while as a reference term it is only used for people of higher social status. To refer to people of the same status respondents in Seiichi's study offer the option of a plain form or YARU. Both studies show that YARU and YORU are only used to refer to a third person, while SJ referent honorifics appear mostly as forms of address (but not exclusively in Miyaji's data).

We can then see that even self-reported studies do not render the same results with regards to the use of referent honorifics available to OJ users. I will therefore look at all the forms suggested as available to OJ users (i.e. the three local referent suffixes, and SJ referent honorific options), and suggest that they cannot be fully understood by looking at them as independent features. I will also claim that while the surveys have given us

useful data in terms of understanding what forms are available to the speakers, they cannot explain the wide array of functions these forms perform in interaction.

As very little research has been done in the area of local honorifics, I will now review studies that look at Japanese honorifics in general, to show how we can approach the current study. As the majority of previous research into OJ honorific features claims that the main forms (HARU and YARU) can be seen in some way as ways of expressing respect for the referent for whom respect is due, I will start by looking at the social factors that have been described as governing the use of honorifics. In other words, I will briefly discuss which social factors are seen as those that render the referent worthy of respect.

All of these social factors have, in one way or another, been present in the discussions of honorification. As I try to give a comprehensive view of local honorifics, I will attempt to include a number of these factors in the further discussion and analysis, or explain why I do not consider their explanatory power as useful in this discussion.

### **2.2.2. Normative use of honorifics: social factors**

Shibatani (2006) argues that in any discussion of honorifics one needs to include two components – their grammatical structure, as well as their actual usage from a pragmatic or sociolinguistic perspective. It is therefore necessary to incorporate those two approaches when describing and analysing the use and non-use of honorifics, as the description of honorifics

as grammatical forms only does not allow a full understanding of their complexity or socio-cultural value. Incorporating the pragmatic and sociolinguistic description of honorifics is a step towards understanding their interactional use in real life, their various non-canonical uses, and an attempt to appreciate the array of meanings they can be used to convey. This section of my dissertation focuses on the social forces that have canonically been associated with the use of honorification. In the discussion in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I will refer to some of these factors in analysing the use of local (and, occasionally, standard) honorifics.

Since honorifics constitute a core of polite behaviour (Brown and Levinson 1987) there are a number of social factors that govern their use or non-use. In the previous part of this chapter we have seen that for the most part the prescriptive works dealing with the use of honorifics mention 'politeness' and 'respect' as factors important in the choice whether or not to use honorifics. I will now look at specific social factors that are thought to determine whether or not one should be 'polite' or 'respectful' towards the addressee or the referent. The prevailing ones, usually mentioned in any analysis of Japanese honorifics are:

- Social position
- Power
- Age
- Sex
- Degree of intimacy
- Formality of the situation

Ide (1982) describes some of these factors in terms of a set of 'ground



rules', and suggests there is a ranking of rules, whereby if 'rules come into conflict, one of the rules usually has dominance over the others' (1982: 369). The ranking, however, is different with regards to the addressee than to the referent. With regards to the *speaker:addressee* relationship the ranking is power > social position > age; while for the *speaker:referent* relationship it is social position > age > power. Martin (1964) suggests the following ordering for the *speaker:addressee* relationship: out-groupness > social position > sex difference > age, while for the *speaker:referent* he proposes it is social position > age > sex difference > out-groupness. I will return to these rankings in the analysis of the distribution of HARU in natural interactions in Chapter 6. As Ide and Martin are discussing SJ honorification, it is an interesting question whether the same rules are at play when we consider local honorifics. I will therefore discuss some of the factors applicable in the analysis of local referent honorifics, and show how local referent honorifics relate to the SJ ones. I will also suggest that generalizations such as Ide's and Martin's, while undoubtedly helpful and informative with regards to ideologies, are not always in line with the actual use of linguistic features.

An overriding factor determining the use of honorifics seems to be that of *formality* (Martin 1964; Ide 1982; Shibatani 2006). It has been suggested that in a formal situation the use of honorifics is required from all interactants, regardless of whether or not speakers would use honorifics in a different setting. Therefore otherwise intimate co-workers, who on a daily basis use plain forms to one another, will (theoretically, at least) use honorifics when in a formal meeting or a conference. The formality of a situation is far more context-dependent than all the other previously

mentioned factors, and as such is not permanent. Other than the social setting, such a meeting or a conference, other factors such as a topic or channel of communication can be an incentive to use more formal (honorific) forms. If we follow the suggestion that once formality is at play it overrides all the other factors, an interesting question arises: what about all the other factors in situations where formality plays a minimal role, or no role at all?

As the conversations in my corpus are primarily ones that can be described (in general) as informal they provide an excellent source for analysing some of the other factors mentioned above, while controlling for formality. I therefore leave formality out of the equation, and look into the workings of some other social factors discussed below (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2 for the discussion of social factors characterizing the speakers, Chapter 6, section 6.1.2 for the social factors defining the referent or addressee, and Chapter 6, sections 6.3-4 for the analysis of those).

The claim that there is a ranking of rules governing the use of honorifics is an important suggestion; I therefore partially test it empirically using quantitative methods (Chapter 6), and discuss it in the qualitative investigation (Chapters 4 and 5). For the quantitative analysis I include the following factors: age, sex difference, social status difference and the degree of familiarity, which informs the workings of in- and out-group classification. I believe power (aside from being manifested in the social status difference) is much more often a matter of fine interactional moves, and needs to be looked into from a bottom-up perspective, as the power relations may change multiple times within one interaction. It is therefore not coded for in the quantitative part of my analysis.

Before briefly describing how these factors are used in explanations of honorific use, and what their relationship to one another is and to the larger social structures of the society, I will refer to one more concept that is often evoked in discussing Japanese honorifics – namely, *wakimae*. *Wakimae*, or discernment, has been suggested as a notion for explaining the use of honorifics in Japanese society. It has been offered as a counter-proposal to the politeness framework of Brown & Levinson (Hill et al. 1986; Matsumoto 1988, 1989; Ide 1989, 1992). *Wakimae* is understood as ‘social norms according to which people are expected to behave in order to be appropriate in the society they live’ (Ide 1992:298). It is a kind of social conduct, that is ‘intrinsically obligatory and situation bound’ (Ide 1992:299), and stands in opposition to the ‘volitional’ use of politeness, i.e. where use of politeness is determined by speakers’ intentions and strategic choices. Thus it would seem that speakers use forms that reflect their social relationships to the addressee or the referent, and have therefore very little possibility to manipulate the use and non-use of honorifics. It has been claimed, that this kind of politeness is ‘dominant in honorific languages’ (Ide 1992:298). We can then assume that the use of honorifics according to *wakimae* represents normative (and perhaps often expected) social behaviour, but in naturally occurring conversations, speakers do use honorifics (or choose not to use them) for other reasons, ones that can be seen as volitional or strategic (Brown & Levinson 1987). Again, however, the question that emerges when we have not one but two honorific systems at our disposal, is that of their relationship to one another. If speakers are to act (even in purely theoretical sense)

according to the rules of social conduct, which honorific forms should they use?

All the factors determining the use or non-use of honorifics are in some way interrelated, and more often than not in natural situations there is more than one of them involved. It is therefore important to bear in mind that, while we can separately investigate for example the contribution of certain external factors to the use of honorification, the reality of social interactions is much more complex. It is likely that in real life people choose the use or non-use of honorification in response to more than one factor, for instance age and social position. We also need to remember that very often the social factors we use to categorise speakers are intimately tied to one another (see also Gumperz 1982).

What follows is a discussion of the main social factors that control the degree of politeness and hence the use of honorifics, as they have been mentioned by a number of researchers and Japanese scholars. Even though a growing body of research, especially more recent work conducted in a more constructivist vein, has suggested that these factors do not satisfactorily explain the use of honorifics in spontaneous interactions (see section 2.2.4.2 below), it seems logical to assume the existence of readily available norms shared by the interactants. Such norms may be exploited in a number of ways by the speakers, the rules may be broken to achieve certain interactional goals, or there may be other factors at play that are more important in any given moment of an interaction that will not allow an analysis based on the factors reviewed below. More often than not, the spontaneous, natural use of honorifics does not lend itself to a

straightforward analysis. However, it is important to understand these socially accepted norms to be able to further analyse the use of particular forms against the available canon. What follows is therefore not a comprehensive analysis, but a brief review of most commonly cited social factors, ones upon which the 'normative' uses of honorifics are based.

### **2.2.3.1. Power**

Brown and Gilman (1960) define two factors that determine the use of honorifics – power and solidarity, *power* being the one characterizing the superior-inferior relationship. As this operationalisation of power already assumes that it is based on some asymmetry in the social rank, thus we need to account for the relative social position, the application of it as an explanatory factor for the use of Japanese honorifics is not straightforward.

Apart from power tied with social position, we can observe the kind of power which is not permanent, and is highly dependent on the given context, but which also determines the level of politeness used in interaction (Ide 1982; see also Brown & Levinson 1987). Power can then be determined on a number of different levels. This kind of power then may be difficult to employ as an explanatory tool in interactions, as the use of honorifics (or the lack of use) may be either an outcome of this, or one of the constitutive elements employed to manipulate power in a relationship or interaction. Therefore, I do not make use of the concept of power in explaining the workings of local honorifics.

Additionally, power and social position seem difficult to disentangle,

and often it seems they go hand in hand (or are actually the same thing). In the quantitative analysis I have therefore coded the relative social position of the interactants, to check whether this is an important factor in the use of local referent honorifics.

### **2.2.3.2. Social position**

Relative social position of the participants is one of the factors which is most likely to be marked with honorifics. The understanding and judgement of social position may differ from community to community, much depending on the actual social structure of a given group. Japanese society is often described as one based on hierarchy (Nakane 1970; Lebra 1976; Hendry 2003). People in a high (or higher) social position are therefore addressed or referred to with a higher degree of politeness, the realization of which is seen in the use of honorifics. A prime example for Japanese society is the emperor and his family, who are always referred to in the media with the use of high honorifics.

Another honorific pattern we can relate to the understanding of social hierarchy (Shibatani 2006) can be observed in Japanese mostly in settings where rank plays an important role, such as workplaces, universities etc. In such settings, 'a person who holds a higher rank has power over a lower-rank person' (Ide 1982:367). It is then a combination of power and social position, it appears, that governs the use or non-use of honorifics in these kinds of situations. We can find numerous examples of rank (and through that also power) playing an important role in linguistic behaviour in

Japanese society (for a more thorough discussion see e.g. Nakane 1970; Adachi & Strycharz 2009 and also Chapter 6 in this dissertation).

In his account of honorification from a grammatical perspective, Harada (1976) argues that the use of honorification is governed by the existence of a socially superior subject NP. This is most visible when we see titles (indicating social status of the referent or addressee) correlating with the use of honorification of predicative elements (see also the discussion in Chapter 5).

Interestingly, since social position, as it is often interpreted, can most often be found in professional fields referring to people in professional roles (such as doctor, boss, professor), it can be seen as overlapping with power. Therefore, it is unclear precisely what speakers are responding to with the use of an honorific. In addition, since a number of Japanese workplaces are organised based on seniority system, where wage corresponds strongly with the years of employment in a given company (Lincoln & Kalleberg 1990; Inoue 1997), there is often a direct relationship between age and social position.

### **2.2.3.3. Age**

*Age* is another factor determining the level of politeness used. In Japanese (and other Asian) societies it is often recognised as related to Confucianism and the importance of respect for elders. While in organizations it is often rank, that determines polite (also linguistically) behaviour, age is most visible within a family setting. Older siblings address younger siblings using

their first names, while younger ones use kinship terms + title (*-sama*, *-san*, *-chan*) to address older ones (Ide 1982).

Age was also found to be an overriding factor in determining the reported choice of honorifics for women by Ogino (1986), who showed that it was the strongest predictor of the use of both addressee and referent honorifics.

#### **2.2.3.4. Sex**

In a number of discussions on politeness, honorifics, as well as specifically on the use of honorifics in Japanese, it has been repeatedly suggested that honorific forms are at the core of women's language (e.g. Jordan & Noda 1987; Ide 1990; Niyekawa 1991). On an ideological level, politeness is seen as constitutive of Japanese women's language, and a number of explanations are offered as to why this is so (see e.g. Inoue 2002, 2006 for a discussion). With regards to the local forms, HARU, while not sex-exclusive, it has been shown to be used mainly (or sometimes only) by women (e.g. SturtzSreetharan 2008).

In the discussion of the use of local honorifics I take into consideration both the sex of the speaker and sex of the addressee and referent. I also suggest that while the honorific forms are often seen as part and parcel of women's language, the notion of femininity can often be reinterpreted, and the honorific forms that have been associated with some kinds of femininity can then also be reanalysed in the very local cultural context. I therefore suggest that while sex is an important factor in the use of honorification, it



may be that it needs to be looked at more carefully, and problematised in the local context.

#### **2.2.3.5. Degree of intimacy and the concept of *uchi* and *soto***

The last of the social factors tied to an extent with the previous ones is *degree of intimacy*, or, in Brown & Gilman's terms, solidarity. While power determines the vertical relations in a society, solidarity establishes horizontal distance. The greater the degree of intimacy the less psychological distance between interactants, and therefore (all other things being equal) the less need to use honorifics. The use of plain forms by a superior can thus be seen as a sign of allowing for a more intimate relationship, evoking a sense of camaraderie. It is however important to remember that only the superior can invite this kind of intimacy, and the use of plain forms by the inferior (unless otherwise sanctioned) is seen as breaking the rules of social conduct rather than as a way of minimising psychological distance. Intimacy is therefore primarily associated with relationships among people who are equal as far as social distance and/or power are concerned, like equals at work or university, family members or friends.

It has been suggested that a high degree of intimacy is linguistically manifested by the use of plain forms in conversation, while the use of honorifics can be seen as a means to keep distance, or acknowledge distance (thus often being used to address or refer to strangers). A trend towards reciprocally using plain forms has been observed in the majority of Japanese families since World War II, suggesting that solidarity has taken primacy

over power in determining relations among family members (Shibatani 2006).

A more locally situated way of conceptualising intimacy and distance is to understand them in terms of the *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' distinction. It is impossible to talk about the organization of Japanese society, and its reflections both linguistic and cultural, without brief mention of this concept. The distinction between *uchi* and *soto* has been referred to when analysing aspects of Japanese society in areas as diverse as management (e.g. Sai 1996; Keeley 2001), therapy (e.g. Odawara 2005), anthropology (e.g. Bachnik & Quinn 1994; Lebra 2005), and linguistics (e.g. Ball 2004). While this distinction is often seen as vital in understanding honorific use of the Japanese (e.g. Harada 1976; Ikuta 1983; Makino & Tsutsui 1986; Jordan & Noda 1987; Wetzel 1994), it is important to bear in mind that the *uchi/soto* distinction is neither categorical, nor based on pre-existing categories. Lebra reminds us of this, saying:

The Japanese are known to differentiate their behaviour by whether the situation is defined as *uchi* or *soto*... Where the demarcation line is drawn varies widely: it may be inside vs. outside an individual person, a family, a group of playmates, a school, a company, a village or a nation. It is suggestive that the term *uchi* is used colloquially to refer to one's house, family or family member, and the shop or company where one works. The essential point, however, is that the *uchi-soto* distinction is drawn not by social structure, but by constantly varying situations. (Lebra 1976:112)

Since to be able to appreciate the significance of this distinction we need to pay attention to the given situation, rather than social structure, I apply the concept of *uchi-soto* in qualitative analysis in this dissertation, while the degree of intimacy is captured in the quantitative discussion. The distinction between *uchi* and *soto*, as Lebra claims, 'is drawn ... by constantly

varying situations', thus suggesting that it is impossible to divorce this distinction from other social factors operating in any given situation, but also shows that it may not be suitable to separate it out as another social category.

All of the factors discussed here have in some way been used as explanatory, or predictive, in the analysis of honorification. The majority of studies analysing honorifics in use, however, (see sections 2.2.4.1-2 below) focus on SJ honorifics (for the exceptions see work by Okamoto and SturtzSreetharan). This dissertation examines if, and to what extent, the same factors can be applied in understanding the local honorifics.

In the following section I will review some studies on honorifics that have been done to date, with special reference to the methods they have employed and the implications that can be drawn from these for further research. I will suggest that much can be gained by combining the approaches that have so far been used separately.

#### **2.2.4. Research on honorifics – methods and frameworks**

There seem to be two main approaches to studying honorifics in use: quantitative studies using self-reported surveys, which often make use of pre-existing social categories to survey the use of forms; and qualitative studies analysing honorifics in naturally occurring interactions. The first pool of studies stem from a long Japanese tradition of dialectological surveys. The latter tend to be more recent studies, critiquing the self-reported quantitative approach to honorification. A wealth of information can be gained from both

approaches, as they set out to answer different questions. However, I will suggest that a comprehensive, and more in-depth, understanding of these forms can be gained by combining both these approaches, a practice which began to emerge in recent years (see e.g. the work of Okamoto or Yamaji).

#### **2.2.4.1. Quantitative studies of honorification**

Quantitative studies of honorification in Japanese are based mostly on self-reported studies of various kinds. These surveys are designed to elicit generalizations with regards to the use of honorifics, making use of pre-existing, static social categories, such as age, gender, social status (e.g. Ogino 1980; Ogino, Misono & Fukushima 1985; Miyaji 1987, 1996; Seiichi 1992). The majority of quantitative surveys ask participants to assign linguistic forms that differ on a scale of politeness (a variety of plain and honorific features) to a variety of situations and addressees. Some of the studies differentiate between forms we use when talking to someone and those we use when talking about someone, as is the case with e.g. Miyaji's (1987, 1996) research. While they provide a large body of information, the findings coming from self-reported surveys don't always correspond to speakers' actual use of these forms (cf. Agha 1993). They also usually don't problematise the categories employed as independent variables, a factor which has raised questions in qualitative and empirical research.

In an interesting survey of the reported use of honorifics, Motoko Hori (1986) shows that even as we consider the self-reports of speakers, we need to look into a number of factors for explanations, and she argues that even

though gender seems to be of great importance it might be a superficial explanation. She suggests that even though the women clearly report using honorific forms much more than men, in a larger number of situations (the only time when women report using plain forms is to their own children), it is not gender alone that explains this behaviour, but rather social position of women in her study. Most of the women in the sample are housewives, while most men are white-collar workers which puts them in different positions within the society, and places them in largely different kinds of social networks. It is, however, interesting that even in a self-reported study there is such a large gender divide between men and women – the question then remains whether this reflects the social reality of Japanese society, or is an artefact of the sampling, especially since some empirical studies (Okamoto 1997; Yamaji 2002) do not confirm these findings. Since in my sample both housewives and women who work full-time are represented, I am able to relate to and debate Hori's findings from an empirical perspective (see Chapter 5 for a discussion).

While the self-reported quantitative studies provide a very useful and insightful basis for further discussion, and a sound understanding of social factors which are *perceived to* govern the use and non-use, as well as choices of honorifics, they cannot account for the variable uses of honorific forms in natural interactions. Rather they help us understand linguistic ideologies behind the use of honorifics (cf. discussion in Okamoto 2010), and the complexity of the features. One issue with self-reported studies of such highly socially loaded linguistic features as honorifics is that the results may be neither the distribution of forms speakers use, nor even ones they *think*

they use, but rather ones they think they *should* use. Social desirability is an important factor to consider, because with the number of ideologies surrounding honorifics, and the abundance of ‘how-to’ manuals that talk about the correct use of *keigo*, and the consequences of incorrect use or lack of it, it is hardly surprising that the speakers’ answers in self-reported questionnaires might be affected by such external factors. It is then important to incorporate the analyses put forward in these surveys with the investigation of the actual use of honorifics. I make a connection with these surveys by coding for a set of social categories that have been put forward as constraints on the use of honorifics in the surveys and prescriptive accounts (age, sex, degree of intimacy, social position), but test their explanatory power in naturally occurring interactions. In this way, I try and relate the prescriptive use of honorifics to the actual use of the forms.

#### **2.2.4.2. Qualitative studies: honorifics in interaction**

The growing body of research on honorifics stems from a common understanding, that while *wakimae* (and other strictly socio-demographic factors) can help us in understanding the general rules governing the ideologies concerning honorification in Japanese society, it is not sufficient to provide explanations for actual use of honorific forms in interaction (see e.g. Ikuta 1983, 2008; Matsumoto 1989, 2002, 2004, 2008; Maynard 1991; Usami 1995, 2002; Okamoto 1997, 1998, 1999; Cook 1997, 1998, 2006, 2008; Okushi 1998; Dunn 1999, 2005; Yamaji 2002, 2008; SturtzSreetharan 2004, 2006; Yoshida & Sakurai 2005; Barke 2010 – some of these examples are discussed

below). While the prototypical use of honorifics may seem to follow the rules of social conduct when analysed on a sentence level (cf. Yamaji 2002), a deeper (discourse-level) analysis reveals other factors (including speaker's will) that need to be taken into account. A number of factors have been called upon to better understand the variable use of honorifics in natural conversations. The main argument calling for incorporating a detailed discourse level analysis into any study of honorification is that high variability in the use of honorifics (both addressee- and referent-oriented) can be observed even when the speakers and situations are held constant. This suggests that the overarching social categories that can be captured in quantitative research are not sufficient in understanding the interactional function of honorification. I will now review some major studies that have discussed factors such as various levels of social meaning, identity negotiation and construction, distance (interpersonal, intrapersonal and discursal) and attitudes concerning language use as relevant to the use of honorification.

One of the explanations for the variable use of honorification in interaction is that of relationship negotiation. Cook (1998, 2002, 2005, 2006) suggests that taking a social constructivist perspective can help us understand the (non) use of honorifics, and that 'discernment' alone cannot explain a number of naturally occurring interactions. She shows that the use or non-use of honorific forms can be seen as a way of co-constructing and negotiating identities emerging in discourse (cf. Bucholtz 1999; Ochs 1993). In Cook's analysis of academic consultations (2005) and elementary school classroom discourse (1996) she argues that a moment-by-moment analysis of

interactions reveals an active negotiation of relationships, rather than a mere reflection of assumed identities. Participants' use of forms (honorific and plain) is highly variable, even though both the interactants, and their objectively observable relationship is constant (teachers/professors: students). Arguing in a similar vein, Okamoto (1998, 1999) points to high variability in the use and non-use of honorifics in her data, that again cannot be explained by the changing relationship between the speakers, and argues that linguistic devices such as honorifics cannot be seen as directly indexing abstracted social categories. She suggests that they should rather be treated as indirect indices through which speakers can orient to a number of different social and attitudinal factors (for a fuller discussion on indexicality and its explanatory power in understanding honorifics see Chapter 5).

SturtzSreetharan (2006) uses quantitative tools and discourse analysis to uncover the varied, mostly non-reciprocal, uses of the honorific verbal suffix *-masu*. She shows how 'the motivation for using polite forms varies widely across contexts, topics and speaker aims' (SturtzSreetharan 2006:71). In her analysis of natural interactions she argues that the use of clause-final honorifics reflects practices of various communities of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) or social networks (Milroy 1980) as found at universities, workplaces etc. It is also suggested that the use or non-use of the *masu* forms represents the men in her study 'creating ongoing and changing identities across conversations and interlocutors' (SturtzSreetharan 2006:88). This can further suggest that the variable use of honorifics can be exploited strategically not only to negotiate identities but also as a means to constructing a certain image of the self. As some self-reported studies show,



the use of honorifics correlates highly with educational background of both the speaker and the addressee. Honorifics can therefore be used *inter alia* to actively create a persona in line with this – i.e. a cultivated, mannered, educated speaker (cf. Cook 1996; Wetzel 1999; Agha 2002).

Another view that makes use of identity, is offered by Yoshida and Sakurai (2005), who argue that even factors like psychological distance or formality of the situation, can only be seen as 'superficial' (Yoshida and Sakurai 2005:197) when analysing variation in honorific use in natural interactions. They offer social role and identity as one of the possible explanations, supporting it with evidence from naturally occurring family interactions. Since the social situation is kept stable, this cannot be a factor responsible for shifts in the level of conversation. Similarly to the identity model proposed by Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (1994), they suggest that a person's sociocultural role (or identity) is fluid and changes constantly throughout the interaction - hence the numerous shifts.

Additional accounts related to the ones already reviewed are ones that employ the notion of stance, arguing that the shifting stances of the interactants can be seen as the main motivation for the use or non-use of honorifics. In her analysis Dunn (2005) argues that any explanatory model of the use of honorifics needs to take into account 'grammatical constraints, sociolinguistic norms and speaker agency' (Dunn 2005:91). She shows how even in such conventionalised speech events as wedding speeches, speakers' use of humble forms (expected in a wedding speech) is inconsistent. She argues the creative use of honorifics marks different situational stances.

This again links us back to the notion of indexicality as an important concept in understanding the function of honorifics. I employ indexicality (see Chapter 5) as prompted by the studies reviewed here, but also link it with some variationist studies concerned with the notion of social meaning. I relate to the methods and frameworks from these fields (Japanese interactional linguistics, variationist studies concerned with the construction of social meaning and semiotics) to further enrich my understanding of the meaning of OJ honorifics. As socially highly loaded linguistic features, whose meaning and use is said to possibly be changing (see e.g. Okamoto 1997), OJ honorifics provide considerable potential for investigating the social meaning of linguistic features.

The studies reviewed here provide only a brief look into the arguments against treating honorifics merely as tools for fulfilling the rules of social conduct. All of them offer a common view that honorifics should not be analysed only in terms of independent, pre-assumed social factors, but rather as a means of achieving a certain interactional goal – acknowledging a certain relationship or attitude (e.g. Cook, Ikuta, Okamoto), negotiating relationship or role (e.g. Cook, Okamoto, Yoshida & Sakurai) constructing or negotiating an identity (e.g. SturtzSreetharan, Cook), reflecting and creating a stance (Dunn). This does not agree with the view of honorifics as an expression of *wakimae*, or as a means of acknowledging formality of the situation, but instead allows a certain amount of speaker agency that is involved when choosing which (if any) honorifics forms a speaker will employ. This seems to be in agreement with a number of contemporary

studies on style (among other social variables), which treat language as constitutive and active, rather than merely reflexive and reactive.

### **2.2.5. Issues and suggestions**

One of the main questions in analysing the use of honorifics seems to be that of the method – a majority of the quantitative studies are based on self-reported data, while all the studies offering a more in-depth, multilayered analysis of natural interactions are based mainly on qualitative analyses of naturally occurring interactions. There are some exceptions employing both quantitative and qualitative methods (e.g. SturtzSreetharan 2006; Yamaji 2008). Quantitative data provide us with insightful information about the generalised norms with regards to the use or non-use of different honorifics. While useful in the overall understanding of these features, they do not, as has been pointed out, account for the plethora of honorific uses we encounter in reality. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, often focusing on the minutiae of the interactions, tend not to take into consideration larger social categories (like those of gender, status, age etc.). There seems to be a need to include both methods within the scope of one study, in order to approach the analysis of the use, meaning and functions of honorifics in a systematic way. The ideologies that age, gender, social distance and formality or respect are important constraints on the use of honorifics are a significant part of the analysis of the use or non-use of honorifics. Incorporating the unified top-down and bottom-up approach allows us to investigate how these ideologies can either take root, be maintained, or perhaps be contested. In other words,

incorporating the quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the same data makes it possible to investigate how the macro-social categories are related to the micro-social identities or stances (cf. also Bucholtz & Hall 2005 and Coupland 2007 for discussions of different levels of social identities).

Another interesting issue is the use of addressee honorifics and referent honorifics and analysing the two in relation to one another. While a number of studies focus on addressee honorifics only, there are some that introduce both kinds of honorification, without, however, going into detail as to how (if at all) are they used differently, what different relationships they can possibly index or to what extent (or indeed, if at all) they are independent from one another. The work on referent honorifics used in natural discourse is limited (Matsumoto 1999; Okamoto 1996, 1998) and referent honorifics are not the focus of those studies. The one exception is recent work of Yamaji (2008) in which she proposes that the use of the two kinds of honorifics is not completely independent as has previously been suggested (Shibatani 1990), but in fact interdependent – she shows that the more addressee honorifics are used in conversation the more likely the speakers are to also use referent honorifics, thus in fact suggesting an ‘addressee-oriented’ role of referent honorifics (Yamaji 2002, 2008). Her data comes from speakers who use standard dialect.

SturtzSreetharan (2006) shows an opposite relationship in her Kansai data – while local referent honorifics are used a lot, there are almost no addressee honorifics present in the interactions she analyses. This is in line with Okamoto’s (1998) suggestion that referent honorifics are not necessarily

used to index social distance toward an absent referent, but may index other social meanings, such as the context, setting or possibly the *speaker:addressee* relationship. It also raises the question of the possibly different nature (and different socio-pragmatic content) of standard honorific and their local counterparts.

Since no other studies simultaneously investigate the issue of two kinds of honorification, there seems to be a need for more attention to the questions Yamaji and SturtzSreetharan suggest, that is the relationship between the two types of honorification, and their roles in spontaneous interactions.

The following analysis of Osaka Japanese speakers is therefore an attempt to contribute to the field by combining quantitative analysis (including the factors tested and discussed in previous research) with a qualitative, discourse-based approach. Even though the main variables I focus on are local referent honorifics, their relationship to addressee honorifics is also discussed (following the suggestions by Yamaji and SturtzSreetharan).

Another important issue hinted at in some previous research is the notion of historical continuity (see e.g. Agha 2002). It has been suggested that honorifics are strongly related to the social order, are an expression of social relationships, and are intimately tied with some ways of self-presentation. Knowing that Japan, and more locally also Osaka, have in recent years undergone a number of social changes, the investigation of honorifics in use will allow us to examine to what extent these changes can be seen in the local linguistic practices. Inoue (1999) suggests that speakers' use of honorifics is

changing and that it is not only the frequency of use we need to focus on, but rather the rules governing the use of honorifics. Among younger speakers, honorifics are said to be an expression of psychological distance, while among older speakers a reflection of larger social categories – a shift Inoue refers to as democratization. A similar suggestion can be found in a report concerning the use of honorifics issued in 1996 by the National Language Council After the World War II. In this report we can find a suggestion that today's use of honorifics is increasingly based on the degree of intimacy rather than the status difference (Bunkacho 1996 cited in Okamoto 2010). In order to trace such a subtle change, we need then to look at the influence of both pre-existing categories and the fine use of forms to fulfill interactional functions – this calls for a unified approach.

To be able to investigate the ongoing change, I will draw on sociolinguistic studies of variation and change. The methodologies for examining linguistic variation and change were introduced into sociolinguistics by William Labov, and have since then been widely used to study various types of linguistic features, in a number of different communities. I will now briefly review the concepts and methods employed in previous variationist research, to show how they can be employed (or how they need to be modified) in studying variation in the use of honorifics. This establishes the essential background for me to define the envelope of variation for this study in Chapter 3, section 3.7.

### **2.3. Studying language variation and change in the Osaka Japanese honorifics**

One of the main questions I set out to answer in this dissertation has to do with the variation in the use of local referent honorifics (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). I will focus on the discussion of variation across populations of speakers, different situations, different referents and addressees, but also across time. To be able to investigate this, the study draws partly on the variationist paradigm, that is the study of linguistic variation that rests on the assumption that the inherent variability in language is systematic, and can therefore be systematically studied (Labov 1966, 1972). The majority of research within this paradigm explores and analyses the relationships between variation found in language, and its linguistic and social constraints, with a number of studies also focussing on language change.

The study of linguistic variation has its roots in studies focussing on phonic variables, and the analysis of factors which favour the use of one realisation of the variable over the other. As the feature I am focussing on is honorific marking of the predicate, I also have to take into consideration 'zeroes', i.e. plain verbs. The feature is different from the classic sociolinguistic variable in choosing not to use one type of referent honorific marking does not entail that the speaker will choose another type of honorific in its place. This means that the question I am setting out to answer is not about variation between two (or more) semantically equivalent forms,

but rather about the constraints on the use of honorification. I discuss the approach to delimiting envelope of variation for such a variable in Chapter 3.

The current study of Osaka Japanese honorifics is a study of language in use, analysing linguistic patterns of three age cohorts. I will now review some aspects of studying language variation and change that are directly relevant to the methods used and the analytic perspectives I will draw on in this study.

### **2.3.1. Real and apparent time data**

As the study of language change is essentially aimed at capturing the diachronic processes in the language, an ideal way of doing so would be following the changes as they happen in real time. These kinds of studies, where researchers revisit the community more than once to track changes in real time, can be done either by resampling the community, i.e. a trend survey (e.g. Eble 1996; Van de Velde et al. 1996) or using the same group of informants, i.e. a panel survey (e.g. Nahkola & Saanilahti 2004; Sankoff 2005). While these are seemingly ideal ways of tracking change, they are not without problems, and their application naturally requires more time.

Where previous similar research is available, it is also possible to compare evidence from previous study with a new study, and from this, draw inferences about the nature of change. In my research on OJ honorification, some previous self-reported studies were available, as well as studies that discuss SJ honorification. Some of these studies suggest that younger speakers in general tend to use fewer honorifics than middle-aged



and older speakers (Inoue 1979; Okamoto 1998). Descriptive research on OJ honorification offers V+HARU as the main referent honorific option used in the area (Miyaji 1987, 1996; Seiichi 1992), but no research has been conducted as to its scope of use (other than descriptive accounts of canonical uses) or distribution across different population of speakers. A real-time self-reported survey of Osaka teenagers (Strycharz 2005) shows that all local referent honorifics are reportedly used much less often over time (the study compared the reports of a group of high-school students from 1986 and 2004), and that the scope of their use (i.e. what types of referents or addressees they are used for) is narrowing. The results of this study are summarised in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3.

Referent		OJ:	OJ:	OJ:	SJ:	SJ:
		V+haru	V+yaru	V+yoru	V+(ra)reru	irassharu <sup>3</sup>
Teacher	1986	44.7	0	0	5.3	2.6
	2004	12.9	0	3.3	0	32.2
Substitute teacher	1986	31.6	0	0	0	2.6
	2004	9.7	0	3.3	0	19.2
Older neighbour	1986	50	0	0	0	2.5
	2004	12.9	0	3.3	0	9.7
Father	1986	2.6	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	3.3	0	3.3
Younger neighbour	1986	0	13.2	2.6	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0
School friend	1986	0	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0
Younger sibling	1986	0	0	2.6	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0

*Table 2.2. The percentage of reported use of various referent honorifics towards the referent of an utterance by high-school students in 1986 (after Miyaji 1987), and 2004 (Results reproduced from Strycharz 2005).*

<sup>3</sup> *Irassharu* is an honorific form of the verbs *iru* 'be', *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come'.

Addressee		OJ:	OJ:	OJ:	SJ:	SJ:
		V+haru	V+yaru	V+yoru	V+(ra)reru	irassharu
Teacher	1986	7.1	0	0	40.5	26.2
	2004	6.3	0	0	3.1	65.6
Substitute teacher	1986	11.9	0	0	19	16.7
	2004	12.5	0	0	3.1	43.8
Older neighbour	1986	20.9	0	0	11.6	9.3
	2004	28.1	0	0	3.1	15.7
Father	1986	0	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0
Younger neighbour	1986	0	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0
School friend	1986	0	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0
Younger sibling	1986	0	0	0	0	0
	2004	0	0	0	0	0

*Table 2.3. The percentage of reported use of various referent honorifics towards the addressee of an utterance by high-school students in 1986 (after Miyaji 1987), and 2004 (Results reproduced from Strycharz 2005).*

The results in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show that students reported a lower use of local referent honorific HARU towards a third-person referent in 2004 than in 1986. The use of HARU as an address form has not changed significantly over 18 years. We can also notice changes in the reported use of SJ honorifics, which suggest the overall increase in the use of SJ special verb *irassharu*, but a decrease in the use of the SJ V+(ra)reru construction.

All of this points to a possibility of a change in progress in the use of local referent honorifics. With the lack of other empirical studies for comparison, I have decided to investigate diachronic changes in the use of referent honorifics in OJ by looking at synchronic variation across

populations of speakers – the method introduced first by William Labov, and used in sociolinguistic enquiry since.

Until the 1960s studying language change was deemed unobservable, and something that could ‘only be detected through its results’ (Bailey 2002:312). The first studies conducted by Labov in Martha’s Vineyard (1963) and New York (1966) established a basis for approaching changes taking place in language from a synchronic perspective. The assumption underlying these methodological advances introduced by Labov is that the variation observed in language can be a diagnostic of language change in progress, using a method that has come to be known as the apparent time construct.

In his studies, Labov hypothesised that the linguistic differences found when comparing the speech of different generations of speakers (all other things being equal) can mirror the changes taking place in real time. That is, he suggested that ‘synchronic evidence can be used to reconstruct the history of language change’ (Sankoff 2006). In his study of Martha’s Vineyard Labov (1963) observed that the use of centralised onsets in the diphthongs (ay) and (aw) increased progressively. Comparing these results with earlier studies (in the Linguistic Atlas of New England), he argued that the change observed across the generations of speakers showed the linguistic change over time.

The apparent time construct, used to explain a progressive change in an age-stratified sample, has been applied in a number of studies in various communities since Labov’s original survey (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; Rickford 1979; Hibiya 1988; Haeri 1994; Labov 2001b), and has been

used to hypothesise about changes in regard to different types of variables – phonic, morpho-syntactic and those on the level of discourse.

In Japanese sociolinguistics, Junko Hibiya (1988) used the apparent time construct to document a change in Tokyo dialect pronunciation of underlying /g/. While word-initially the underlying /g/ is always pronounced as a plosive [g], when found in the non-initial position it is pronounced as a nasal [ŋ] in the conservative Tokyo dialect. It has been noted, however, that this is undergoing a change, and /g/ is pronounced as plosive also in non-initial position. Hibiya documented a shift from the use of a conservative pronunciation of the velar nasal [ŋ] in a non-initial position, and the newer, incoming variant [g] among the speakers of Tokyo Japanese.

Hibiya used an age-stratified sample to show the increasing influx of the new variant [g] with every younger cohort of speakers. So, while the speakers in their teens and early twenties had a high percentage of word-internal [g], her oldest informants were using predominantly nasal [ŋ]. Hibiya also consulted older sources, specifically, written accounts and descriptions of Tokyo Japanese, a previous study from the early 40s that directly dealt with this feature, and recordings from the national TV channel. All of these supported her hypothesis of change in progress.

Consulting previous research has allowed researchers such as William Labov, and a number of others who have investigated language change, to determine whether they are indeed observing an ongoing process. Another explanation, however, that appears to emerge as a possibility when we look at a synchronic change across populations in an age-stratified sample is that the change we are observing is not an ongoing process affecting the whole

community, but rather an individual change, whereby speakers change the way they use a given linguistic feature in the course of their lives – this is referred to as age-grading.

### **2.3.1.2. Change over time or across lifespan?**

In trying to link the synchronic with the diachronic study of language, Labov also entertained the possibility that the pattern he observed in his study of Martha's Vineyard may have been caused by individual changes across speakers' lifetimes. This would mean that it is not the community overall that is changing, but rather that every individual started out with the same nuclei of (ay) and (aw) which they raised continuously as they progressed through life. It is important to be able to distinguish between the two when we are analysing any given variable.

Let me first start by pointing out that when observing linguistic practices across generations, we can come across two types of synchronic pattern: the line may be flat across generations, i.e. no significant rise or drop is observed, or we may observe a regular slope across ages, i.e. showing either an increase or a decrease in the use of a given feature. For both of these patterns, we need to be aware of more than one possible interpretation (Table 2.4).

Synchronic pattern	Interpretation	Individual	Community
flat	stability	stable	stable
regular slope with age	age grading	change	stable
regular slope with age	lifespan change	change	change
regular slope with age	generational change	stable	change
flat	communal change	change	change

*Table 2.4. Patterns of change in the individual and the community (adapted from Labov 1994:83), with the addition of pattern reflecting lifespan change that accompanies change at the level of the community (Sankoff & Blondeau 2007:563).*

If there is an observed slope with age (that is, if there is a progressive increase or decrease in the use of a given feature over time), there are three possible underlying causes. It may be the case that:

- (i) The use of a given feature changes as speakers progress through life, but it is not a reflection of the ongoing (historical) language change, but instead its nature is cyclical (i.e. age grading)
- (ii) The change we are observing is not cyclical, but is a reflection of an ongoing process (i.e. generational change)
- (iii) The change we are observing is a combination of the two, that is the individual is changing in their use of feature throughout their lifetime in the direction of the change on the level of community (i.e. lifespan change).

This last possibility was first proposed by Sankoff & Blondeau (2007) in their analysis of /r/ in Montreal French. They combined a trend and panel real time study to investigate an ongoing shift from apical to dorsal /r/ in Montreal French. They have shown that the change in the speech of individuals is far from uniform, with some speakers participating in the

language change on the community level more than others. While the ongoing change was shown to be taking place on the community level (i.e. there was a generational change), different groups of speakers in the community adopted the innovative variant at different rates and to a different degree. Sankoff & Blondeau have shown that a change observed using the apparent time construct (i.e. an age-graded sample of speakers) does not necessarily reflect either an age grading pattern, or a generational change, but can instead be the result of both these changes jointly participating in creating the observable pattern. This analysis was made possible by combining a number of approaches to studying language change, looking at both apparent and real time picture.

A more difficult task is then to analyse the possible explanations for an observed apparent time pattern, when we have no real time component to the data. How can we tell whether what we are investigating is indeed an ongoing change affecting the community, or an example of age grading? Looking for evidence that may help us in discussing the observed pattern in the use of local honorifics, we can take into consideration indications provided by some previous studies. Previous research on Japanese honorifics suggests that younger speakers use fewer honorific forms than older speakers (e.g. Inoue 1979; Okamoto 1997), and that they prefer to use plain forms. The Okazaki Survey of Honorifics (National Institute for the Japanese Language and Linguistics 1957, 1983), however, has shown evidence of decreasing use of honorifics for the real-time panel study, as the women aged. This survey also reports the stability of use of honorification after adolescence, and so no significant increase in the use of forms past that

period. A real time self-report study of local honorifics (Strycharz 2005), on the other hand, has pointed to the decreasing use of local honorifics in the same age group (teenagers) between 1986 and 2004. In the investigation of local honorifics, we can then expect to find some kind of slope across the age cohorts of speakers.

In the Martha's Vineyard study Labov consulted previous recordings, which suggested that the observed change was on the level of the community. The same was found in Hibiya's study (1988), where the support for an apparent time (i.e. generational change) pattern was found in older studies and TV recordings. I suggest that to be able to interpret the pattern we find in the use of local honorific forms, we need to look into descriptive accounts of local honorifics, but also evidence from other areas (including the use of Standard Japanese honorific features). Since reports point to some level of the stability (and no increase in the use of honorific features) after adolescence, we can assume a certain degree of stability (with regards to the use of honorifics) in our sample, where the youngest speakers are 18 years old. One of the main goals of this dissertation is then to interpret the pattern observed across the age groups, against some social factors that can help in analysing it.

### **2.3.2.3. Defining age and age cohorts**

Since the current study is designed as a study of language use and variation across generations, it necessarily involves dividing the sample of speakers into age cohorts. Eckert suggests that 'age is a person's place at a given time



in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history' (Eckert 1997:151).

Age and as well as ageing are 'central to human experience' (Eckert 1997:151). It is common to all people, although the actual experiencing of it, evaluation and social significance are highly dependent on a number of factors, starting from very individual ones, to more socially anchored ones. In social sciences (this including sociolinguistics) age has been approached in a number of ways, and has come to be seen differently over decades of studies.

Defining age for the purpose of research and analysis when working with language can be done in a number of different ways. Biological (or chronological) age has always been (in Western societies) the primary approach – different moments in the life of an individual are marked as points in the process of aging, and they are usually tied with how old (in years) she is. These moments can be both very personal, as well as putting us on a chronological map of the society (like turning 18 and being able to vote). While reaching a certain age allows us certain rights (and perhaps certain freedoms), it brings with itself also certain obligations, and perhaps different kind of pressures. The process of ageing, therefore, even though primarily biological, is essentially tying our lives with the various 'places' in the society or in the community thus giving the process itself a social meaning as well. From an analytical perspective, 'age by itself has no explanatory value' (Milroy & Gordon 2003:39), and even though organizing people in some arbitrary age groups according *only* to their biological age gives us a certain amount of information (and can show correlations between age as a social

factor and some linguistic variable), on its own age cannot serve as a useful analytical construct.

Age has therefore come to be included in a number of sociolinguistic studies not as an arbitrary social variable, but rather as one tied with certain life stages. In his Philadelphia study Labov divides speakers into cohorts, which are thought to be recurring categories, specific to a given stage within the life span. It is important to bear in mind, however, that they are organised from a perspective of the 'modern American society' (Labov 2001:101). Labov pointed to the following categories, which are for the most part based on the existence of a unified educational system and the stages in life at which linguistic variation is acquired:

- (i) 8-9: alignment to pre-adolescent peer group
- (ii) 10-12: membership in the pre-adolescent peer group
- (iii) 13-16: involvement in the heterosexual relations; the adolescent group
- (iv) 17-19: completion of secondary schooling; orientation to the wider world of work and/or college
- (v) 20-29: beginning regular employment; family life
- (vi) 30-59: full engagement in the work force; family duties
- (vii) 60s: retirement

We can then see from this division, that it is not based on an arbitrary assumption stemming from chronological age, but rather an attempt at differentiating groups of people with regards to their common (and differing) histories. In their study of a Cajun community in Louisiana, Dubois and Horvath (1999) looked into the 'social life of the community and

... the sociohistorical changes that have taken place over these years' (Dubois & Horvath 1999:288) to understand the specific linguistic patterns relating to age and gender. They used background knowledge about this Cajun community to construct questionnaires which then helped them in better understanding the roles of men and women at different points in time – and the different roles of men and women for different age cohorts of speakers. Thus Dubois & Horvath showed that at different points in time speakers in the Louisiana Cajun community were affected by different social forces. For older speakers it was the prevalence of English in education, for the middle generation the local industrialization, while for the younger ones it was the 'Cajun Renaissance' and the value of Cajun identity that seems to have affected language use.

Age groups constructed in such a way were not based entirely on the chronological age of the participants, but rather on the shared histories of certain age groups, which was then reflected in their use of language. I follow this approach in dividing speakers into three age cohorts to be able to analyse the changes in the use of referent honorifics against the social changes speakers of a given group witnessed in their lifetime, their shared experience, especially that which has to do with language and the treatment of Osaka Japanese (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2). This kind of approach to age also reflects Labov's suggestion that 'no change takes place in a social vacuum. Even the most systematic chain shift occurs with a specificity of time and place that demands an explanation' (Labov 1972:2). Dividing participants into age cohorts that not only reflect their biological age, but also their shared history allows us to look at the ongoing change against these

histories, and against the ongoing social changes. Such an approach appears to be very important particularly because we are dealing with linguistic features that are intimately tied to the social order (i.e. honorifics) in a variety the perceptions of which have been undergoing rapid changes.

Since one of the facets of my investigation is intimately tied with the social meaning of linguistic features, I will now briefly discuss how social meaning of certain variables has come to be investigated in previous variationist studies (2.3.2.1)

## **2.4. Social meaning of linguistic features**

Any study of language in use needs to take into consideration the implications that the use of linguistic features has in real life. Any analysis of language use must then 'encompass the multiple relations between linguistic means and social meaning' (Hymes 2003:32). Since this dissertation is a study of local honorifics in use, a considerable portion of the discussion will revolve around the social meaning linked with and indexed by the use of these linguistic features. I will now briefly review the importance of social meaning for studying language variation.

The very first sociolinguistic study that set the standard for further variationist enquiries, was based on the understanding and investigating social meanings linked with the centralization of (ay) and (aw). The local pronunciation of the diphthongs, as Labov has shown, was reinterpreted as an important resource in encoding not only locality, but also certain lifestyle choices and attitudes. This study showed that one variant can be

reinterpreted by different groups in the same community, and has thus shown how variation is deeply socially embedded. This interest has been recently rediscovered in numerous variationist investigations, whose focus has been not only on macro-sociological categories, but also, or indeed primarily, on the study of the locally observable social meaning of variation.

With the incorporation of ethnographic methods in the studies of linguistic variation, a more locally based perspective has become available, and the local social significance of certain linguistic features has come to be an object of study. In her study of variation in a suburban high school in Detroit, Penelope Eckert investigated the use of several features (including negative concord, backing and raising of the (ay) nucleus and the Northern Cities Shift). She focussed on the distribution and use of linguistic resources by members of two locally salient categories: Jocks and Burnouts (Eckert 2000). In her study of variation in school, she has argued that strong social meaning is attached to several linguistic features, the meaning of which can be observed by the different distribution of the features across the local categories. But her study not only added a local context to the investigation of linguistic (and social) practices. She has shown how the local categories need to be seen in connection with the larger social categories (like class and gender), and has investigated how the two approaches (top-down and bottom-up) need to be combined to get a fuller perspective on the actual practices of the speakers. She also investigated the more subtle social meanings of linguistic resources. Eckert has shown how different features participate in the construction of styles, how they need to be seen as part and parcel of our performance on a higher level – not only as separate items, but

as pieces in a puzzle creating different individuals, and groups of individuals, in what can be described as the process of *bricolage* (Hebdige 1984).

A number of recent studies of variation look closely at the social meaning of linguistic features. Some studies have provided a detailed analysis of particular chosen features looking at the practices of groups of speakers. Zhang (2005, 2008), for example, looked at the construction of a 'Chinese yuppie' style, where the salient resources are the use of full tone and rhotacization. She has shown how rhotacization (one of the more salient features of Beijing speech) is used considerably less by yuppies, and has linked this to the social meanings encoded by this features over time. Zhang argues that the link of rhotacization in literature with the stereotypical Beijing urban male has come to be reinterpreted in the speech of present-day speakers as indexing a quality that is attractive to state workers, but undesirable to the emerging yuppies. In this way, Zhang has shown the importance of contextualizing the study of social meaning of variation, and tracing its use historically.

All of the studies that have taken social meaning of linguistic feature as their primary concern (e.g. Eckert 2000; Moore 2003; Podesva 2004, 2007, 2009; Zhang 2005, 2008; Mendoza-Denton 2008) have shown that the use of linguistic resources can have real social consequences. They have also discussed how some of these meanings can be reinterpreted by the speakers (like e.g. a feature that encodes locality may be reinterpreted as linked with certain attitudes and lifestyle choices).

In this dissertation I focus on a feature that is very closely linked with the social order, and that is salient i.e. noticeable by the speakers and readily commented on. I therefore incorporate the study of social meaning into this investigation, and follow previous studies in the close analysis of the emergence of and changes to the social meanings linked with one of the local referent honorific suffixes: HARU (see Chapter 5).

## **2.5. Summary**

In this chapter I have discussed a number of approaches and frameworks that need to be brought together to provide an innovative and comprehensive investigation of Osaka Japanese honorifics. I have outlined the approaches taken so far in the studies of Japanese honorification, and have pointed out where the present study will add to, and deepen our understanding of the use of referent honorifics. I have also briefly situated this investigation in the variationist framework, relating to the methods and concepts I will be referring to throughout the analysis in this dissertation.

## **Chapter 3**

### **3. Methods and frameworks**

In this Chapter I will focus on the methods used during fieldwork, and frameworks used in previous studies for analysing the kind of data I am focussing on, i.e. Japanese honorifics. I will discuss how and why I have chosen the community I conducted fieldwork in (3.1); I will then move on to talking about the sampling process and the sample (3.2), and the kinds of recordings I conducted (3.3). I will also briefly focus on the ethical issues involved (3.4). Then I will talk about handling the data I obtained (3.5), and finally focus on the frameworks found in previous research, that I consider most suitable for this kind of analysis, and their application to my dataset (3.6-7).

#### **3.1. Situating the fieldwork**

The main discussion and analysis in this dissertation is based on a corpus of naturally occurring interactions collected during my fieldwork in Osaka. The fieldwork lasted from September until December 2008. My stay there, the sampling methods I decided to use, as well as some parts of the analysis that involved including extra-linguistic (and often culture-specific) factors, were made possible due to the fact that I had previously lived, worked and studied in Osaka.



In the next sections of this chapter, I will focus on the role my previous experience in Osaka had in conducting my fieldwork in 2008 (3.1.1), my fieldwork in Osaka (3.1.2) and talk about how I made connections necessary for conducting the fieldwork and how it helped me in understanding culture-specific and local community-specific issues.

### **3.1.1. The value of previous experience**

I stayed in Osaka for the first time in 2002-2003 as an undergraduate student attending a full-time language course in one of the language schools. This was my first ever visit to Japan. It lasted 17 months, so I managed to get acquainted with the city quite well. This stay, however, gave me not only a geographic knowledge of the area, but also left me with a number of local friends, who helped me understand Japan and Osaka. While attending language courses I was also working part-time. Working in local bars and cafes I met a number of various local people who helped me create a solid social network, which was invaluable when I went back in 2008 to do my fieldwork. The reason why this turned out to give me an advantage I had not realised at the time was that people attending bars are, for the most part, men. It has been observed in previous sociolinguistic research in Japanese society (e.g. Ogino 1985, 1986) that getting access to male informants can be very challenging. Due to the structure of the society (e.g. Hendry 2003) where currently a large number of men work and a significant number of women are housewives or are engaged in part-time jobs, getting access to men who are willing (and, more importantly, can afford the time) to

participate in any kind of prolonged research is very much limited. Very often even the after-work hours are spent on socialising with colleagues and bosses (a pastime that, I was told more than once, was not completely voluntary). Having the opportunity to work in a bar meant therefore that I had a chance to meet men, some of who later participated in the recordings.

During my second stay in Osaka in 2006-2007 I managed to create networks and gain experience that was qualitatively different from my first stay in Japan. For one year I was working in a privately owned kindergarten, so as to engage with local community more, but also get to know the 'corporate' side of Japanese society. The kindergarten was run in a very structured, hierarchical manner in terms of the status of the employees (as, I was later told, is true of a number of Japanese companies, businesses etc. also private). There was a solid hierarchical structure, governed mostly by the number of years since employment (for the discussion of this kind of structure see e.g. Nakane 1970). Being employed in this kindergarten allowed me to experience this kind of hierarchy from an insider's (to a certain extent) perspective. I also was able to see and understand the internal politics, and how such an organisation has a great influence on people's treatment of one another, also linguistically, and not only within the work setting. As the purpose of my fieldwork was investigating honorifics, I also benefited greatly as an analyst from this experience. I realised the importance of the social ladder in analysing honorifics, and in understanding the ways people address one another, and refer to one another. This in turn led to very detailed coding of social factors in the recorded interactions, as I became

aware of the complex nature of assessing oneself in relation to others in Japanese society.

My position in the hierarchy of the kindergarten was ambiguous, as it was made known from the beginning I would only stay for one year, and therefore it was unclear whether I was to be treated as a full member of the staff. I was also older than the majority of the girls who were working there, and was the only foreigner. Some of my co-workers from the kindergarten took part in the recordings when I went back to do fieldwork in 2008. While I took into consideration their relationship with one another (Chapter 6, section 6.1.2.2), I did not mark my relative social position with them in the interactions. When I went back in 2008 to do my fieldwork, we were no longer co-workers, so I decided to exclude any potential social distance between us from the analysis (see also section 6.1.2.2).

### **3.1.2. Entering the community**

All of the previous experiences made my fieldwork much easier than it would have been otherwise. Having the previous knowledge of local customs, the dialect (to some extent), and knowledge of the area made me feel less like an 'outsider'. Building on my existing social networks I was able to meet other people and be introduced as a 'friend' rather than as a researcher, which I found very helpful in a number of ways. Firstly, as a non-Japanese person, I am an outsider in the most noticeable way possible – I look different. While this does not necessarily provide an obstacle when meeting people socially, it might make a difference when asking someone to

take part in a recording. Being introduced to people through their families and friends, as well as meeting people in a local bar and a local café where I worked, made me less of an intruder, and more someone who 'belongs'. This was made explicit to me in one of the rather heated conversations in the bar:

K: foreigners don't respect Japanese customs=

A: =I'm a foreigner and=

K: = no you're an Osakan (laugh)

Another important difference I found from the first time I was in Osaka, was that it seemed much easier to meet families and friends of the people I had met on my previous visits. Going back again, after a few years, or being introduced as someone whom their relatives or friends have known for a while seemed to make a difference, especially for the older generations. Therefore, I had the chance to record people's conversations with the members of their families and with their friends.

My fieldwork started in September 2008, and for the first month I was establishing my networks, creating new ones, and getting familiar with the local community I moved into. I stayed in the southern part of the city, where I had lived before and where some of the people I knew also lived. I started working in a local café, and once a week worked in a local bar. I also enrolled in a local community centre and attended a number of various classes there. I tried to become a regular participant at some classes and only after I had attended a few and met the other participants more times, I recorded their conversations. Whether it was for the previously mentioned reasons, or for the fact that the classes on offer were mostly crafts, the

overwhelming majority of participants were women. This again supports the point raised in other research (Ogino 1985) that it is often easier to get access to female participants in Japanese society.

The recordings obtained during my first month do not constitute a part of the linguistic analysis, but they were a useful way of showing people what I do and getting both myself and the participants familiar with the microphone. These recordings are also a source of numerous comments about the language, Osaka, about honorifics and about local linguistic and cultural stereotypes. A lot of attitudinal data can be gathered from these conversations, and a lot of information helped me in the actual linguistic analysis.

The main part of the corpus was recorded in the time between mid-October and Christmas 2008.

### **3.2. The sample**

In this section I will focus on two issues: the sampling process (3.2.1), and its outcome, i.e. the sample itself (3.2.2). I will discuss how the methods chosen by me relate to the previous research, and explain why I found these methods most suitable for my study. I will also briefly explain what kinds of social factors were taken into account.

### 3.2.1. The sampling process

Due to the limited time I had in Osaka I had to choose a method of sampling that would be most efficient, but also that would allow me to get access to a number of different individuals in a number of varying situations. One of the issues I was faced with was obtaining a somehow representative sample, that would allow me to analyse patterns of speech of Osakans. I decided to stay in one area of the city (southern Osaka), as this was where I had previously established some networks. Also, there seem to be some preconceptions and circulating stereotypes about the differences between the northern and southern parts of the city, so I decided against using recordings from people in both areas.

To begin with I followed Sankoff's (1980) outline of the decisions that must be taken in order to establish what kind of sample will be sufficient for a given research.

- Defining the sampling universe
- Assessing the dimensions of variation in the given community
- Determining the sample size

The 'sampling universe' in the case of my study is the city of Osaka. I have, however, limited the scope of this study to only include people living in one community. The area I focussed on is in the southern part of Osaka (around Nagai park and Harinakano station), and is (at least in the eyes of those who live there) seen as 'real' Osaka:

Aki: When you go to the northern ward, it's not Osaka anymore.

Anna: Really?

Aki: Yeah, in our eyes it's not. When you go to the north (of Osaka) they're a little- stylish. Anyway, when you cross Yodo river, we don't think that is Osaka anymore.

Anna: So, from where to where-

Aki: - umm from here <laughs> maybe up to Yodo river.

{...}

Aki: Up north from Yodo river, people from there smell of Tokyo. They are more stylish. There are no homeless people. It's- here it's real. Real Osaka.

(Osaka I, AB, Aki & Anna, 01'02'17)

We can then see from Aki's comments, that there is clear division within the city and the larger Osaka area as to where *honma no Osaka* 'real Osaka' is situated, and where *honma no Osakajin* 'real Osakans' live. Whether this is uniform across the area is hard for me to tell, but these kinds of divisions appeared often in the discussions, and people I met often commented that this (i.e. southern, where I conducted my fieldwork) part of Osaka is more 'real' or 'authentic' than some other parts.

The dimensions of variation cut across gender, age and context (see section 3.2.2 below), but social network turned out to be another significant local social factor (see the discussion below). I tried to include a comparable number of men and women, due to previous suggestions that (i) women

generally use more honorifics than men, (ii) local honorific suffix HARU, even though it is not gender specific, is a female-preferred form (Palter & Horiuchi 1995; SturtzSreetharan 2008). I also decided to include people from different generations to test the hypothesis that younger people in general use fewer honorific forms than older people (Inoue 1979; Okamoto1997; Ogino 1986) and to analyse a possible change in progress in the use of local forms, in accordance with apparent time hypothesis.

Honorifics are linguistic phenomena that are highly context-dependent; that is why while thinking about sampling methods I had to take into consideration that even getting access to a large number of people from both genders and across generations would not necessarily mean a possibility of recording situations that would be helpful in terms of understanding local honorifics. I had therefore to look for options of recording in a number of situations, contexts and settings, while keeping in mind the comparability of the recordings – for this reason not all of my recordings constitute the corpus used in the current analysis.

The main variant I focus on in the analysis is the local honorific suffix HARU (for the discussion of the distribution and functions of all the other referent honorifics in Osaka I corpus see Chapter 4). The difficulty in recording situations where it is most likely to occur can be summed up by a quote from Palter & Horiuchi:

... [A]s Kansai-ben usually has a reputation of being less formal than standard Japanese, when truly formal language is required, such as during job interviews or intercom announcements, standard formal Japanese is usually used. Therefore, the *-haru* form is most often heard in situations that fall somewhere between formal and informal. (Palter & Horiuchi, 1995:32)



This comment alone suggests that it is not entirely clear when and how local honorific HARU is used. Personal communication with Professor Shigeko Okamoto also pointed to the fact, that it is really hard to predict the use of this particular honorific, as well as find settings that can be described as 'appropriate' for its use. I decided therefore to engage in a number of activities and record varying social situations in order to understand the socio-pragmatic content of HARU, and to be able to analyse its use across generations.

Having spent a month settling in the community and creating social networks I then decided to use 'snowball method' or 'friend of a friend' approach, as this gave me the chance to get access to a number of people and record them in different contexts, as I was often introduced as a friend of a family. Using this kind of method effectively meant that the sample is composed of self-selected participants, who had the time and willingness to participate. There are a number of important methodological advantages in using a sample that, to a certain degree, was self-selected: if the participants are friends or family, they are more likely to fall into behaviour that is habitual and most usual for them (cf. Blom and Gumperz 1972), thus minimising the effect of the 'Observer's Paradox' (Labov 1972), and allowing the conversations to develop in a more natural way. This also gave me a chance to record people more than once, which gives the basis for analysing intra-speaker variation and understanding possible social meanings indexed by given variants.

### 3.2.2. Social factors: the speakers

There are two groups of extralinguistic factors I have decided to include in the analysis of OJ honorifics: (i) those that categorise the speakers into distinct groups, and (ii) those that describe the relationship on the *speaker:addressee* or *speaker:referent* (or both) axis. The first group of factors consists of: gender, age and social networks of the speakers; the second one is more complicated, and involves incorporating several levels of categorization. I tried to capture the relationships that can possibly have an influence on the speakers' choice of whether or not to use a referent honorific (for a discussion of those see Chapter 6, section 6.1.2). The factors include: relative age, gender, social position and degree of familiarity and specificity of the referent. Additionally, I look at whether HARU is used as a form of address or reference.

In this section I will focus on the social categorization of the speakers, and discuss the division of the sample into social categories. Two factors included from the beginning were: age and sex of the speakers, and an additional one, social networks, turned out to be locally important during the course of the fieldwork.

#### 3.2.2.1. Sex

Previous research on Japanese honorifics suggests that there is a difference between their use among men and women ( Jordan & Noda 1987; Ide 1990;

Niyekawa 1990; Shibatani 1990). This view has been challenged by some (e.g. Okamoto 1997; Yamaji 2008) when analysing spontaneous interactions. With regards to the local honorific suffix HARU e.g. SturtzSreetharan (2006) and Maeda (1961/80) claim that men are not heard using this form. Other sources suggest, however, that HARU is not sex-exclusive (Horii 1995). I have therefore included the gender of the speaker to engage with the arguments and claims made in previous research.

### **3.2.2.2. Age**

Since one of the questions arising from the analysis of local honorifics is the possibility and directionality of change, age was included in order to analyse the data in accordance with the apparent time construct. It has also been suggested that younger generations use fewer honorific forms overall than older generations, however, the possible explanations of this have not been pursued.

Following Dubois and Horvath (1999), I have treated age as sociological, as well as chronological variable (see also the discussion in Eckert 1997). The participants were assigned into cohorts based on their chronological age, but the division between older, middle and younger groups was made on the basis of the sociolinguistic situation of OJ relevant for the given group, which has been undergoing quite a lot of sometimes rapid changes over the past few decades. The collective experiences of linguistic reality, the status of their own variety, as well as perceptions and recognitions of it are different for each of those age groups.

The following is by no means an attempt to analyse the whole of Japanese society, but is merely an account of what the informants in my sample have shared with me.

*The older group* is composed of people who are 60 - 86 and are no longer in full-time employment. All of them have retired. None of the people in this age group are actively participating in the job market anymore.

People in this older group experienced immediate post-war Japan and were involved in rebuilding the country. Both men and women worked, often in jobs requiring physical labour – all of the women in my sample in this age group have had full-time employment at some stage in their lives.

Members of this group were in education between 1930s and 1960s. In the pre-war period there seems to have been no recognition of dialects in schooling, and the use of standard language was promoted and seen as a source of national identity (a policy which continued long afterwards). Immediately after WWII, while the national drive towards homogeneity (both linguistic and cultural) was not as intense as it had been previously, the pressure of language standardization continued until the mid 1960s (Carroll 2001:183). During this period the teaching of correct language was to be achieved not only through schools, but also through the radio (Carroll 2001). This underlines the role Japanese media have had in language education and shaping attitudes towards the language spoken in the country.

The big difference between the older and the *middle group* is with regards to employment histories of the women. Some of the women in the middle age cohort work full-time, some part-time, while some have always been housewives. Their involvement in the job market is significantly more

restricted than their husbands', and therefore the linguistic pressures present in their lives are of a different kind. Their social ties, for the most part, are much more local and dense than those of their husbands.

Speakers from the middle age group were faced with a different approach as far as teaching and language education was concerned. Their school years fell between the late 1960s and early 1990s, when new guidelines were put in place, and school curricula began to change their view of, and attitude towards dialect varieties. Gradually code-switching began to be the prescribed norm, with school children taught to use the local and standard variety where appropriate (Carroll 2001:186). Having talked to a few schoolteachers, however, it became apparent to me that official curricula must have played a different role in different areas of Japan – while the teachers in this group themselves recall being corrected at school, they claim that in their teaching career everyone was using OJ freely both in the schools and outside it.

*The younger group* consists of people who have not, for the most part, yet entered the job market – they are either university or final-year high-school students. Unlike the middle group, most of the women in this group are also planning to undertake employment, and their ambitions are not much different from those of their male peers. The difference between the women in the middle and younger groups is much greater than that between middle and younger men in terms of (prospective) job-involvement and careers.

The younger age group in my sample is composed of people whose school years fall between the 1990s and the present. The official teaching

curricula have not changed in the recent years, and the official guidelines are the same as they were in the times of their parents' education. What has changed, however, is the recognition of OJ, its presence in the media and attitudes towards it both within and outside Osaka. Since the 1970s there has been an increasing use of OJ in TV dramas and TV commercials.

One of the first initiatives to introduce OJ in the public sphere outside the local area was *Osaka-ben de shaberu DAY* ('A Day of Talking in Osaka Dialect') in 1993 - all day on NHK One Radio only OJ was spoken. The importance of this can be appreciated if we recall that media (and especially radio) had previously been used to promote the correct use of good language, and many of my older generation informants were still surprised by the presence of OJ in national media. For the younger age group, however, this is the sociolinguistic reality – their variety is recognised, liked, and even imitated. It is seen as different than other varieties of Japanese, and reified as one that is monolithic, easily recognizable, and that a number of users of other varieties attempt to incorporate in their speech. As one of the speakers said: 'There are people who come from Kyushu and they imitate Osaka dialect, because they find it attractive.'

With an increasing number of Osaka-born comedians appearing on TV, the city has begun to be associated with entertainment more than anything else.

### 3.2.2.3. Social networks

Another social factor turned out to be salient in the local community – network type. I have therefore included two distinct network types in this analysis, and divided people in the sample accordingly.

In the sample analysed here I have detected two distinct kinds of social networks, which I have labelled ‘local’ and ‘non-local’. The factors taken into account when dividing people into those two categories turned out to be a combination of their ties (or lack of them) in the community, and their job – for most of the speakers in the sample it followed naturally that if someone was working outside the local community (very often in large corporations in the city centre), their networks in the community were practically non-existent or very limited. I also took into consideration overt comments about local or non-local values and aspirations (cf. Hazen 2002), and whether the speakers were closely connected with their families. For all of the speakers the close connections with families meant usually that there were other strong ties with the local community, as all of the speakers in the sample were born in the area. As far as the aspirations for the future and the value the speakers placed on the local community, a number of speakers overtly expressed their desire to either leave and try living somewhere else, or said that they would not mind moving from Osaka. It was equally common for people to underline how important Osaka was for some speakers, and that they would not want to move and felt deeply connected with the place.

Table 3.1 combines all of the factors taken into account for the three age groups and both genders. There are some differences within each of the factors according to age (e.g. there are mostly retired people in the older age group), or gender (e.g. all of the men, regardless if they have local or non-local networks have jobs, whereas not all women do).



Gender	Age group	Job		Social networks		Family & aspirations	
		LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL
Women	Older	Retired or never worked	Retired	Very dense only local; multiplex (both work and friendship)	Both local and non-local	Very close with family; multigenerational households	Multigenerational households; no close family ties
	Middle	Housewife P/T or F/T job traditionally viewed as female (e.g. kindergarten or craft teacher, nurse)	Full-time in a company	Very dense only local	Loose, no local friends, mainly colleagues, co-workers	Very close family ties	Little or no family ties (seldom visits, doesn't spend time together)
	Younger	No job P/T in a local business (bar, restaurant) or traditionally female	No job Trainee in a company P/T in hospitality	Relatively dense Mostly local	Relatively loose, mostly non-local (university)	Very close family ties	Little or no family ties; wants to travel or live elsewhere
Men	Older	Retired	Retired	Dense mostly local multiplex (both work and friendship)	Loose, both local and non-local	Very close with family; multigenerational households	Multigenerational households; no close family ties
	Middle	F/T job in a local business (often owner of it)	F/T in a large company	Dense, multiplex local ties (both friendship and work)	Loose, no local friends, mainly colleagues, co-workers	Very close family ties	Little or no family ties
	Younger	No job P/T in a local business	No job; Trainee in a company; P/T in hospitality	Relatively dense, mostly local	Loose, mostly non-local	Relatively close family ties	Little or no family ties; want to travel

Table 3.1. The factors taken into account when categorising speakers into having 'local' or 'non-local' ties.

It is also important to note that there is yet another qualitative difference between the two kinds of networks used here, namely the ones labelled 'local' are much more focussed (LaPage & Tabourett-Keller 1985) and, for the most part, multiplex, and in effect can be described as dense, hence the kind of networks which may inhibit language change. It has been suggested that a close-knit network 'has an intrinsic capacity to function as a norm-enforcement mechanism' (Milroy & Milroy 1985:359). Conversely, the 'non-local' ones are much more loose, and so may be conducive to language change.

As Gumperz (1982:172) notes, there is an important link between network type and a plethora of other social factors. It is therefore important to analyse them alongside both other independent variables chosen for this study: age and gender (see also the discussion in Chapter 6).

### 3.2.3. A note on the sample and numbers

The final sample includes people who were born and raised in Osaka, and had at least one of the parents born and raised in the city as well. All of the speakers, their sex, age, network type and age group are listed in Table 3.2.

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Network type</b>	<b>Age group</b>
1	Yuri	F	17	Non-local	Younger
2	Ai	F	17	Non-local	Younger
3	Aiko	F	18	Local	Younger
4	Mai	F	18	Non-local	Younger
5	Shun	F	22	Local	Younger
6	Madoka	F	22	Non-local	Younger

7	Kaori	F	23	Non-local	Younger
8	Junko	F	23	Local	Younger
9	Mayuko	F	30	Local	Middle
10	Naomi	F	33	Non-local	Middle
11	Mizuki	F	36	Non-local	Middle
12	Ayaka	F	40	Local	Middle
13	Yui	F	44	Local	Middle
14	Tomoko	F	45	Local	Middle
15	Midori	F	45	Local	Middle
16	Tomomi	F	46	Non-local	Middle
17	Kazuko	F	50	Local	Middle
18	Emi	F	62	Local	Older
19	Hiroko	F	63	Local	Older
20	Akiko	F	64	Non-local	Older
21	Rei	F	65	Local	Older
22	Keiko	F	66	Non-local	Older
23	Yukiko	F	74	Local	Older
24	Yoshiko	F	76	Local	Older
25	Hiroaki	M	17	Non-local	Younger
26	Ken	M	18	Non-local	Younger
27	Yuuma	M	18	Local	Younger
28	Kenji	M	24	Non-local	Younger
29	Shunsuke	M	25	Local	Younger
30	Yusuke	M	25	Local	Younger
31	Hikaru	M	30	Non-local	Middle
32	Goro	M	35	Non-local	Middle
33	Nori	M	37	Local	Middle
34	Taka	M	37	Non-local	Middle
35	Yoshiro	M	38	Non-local	Middle
36	Aki	M	50	Local	Middle
37	Shoo	M	52	Local	Middle
38	Ichiro	M	60	Local	Older
39	Daisuke	M	62	Non-local	Older
40	Katsuo	M	63	Local	Older
41	Ryoo	M	65	Local	Older
42	Yasu	M	67	Local	Older
43	Makoto	M	71	Non-local	Older
44	Takeshi	M	79	Local	Older
45	Kenta	M	86	Local	Older

Table 3.2. Full sample of speakers, with their pseudonyms, ages, sex and network types

While I was aiming to get a sample balanced for age and gender from the beginning of my fieldwork, network type was a factor that I only became aware of during my fieldwork. Differences in network structure for each of the age groups (see Table 3.1), as well as the distribution of speakers across local and non-local networks might be seen as symptomatic of social change taking place in this community. This is especially clear when we compare older and younger generations of women, where the numbers of ‘local’ and ‘non-local’ people are almost reverse. Having spent some time in the community I believe that the uneven numbers of local versus non-local people in different age groups (see Table 3.3) are a reflection of the local situation, rather than a sampling bias.

	Younger		Middle		Older	
Women	8		9		7	
	Local:	Non-local:	Local:	Non-local:	Local:	Non-local:
	3	5	6	3	5	2
Men	6		7		8	
	Local:	Non-local:	Local:	Non-local:	Local:	Non-local:
	3	3	4	3	6	2

*Table 3.3. Distribution of speakers in the sample by age, sex and network type*

### 3.3. Recordings

Since the main focus of my research was to observe the way in which OJ honorifics are used in natural interactions, I had to record such situations, where the use of local honorifics would be possible, or appropriate. As I have

already discussed (section 3.2.1 above) establishing the appropriate context for the use of local honorifics is very difficult. Previous research suggests that local honorific forms are most likely to occur in informal contexts, where the speakers are familiar with each other (e.g. SturtzSreetharan 2008). I therefore decided to record such situations.

I will now discuss the types of recordings I conducted, that are the basis of discussion in this dissertation.

### **3.3.1. Sociolinguistic interviews**

The classic sociolinguistic interview along with the many variations developed over the years by researchers has proven to be one of the most widely used way of collecting data for sociolinguistic research. During the first month of my fieldwork I conducted a few interviews, but then realised that this way of data collection is not the most suitable for collecting and analysing the use of honorifics. The fact that I am not only a researcher recording conversations, but also am not Japanese intensified the effect of the 'Observer's Paradox' and most of the interviews seemed very formal and uncomfortable for the people interviewed.

Since one of my primary interests is the analysis of sociopragmatic role of honorifics, the data needed to be recorded in different settings, contexts, situations and with varied addressees. This is why I decided not to use sociolinguistic interviews in the linguistic analysis. However, there is a multitude of attitudinal data to be gained from those interviews. Here the fact that I was so obviously an outsider proved beneficial since all my

interviewees were eager to explain the language, social and cultural stereotypes connected with Osaka people, attitudes and expectations as far as the use of honorifics and OJ. It seemed clear that the people I talked to were happy to talk about all things Osaka, and discuss common misconceptions about both the people and the language. Although initially frustrating (as I realised I will not be able to use the recordings for linguistic analysis), conducting the interviews turned out to be an immense resource for understanding local attitudes, which in the long run proved beneficial in the final analysis.

### **3.3.2. Group recordings**

Most of the recordings that constitute my corpus (and ones that are used for the linguistic analysis of the data discussed in this dissertation) can be placed under the common description 'group recordings'. The interactions include conversations among:

- Family members (mother-daughter; father-daughter; husband-wife; sisters-in-law; brother-sister)
- Friends
- Acquaintances (in a bar; in a café)
- Craft/hobby group members (*igo* players; *chirigami*; kimono crafts)
- Students (both from the same year and from different years)
- Co-workers

I recorded interactions mostly among people I had previously met and some of them had taken part in recording sociolinguistic interviews at the beginning of my fieldwork. I then asked them for permission to record their conversations with other people. I was present for all of the recordings, but for the most part did not participate actively in the conversation, after initially asking for permission to record and giving explanation.

This way of recording was very beneficial in terms of different topics, addressees, differing contexts and settings – all of which, as it has been suggested in previous research, has some effect on the choice of honorifics and local vs. standard forms. It also provides long stretches of unscripted speech. While in analysing phonological variation the time of recording can be fairly constant as the variables occur very often, when looking at variables like honorifics (or other optional linguistic variables) it is hard to determine how long the recording should be, as there is no way of predicting when (if at all) the variable will occur. That is why systematic analysis of such variables sometimes requires very long recordings.

### **3.3.3. Follow-up recordings and second-time visits**

Most of the recordings for sociolinguistic research were recorded after having known participants for a while, and a large number of recordings used for analyses are not 'first-time' recordings, but rather later interviews recorded with the same person. I decided it would be useful to record interactions of a given person or, if I had a chance, group of people more

than once. Most of the interactions in my corpus are 'follow-up' recordings, i.e. second or third recorded interaction of a given group of people.

Recording more than once with a specific person gave me an opportunity to analyse intraspeaker variation. This in turn allowed me to understand which of the variables have been (or perhaps have the potential of being) used (and reanalysed) as stylistic devices, since I have in my corpus some recordings of the same person in different settings, talking to different addressees etc.

Returning to the same groups of people also gave me an idea of how much of an imposition such a recording can be. Even though I was at times recording groups of friends or acquaintances during their normal pastimes, very often it turned out that the second recording is more relaxed and natural. This is not only my opinion, but very often the participants themselves told me that they felt much more at ease the second time, and sometimes forgot that the recording device was on.

### **3.3.4. Osaka I corpus**

The dataset used for analysing use of referent honorifics in the speech of Osaka Japanese users is a sub-set of all interactions recorded during my fieldwork. The full dataset (all recordings conducted during fieldwork) contains a number of interactions when speakers met me for the first time, which are not included in the corpus used for the discussion in this dissertation. The full corpus will be referred to as 'Osaka', while the sub-



corpus, which provides the basis for the analysis in this dissertation is referred to as 'Osaka I' hereafter.

Osaka I consists of spontaneous recordings of interactions between 2 or more people. There are overall 23 conversations, amounting to almost 38 hours of speech.

### 3.3.5. Different angles and data triangulation

In my analysis of linguistic patterns of OJ users I draw on the main corpus (Osaka I), speaker's attitudes drawn from their overt comments, and previous research describing the distribution and use of the variants. This allows me to triangulate data from norms, perceptions and use. As has been previously suggested there are a number of attitudes concerning both OJ and honorifics, and including speakers' perceptions can be beneficial and can further enrich the analysis. During my recordings speakers were happy to comment on the use and many aspects of the local variety:

Osaka ningen wa ammari hyoojungo wo tsukawan ya na  
*People from Osaka don't really use Standard Japanese*  
(Osaka I, AB, Aki)

Tookyoo toka ittara sugoi moteru rashii de Osaka ben  
*If you go to Tokyo Osaka Japanese is popular over there*  
(Osaka I, AB, Aki)

Osaka no hanashikata ... yoku ieba sugoku shitashimi yasui kanji da  
kedo waruku ieba hontoo ni nanka mushinkei te iu ka  
*The way of speaking in Osaka ... if you want to put it nicely, it feels very friendly but if you want to put it badly, it's really insensitive*  
(Osaka I, TTL, Noriko)

Owarai wa zenbu Osakaben ya kara ne  
*Because all comedies are in Osaka Japanese, aren't they?*  
(Osaka I, YP, Yuusuke)

Such comments were very useful for me in understanding community language ideologies (Giles & Powesland 1975; Gal & Irvine 2000) and trying to uncover social values assigned to the two varieties (SJ and OJ).

### 3.4. Ethics

In conducting all of the recordings (and all of my fieldwork in general) I followed ethical guidelines set out and discussed in numerous sociolinguistic and anthropological publications, as well as on various websites of linguistic and anthropological associations (e.g. Research with Human Subjects on the LSA website <http://www.lsadc.org/info/lsa-res-human.cfm>, or various ethical guidelines on the AAA website <http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethics.htm>).

Even though linguistic research (in most cases) poses no direct danger to the wellbeing of individuals or community under study, linguists must also adhere to a number of ethical guidelines. The study of language in use requires prolonged contact with speakers of a given language, their active participation and letting the researcher into their lives and the life of their community. Being aware how much I owe the people who agreed to participate in my research, I paid special attention to the following points:

- (i) Informed consent: I made sure all the participants were aware of the recordings being made, and ensured ample explanation when someone required it. For the recordings where I was present it was

a relatively straightforward task, whereby all the participants were informed in advance that the conversation was being recorded, and if they chose not to participate it was easy for them to opt out. Before bringing a recorder to e.g. a community centre class I made sure everyone taking part in a given activity knew about it in advance – as I only recorded the classes I attended myself, by the time the recordings were made I had had contact with all the other participants.

- (ii) Privacy: I ensured the privacy of all the participants. The names used in this dissertation (and other dissemination of this research project) are all pseudonyms, and the participants were informed that their real names will not be revealed.
  
- (iii) Justice: Since some of the informants expressed greater interest in my research, I made sure that all of the participants have access to my phone number while in Japan, and e-mail address afterwards, so that they could get in touch with me if they had any further questions about any part of the project, including the results (also in case they changed their mind and wanted to withdraw their consent). I found that some of the people I talked to were very curious about the findings and so made sure that I have their contact so that I can inform them of the particular part of the results they were interested in. Knowing that people take real interest in this also made me aware that there is a need for this

kind of research, as there is an interest in the changes of local dialect in the community itself.

### **3.5. Data transcription and preparation**

All of the recordings carried out during my fieldwork were saved on the laptop, backed up on the external hard-drive, and labelled. Every file is labelled in two ways: file number (to be able and track the number of interactions recorded) and also with a file name. The file name (for the majority of the files, with few exceptions) is an acronym made of the first letters of participants' pseudonyms, and so a conversation with Midori, Yoshiko and Yukiko is labelled as file 011, MYY. The file name helps me in quickly identifying which conversation it is, since I can remember who took part in it by looking at the first letters of their names. The protocol file for the whole sample is saved in the form of Excel spreadsheet.

The first part of transcription was carried out in Osaka while I was still conducting my fieldwork. For that I used Microsoft Word primarily, but later all of the files were transcribed again using Elan 6.0 (<http://www.lati-mpi.eu/tools/elan>) for time-aligned transcription.

The interactions I transcribed while still in Osaka (in total over 7 hours, 18% of the overall corpus) were checked by two native speakers of Japanese. There were only two discrepancies we discovered between my transcription and their corrections, so I decided to continue carrying out the transcription. After coming back to Edinburgh I continued transcribing the interactions, this time using Elan 6.0. This allowed me to create time-aligned

transcriptions, create a full transcript, extract the tokens into excel and create additional tiers within each interaction, on which I could mark honorific utterances. This helped me in finding the utterances I needed for analysis quickly and efficiently. After finishing the transcription each interaction was saved in Elan (as an .eaf file) and then extracted in two forms: one as a traditional transcript file (in .txt format), and one as an Excel file. Further coding was then carried out in Excel.

The multivariate analyses discussed in Chapter 6 were carried out in GoldVarbX (Sankoff et al. 2005).

### **3.6. Analysing Japanese honorifics – combining the approaches**

Japanese studies on the use of honorifics for the most part fall broadly into one of the two kinds: analyses using quantitative methods are based on self-reported surveys, while analyses using qualitative approaches use conversational data (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.4 for a discussion and examples). Large-scale surveys are an excellent source of information, they provide a solid baseline from which we can try and look systematically at the *use* of honorifics in interactions. Using real interactional data additionally allows us to discuss the distribution of different forms across populations (as has been done in the past few decades of sociolinguistic studies), analyse possible changes in progress in the use of these features, and focus on the possible kinds of social meanings they are used to index. It seems therefore a valuable contribution to try and combine the two approaches that have been kept separate: using both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse

natural recorded interactions.

### **3.6.1. Qualitative analysis**

In this dissertation I use both top-down and bottom-up approaches to have a full picture of the use, meaning(s) and functions of OJ honorifics. To analyse the distribution of features across different populations of speakers in my sample I employ methods from the variationist paradigm (see chapter 2, section 2.3, and the discussion below). The issues with using these methods to analyse honorifics are discussed below, as are all the factors taken into consideration and coded for. To look closely at interactional functions and meanings of OJ honorifics I resort to using a wide array of tools provided by interactional sociolinguistics, that have in previous studies been employed to analyse the use of honorifics in interaction. In the discussion of social meanings I employ the notion of indexicality (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.4.2, and Chapter 6 for discussion), and pay attention to distributional patterns, speakers' perceptions and metadiscourse and use of forms in interaction.

Among other approaches, this study is deeply embedded in ethnography. The links with ethnography in this dissertation are twofold: firstly, ethnographic methods were employed while conducting fieldwork, and secondly, the investigation carried out takes also from the field referred to as ethnography of speaking/ communication (Hymes 1964). The core of ethnography of communication is defined by Dell Hymes:

A general theory of the interaction of language and social life must encompass the multiple relations between linguistic means and social meaning. The relations within a particular community or personal

repertoire are an empirical problem, calling for a mode of description that is jointly ethnographic and linguistic (Hymes 1972:39)

Ethnography needs then to be seen both as a method, and an approach to data analysis and interpretation. In the course of my fieldwork ethnographic method was used in the form of 'observing, asking questions, participating in group activities and testing the validity of ... perceptions' (Saville-Troike 2003:3). Other approaches that I draw on in the course of qualitative analysis include linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics, as means of engaging with the data, the participants and the community under study.

### **3.6.2. Quantitative analysis: situated study of variation**

Quantitative analysis in this dissertation is carried out using methods based within the variationist framework. The study is designed focussing on one community that I was familiar with, and where I had previously spent a considerable amount of time. I was thus familiar with the local values, and soon learnt other significant ways in which participants of this study identified themselves. The method is inspired by other variationist studies which also incorporated an element of ethnography, such as Eckert (2000), or Mendoza-Denton (2008). Even though not a study of a particular community of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999), such an approach was valuable in discovering other factors constraining the use of features I was previously unaware of (like the different network types that I later identified among the participants).

Quantitative analysis provides an overview of the patterns of use of the local forms, while qualitative analysis allows me to explore the actual use of the forms. Throughout the discussion in this dissertation, especially in Chapters 5 and 6, I simultaneously resort to using qualitative and quantitative methods. I believe this way of analysing the data may provide us with a fuller understanding of both linguistic and social situation.

I will now focus on the issues connected with employing the variationist paradigm in this study; I will look at the factors coded for in the quantitative analysis.

### **3.7. Circumscribing the variable context**

As I have already discussed, the very nature of the features analysed in this dissertation – OJ referent suffixes – is such that they need to be seen as both grammatical features constrained by the rules of morphology and syntax (cf. e.g. Harada 1976; Boeckx & Niinuma 2004), but also governed by socio-pragmatic considerations of various kinds (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.4.2 on honorifics in use). Even the analyses which treat referent honorifics in terms of agreement (Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Bobaljik & Yatsuhiko 2006) agree that honorification feature as such is optional (they then further go on to explain that while the initial decision whether or not to use the feature is optional, once honorification is present it then lends itself to grammatical analysis). This optionality of the feature presents an issue with exploring the distribution of honorifics in different populations across the speech community. Since one of the goals of this dissertation is to trace the use of the



form across age and gender, and discuss the changes happening over time, we need to set the baseline for an objective comparison of the use of this form between men and women, and across different age groups.

### **3.7.1. Setting ground for distributional and multivariate analyses**

Applying the variationist paradigm to a feature like honorifics presents an essential problem of circumscribing the variable context (this holds true for a number of variables above the level of phonology). While it is possible to count all the occurrences of the feature, it is questionable whether we can reliably account for all the contexts in which the honorific suffix could have occurred, but didn't. Since this 'principle of accountability' (Labov 1972) is fundamental to the study of variation, we need to find a way in which looking at the uses and non-uses of the form can be analysed in terms of 'variation'. To do this, I will follow the approach applied by Ito & Tagliamonte (2003) in their study of English intensifiers. Rather than using a commonly applied method of normalization, adapted from corpus linguistics (and used frequently in the studies of variation in discourse – see e.g. Podesva & Moore 2004), I will determine a constant denominator for the occurrence of forms and in this way calculate the frequency of their use. Normalization, while useful in studies of features like e.g. tag questions, where delimiting any kind of possible context of occurrence is nearly impossible, would, in my opinion, obscure the data. Calculating the occurrence of form per 1,000 words would include a number of utterances in which the occurrence of honorific suffixes is grammatically impossible.

### 3.7.2. Envelope of variation

The features I am analysing in this dissertation are OJ referent honorific verbal infixes. The constant denominator, i.e. the grammatical environment where the use of such features is possible, are verbs with a referent other than oneself. The use of referent honorification towards oneself is ungrammatical, therefore all the self-references are excluded from the variable context. Referent honorifics can be used to refer to an NP, which can, but does not have to be the addressee. It means that Examples 3.1 (where the referent is also the addressee) and 3.2 (where referent and addressee are separate people) are included in calculating the frequency of use, but not 3.3 (where the referent is oneself).

(3.1) nande iki-hat-tan desu-ka?  
why go-OJ.RH-PAST AH-QP  
*Why did you go?*  
(Osaka I, MT, Midori)

(3.2) Soft Bank no komaasharu ni de-te-ta  
Soft Bank GEN commercial DAT appear-PROGR-PAST  
*He appeared in the Soft Bank commercial*  
(Osaka I, KMAT, Ayaka)

(3.3) ano ne ano watashi kore setsumei shitetan  
well SJ.SFP well I this explanation do-PROGR-PAST  
  
desu  
AH  
*Well, I explained this*  
(Osaka I, TE, Tomoko)

The environment that allows the use of a referent honorific suffix are then all verbs with a clear referent. While the referents are mostly humans,

the ones that were also included are: those whose extensions are not in the real world, such as gods and demons, as well as non-specific references to places, things or organizations which can be understood as metonyms for the groups of people who work there. These last instances are often translated into English with a generic subject 'they' (e.g. 'they sell it in that shop', 'they were showing it on TV'). The speakers have a potential to mark these with referent honorification.

Other contexts excluded from the analysis are those, which do not permit honorific use, or where the speakers suggested would be ungrammatical and where my data confirms this. These include: the verb *oru*, sentences in the passive voice, baby references and utterances with unclear referent (ones we can translate with generic 'you'). I will now explain the rationale behind these decisions.

### 3.7.2.1. Oru

The verb *oru* is an OJ equivalent of SJ *iru* 'be'. What makes it particularly interesting is that *oru* in SJ is a humble form of the verb 'be'. In OJ the verb is used to mean 'be', without the humble meaning attached to it (Horii 1995). However, while *iru* is found to take referent honorific suffix in my database (3.4-5), *oru* never occurs with any honorific marking in my data.

- (3.4) chuugokujin ga i-te-haru no baito ni?  
 Chinese.person TOP be-PROGR-OJ.RH QP job in  
*There is a Chinese person in his part-time job?*  
 (Osaka I, KMAT', Ayaka)

- (3.5) ima Tracy no toko i-te-haru kara  
 now Tracy GEN place be-PROGR-OJ.RH because  
*Because she's now staying at Tracy's*  
 (Osaka I, NH, Hiroko)

In informal conversations about the use of various linguistic forms, speakers I have talked to, deemed such use as ‘incorrect’, which was further corroborated in my corpus. Since the meaning of this verb is ambiguous, it was excluded from the envelope of variation altogether. There were 71 instances of *oru* in the database.

### 3.7.2.2. Babies

The only exclusion with regards to the specific referent type was made for babies. There were overall 17 baby references in the corpus, none of them containing any kind of honorific marking. In the course of my fieldwork in the discussions concerning the scope of use of referent honorification, there seemed to be a consensus with regards to babies, i.e. that verbs referring to babies (regardless whether one’s own or someone else’s) should not be marked with referent honorification.

This is not to say that such use is impossible – there may well be situations in which speakers decide to use referent honorifics for a baby for some strategic reason, but since it does not occur in my corpus these utterances are excluded from the distributional analysis of this dataset.

All other family members are included, as it has been pointed out in previous research that local honorific may be used towards older family members (e.g. Hirayama 1997). I have included reference to both older and

younger family members, as there are several uses of local honorifics towards own children or nephews/ nieces.

### **3.7.2.3. Passives**

Iwasaki suggests that '[w]hen the person who deserves respect is coded as a non-subject, it becomes impossible to use the respect honorific forms' (2002:297). In her research on the use of HARU in Kyoto Japanese, Tsuji (2001, 2004) also suggests that this suffix cannot occur in passive constructions. All passive constructions were therefore excluded from the variable context.

### **3.7.2.4. Generic 'you'**

The notion of referent honorification requires a predicate to refer to a clear unambiguous referent. The basic (theoretical) premises for employing referent honorification are to signify respect, specifically connected with 'out-groupness' (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.3.5). To be able to convey respect to some other, we need then to be able to identify that other. Since for utterances that into English are best translated with generic 'you' that other is unidentifiable, the use of referent honorific is not possible.

Since Japanese allows for subject ellipsis, with a sentence out of context it is impossible to tell what/who the subject of this sentence is. From the wider conversational context we know, however, that the discussion is purely hypothetical, and does not involve any particular subject. It is then

best translated into English with a generic 'you'. In this case, since we cannot identify a referent clearly, and the possible referent includes the speaker himself, the use of referent honorification is not possible. All utterances of this kind are therefore excluded from the distributional analysis.

The decision concerning the inclusion/exclusion of any given referent was based on the following:

- Previous self-reported pilot study based on a forced-choice questionnaire. The question asked was: 'What form would you use when addressing/referring to ...?' (Miyaji 1987; Strycharz 2005)
- Direct comments from participants of the study (e.g. 'I use this form when talking to...')
- Examples found in spontaneous interactions
- Prescriptive norms of use of HARU

All conversations lasted between one and two hours. There is a difference in the number of contexts taken into consideration (i.e. finite verb tokens) when we consider the three generations, which appears to be an effect of different interactive, or communicative styles specific to different age groups. It was impossible to control for a specific number of relevant tokens for two reasons: (i) the conversations recorded were spontaneous, and therefore the content was unstructured, and (ii) the feature under study here is an optional one, and therefore (unlike e.g. phonological variables) it is impossible to control for the number of times it appears in conversation. However, for the more accurate and comprehensive analysis of the actual use of local honorification allowing to account for a large number of contexts

and situations, it seemed to be the best approach. The overall number of contexts where the use of referent honorific was possible was thus 2371. Across all generations, the number of relevant contexts was as follows: for older women 40-101 (mean: 69), 39-68 for older men (mean: 53) , 38-118 for middle women (mean: 80), 26-72 middle men (mean: 39), 45-79 younger women (mean: 60), and 24-57 younger men (mean: 35). While there are differences within and across groups, normalisation of the data could obscure the results, and some relevant contexts would be excluded. In further discussion I will therefore rely on percentages and results of multivariate analyses rather than raw numbers.

### **3.8. Summary**

In this chapter I have discussed the methods applied both while collecting the data, and in the data analysis and interpretation. I have shown how the corpus was collected, what were the issues that occurred, and how I solved these issues. I have argued that using unstructured informal interactions is the best-suited type of data for investigating the use of local honorifics.

Following that, I have discussed the social factors taken into account to obtain a balanced sample suitable for answering the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Apart from discussing age and gender I have also discussed an additional factor that became clear during the course of my fieldwork – different network.

Finally, I discussed how the variation in the use of honorifics can be investigated drawing on methodologies within the variationist paradigm. I

have provided a detailed discussion of the envelope of variation, showing the linguistic contexts that were included in the analysis.

In the following chapters I will analyse the use of honorifics in natural interactions of OJ users. I will start by looking at all honorific options available to OJ users, and analyse their interactional role. In Chapter 4 I will also provide a discussion of a wider linguistic context in which these features occur. Following this, I will focus on a close analysis of one of OJ referent honorific suffixes: HARU.



## Chapter 4

### 4. Referent honorifics in the speech of Osaka Japanese users

The aim of this dissertation is the analysis of some aspects of referent honorific constructions found in the speech of users of Osaka Japanese. As I have already shown (Chapter 2, section 2.1) the distribution of forms is very uneven (I will discuss this in more detail in this chapter), with one local form HARU overshadowing the use of all other referent honorifics. In Chapters 5 and 6, which I consider to be the heart of this dissertation, I will focus specifically on one of this local referent honorific. In this chapter, however, I will introduce and discuss all of the referent honorific options found in the dataset, and show what functions they fulfil in the interactions recorded. To be able to analyse all of the referent honorifics available for OJ users, including both standard and local options, I will focus on addressing the following issues:

- i. Is there a difference in the way OJ speakers use SJ versus OJ referent honorification?
  - a. If yes, is the difference mostly linguistic (i.e. do they occur in different linguistic contexts?) or mostly social (i.e. do they encode different relationships)?
- ii. Is there a change over time in the use of all/ any of the forms?
  - a. If yes, which ones and towards what?

Focussing on these issues (which are related to Research Questions 2, 3 and 4 – see Chapter 1, section 1.3), this chapter will allow me to show to what extent we can see OJ referent honorifics as a system, rather than features with their separate trajectories. It will also allow me to discuss how the ongoing changes in the use of each of the forms are related to each other, and analyse the differences, both linguistic and social, structural and interactional, of SJ and OJ referent honorifics as used in informal conversations.

In answering these questions, I will focus on the possible effect of standardization or dialect contact on the ongoing changes in frequency of the use of certain forms. I will argue that with regards to the use of the local suffixes, YARU may be undergoing attrition, HARU is taking over as the main referent honorific in the speech of OJ users, while YORU, while used very rarely, may not in fact be receding due to its unique functions. I will also suggest that the role of SJ honorifics is changing across generations, and that these changes are not independent of the changes in OJ honorific features. Throughout the discussion I will attempt to show that both SJ and OJ referent honorifics need to be seen not as two separate systems, but rather as resources available to the speakers, that are not completely independent of one another. Thus, the changes in the use of some forms will inevitably trigger changes in the use of other forms as well (I will return to this point in the discussion in Chapter 6).

There are then two main goals of this chapter. In the first part I will show and discuss what referent honorifics are found in informal speech of OJ users, and place them in context, i.e. I will look at the extent to which the two

systems (OJ and SJ) indeed operate as two separate systems. Since this discussion requires a much more in-depth analysis that is outside the scope of this dissertation, I will only provide brief discussion based on selected data from the corpus. A much more detailed analysis will be presented in other forthcoming work. In the second part of this chapter I will focus on analysing the function of each referent honorific option separately, to be able to further argue for their complementary function, and the influence they have on one another.

The structure of this Chapter is as follows: first I will discuss the distribution of all honorifics in the corpus (4.1). I will then briefly focus on the issue of standardization, and what effect it might have on the use of referent honorification (4.2), and discuss the co-occurrence of SJ and OJ referent honorifics with other salient local and standard features (4.2.1-2); I will then move on to discussing the functions of each of the features separately (4.3-4). In the discussion of HARU I will briefly discuss the general functions of this form that can be found in interactions across populations, as the detailed analysis (including the changes in the function and distribution) can be found in Chapter 5 and 6. Finally, I will motivate my decision to focus on one of the forms (HARU) in the remainder of this dissertation.

#### **4.1. Distribution of referent honorifics in the corpus**

The Speakers of OJ have a number of options available to express referent honorification. This includes both local referent verbal honorific suffixes HARU, YARU and YORU, and Standard Japanese referent honorific suffix

(*ra*)*reru* as well as special verbs (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1). The function of YORU is slightly different than that of the other forms, as I have already discussed in Chapter 2, and I will look at the use of this feature separately in section 4.4.1 below. This form is also, however, included in the analysis because (i) it is one of the main local resources utilised by OJ speakers, and (ii) I will suggest that due to its unique function it may not be undergoing attrition.

In Table 4.1 we can see the distribution of all referent honorific options found in the speech of OJ users recorded in Osaka I corpus. A number of different conversations have been recorded (see Chapter 3, section 3.3), however all of these conversations were informal. It is then not surprising that we find a very low number of SJ referent honorifics<sup>4</sup> (cf. also SturtzSreetharan 2008), which are used in very restricted contexts (see the discussion in 4.3).

Form		Older	Middle	Younger	Total
SJ: V+( <i>ra</i> ) <i>reru</i>	Women	1	4	0	5
	Men	12	0	0	12
SJ: Suppletive verbs	Women	0	12	0	12
	Men	5	0	0	5
OJ: V+ <i>yoru</i>	Women	2	0	1	3
	Men	9	1	2	12
OJ: V+ <i>yaru</i>	Women	7	6	0	13
	Men	1	0	0	1
OJ: V+ <i>haru</i>	Women	152	161	14	327
	Men	28	9	17	54
Total		217	193	36	444

Table 4.1. Distribution of all referent honorifics in the dataset, according to speaker's age and gender<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Another SJ honorific form, *o-V-ni naru*, did not appear in my corpus.

As we can see overall the use of HARU overshadows any other referent honorific, both standard and local. It accounts for 85% of all referent honorifics found in the corpus. The use of YARU and YORU, the other two local options, is very low (14 and 15 occurrences respectively), and almost non-existent in the younger generation. Overall, the use of referent honorification among the younger speakers of OJ is very sporadic. Since the number of uses of HARU, which appears relatively frequently in the speech of older and middle speakers (especially women), drops dramatically in the younger generation, it is then perhaps not surprising that there are almost no instances of any other referent honorific forms in the speech of this younger age cohort. To better illustrate the relative patterning of HARU, Table 4.2. provides the number of tokens of HARU followed by the number of all contexts where this form could have occurred and with a percentage in parentheses.

	Older	Middle	Younger
<b>Women</b>	152 / 393 (39%)	161 / 636 (25%)	14 / 449 (3.2%)
<b>Men</b>	28 / 434 (6.5%)	9 / 251 (3.6%)	17 / 208 (8.2%)

*Table 4.2. Raw number of tokens of HARU compared to the number of all possible contexts for its occurrence and percentage.*

We can also see that there is preference for the use of YORU among men, while the use of YARU is found more often in the speech of women. Interestingly, YORU appears also in the speech of the younger generation.

Similarly, with regards to SJ honorific, women use suppletive verbs more, while men use *V+(ra)reru* more often. The use of suppletive verbs among women in the middle age cohort, however, might be an artefact of the recording setup, which I will discuss below (4.3).

The relative distribution of all referent honorifics shown on Figure 4.1 across groups of speakers also suggests that, with the exception of older men, if any referent honorific is used in the corpus, it is predominantly HARU. The variation in the speech of older men (as we can observe on Figure 4.1 older men use all of the forms available to them, to a much greater degree than any other group), however, is found in the speech of only two men, not across the board.

We can also observe the persisting use of YORU by men of all ages. The form is used very rarely or never by women, but it comprises between 9.5% and 14% of honorific forms found in the speech of men (for the discussion of the use of YORU see section 4.4.1).

Overall, there is not only a decrease in the use of referent honorifics over time, but also a visible decrease in the range of forms used, with only HARU and YORU used by the speakers of the younger generation.

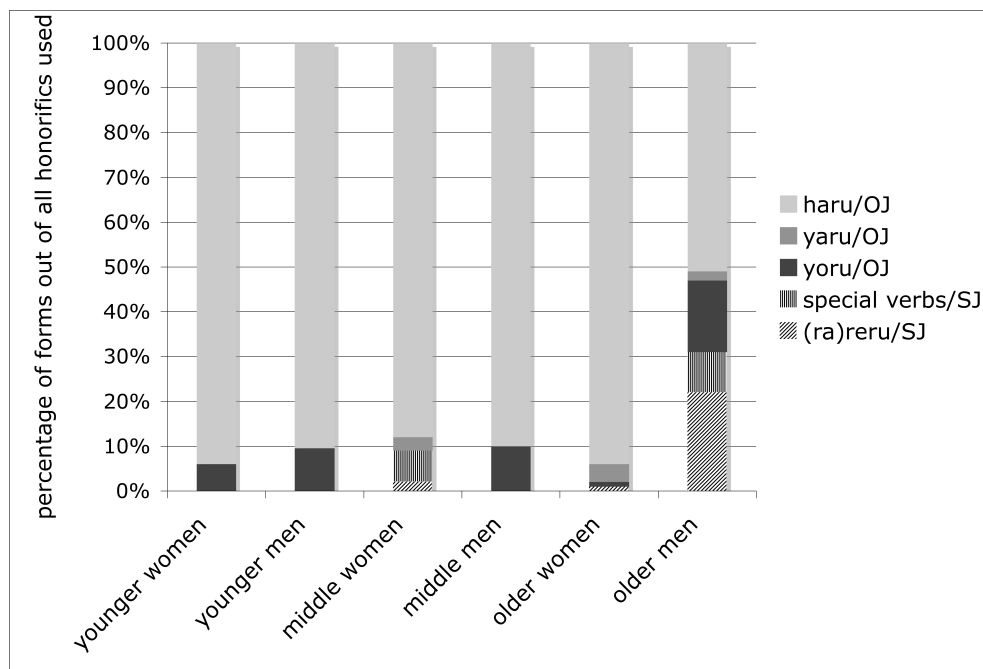


Figure 4.1. Relative distribution of all referent honorifics, both standard and local, according to the age and sex of the speakers

I will now turn to look at the linguistic context in which these referent honorifics occur. I will focus on the co-occurrence of SJ and OJ honorifics, with other SJ and OJ features, to argue that they are best understood not as two separate codes, but as resources to which speakers have access to, which are not completely independent of one another. I will start by exploring the possible influence of Standard Japanese on the speech of OJ users.

#### **4.2. Standardization and dialect contact in Osaka Japanese**

As has been observed in numerous studies in the past, with the incoming standardization and the pressure of standard language, whereby one variety is seen as correct and, in one way or another, imposed upon all of the speakers in a given region (area, country etc.), other varieties are usually seen as less prestigious or even incorrect. The process of standardization can therefore yield various results: dialect obsolescence and thus standardization, some form of dialect levelling (Kerswill & Williams 1999; Britain 2002; Kerswill 2003) or koineization (Siegel 1985; Britain & Trudgill 1999; Kerswill & Williams 2005), with new varieties forming in the place of old ones, or dialect maintenance and in some cases revitalization. Studies often have looked at numerous linguistic features whose marking is obligatory, and therefore the obsolescence of one is necessarily followed by the emergence or replacement of another.

In this study I look at changing structures in Osaka Japanese (OJ) honorifics system. The issue concerning Osaka Japanese is especially interesting due to the variety being presumably one of the most vital dialects

of Japanese and the one that has not undergone standardization to the extent other dialects have (e.g. Long 1997; Onoe 1999). Standardization has definitely not left OJ untouched (Shibatani 1990), but it has been suggested that OJ has been influenced to a lesser degree than a number of other varieties, presumably due to its high vitality and possible prestige. The long history of dialect contact (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.1) between OJ and SJ must, however, be seen as one of the factors influencing the patterns of use of linguistic resources among speakers of OJ. I suggest, following Okamoto (2008) that one of the effects of this long-term continuous contact is the existence of a kind of mixed code with variants from both OJ and SJ.

With regards to the regional variation among Japanese speakers, a number of researchers point out that there is extensive situational code-switching (e.g. Inoue 1988; Shibata 1988; Long 1996; Carroll 2001), that the choices with regards to the standard or local variants can be discussed in terms of style-shifting (e.g. Sanada 1996, 2001; Ball 2004), or that there exists a local-standard continuum, where there are no distinct separate codes (Standard Japanese and local variety), but rather speakers use a kind of mixed code where, according to a situation, a greater percentage of variants from one or the other variety is present (Okamoto 2008). Having analysed the speech of a single speaker across a number of situations, Okamoto shows that 'the speaker used both O[J] and SJ variants in every conversation, but in differing proportions' (2008:142). She argues this suggests that the notion of separate systems to which speakers have access and effectively switch from one to the other, needs to be reconceptualised. Considering that speakers of OJ simultaneously use variants from both varieties (OJ and SJ), their speech



practices are perhaps better analysed in terms of a continuum, as assuming the existence of finite, discrete codes is 'too static to adequately account for the complex and dynamic linguistic practice that takes place in the context of ongoing standardization' (2008:153).

I agree with Okamoto, that a discussion of the 'variant choice' is more appropriate than a discussion of code-switching, as the varieties under study cannot be seen as discrete entities (cf. Milroy 2001; Okamoto 2008:133; Strycharz 2009). Somewhat similarly to Makihara's work on Rapa Nui (Makihara 2004), Okamoto suggests that there are no two distinct codes (OJ and SJ in this case), but rather that speakers use a kind of mixed variety, with the percentage of marked variants depending on the situation. Data from the Osaka I corpus also confirms that regardless of the situation speakers always use variants from both varieties (i.e. OJ and SJ). In the discussion in this section I will then investigate whether the choice of one or the other referent honorific option (OJ or SJ) is also linked to choosing other variants of the same variety in the same utterance.

In the following sections (4.2.1-2) I will suggest that the use of OJ and SJ in the informal interactions of OJ users is better understood in terms of a continuum (or a mixed code) rather than in terms of code-switching. I will show that we need to take into account the long-term impact of standardization (or dialect contact) on the practices of OJ users. However, it is not a straightforward process, but one that needs to be looked at in terms of frequency (of one variant over the other), functions and interactional use. I will argue that seeing OJ and SJ referent honorifics as resources on a continuum has the following consequences for the analysis of referent

honorifics: (i) analysing the functions of these forms needs to take into consideration the functions of all the other forms available to the speakers, and (ii) changes in the use of one form may influence the use of other forms as well.

#### **4.2.1. The layers of meaning: investigating local versus standard and plain versus honorific features**

In this section I will look at the complexity in analysing the use of OJ referent honorification. I will suggest that while analysing these forms we need to take into consideration that they are both [+local] and [+honorific], both of these bringing in different sets of meanings (I will return to this issue in Chapter 5). I will also suggest that to be able to understand the meanings linked with given forms, as well as their patterns of use we need to look at: (i) their place in the system/ linguistic resources available for the speakers (I deal with this issue briefly in this section and in the next), (ii) the interdependence and relationship with other forms (this section, section 4.2.2 as well as parts of discussion in Chapter 6), and (iii) specific functions they are used to encode (Chapters 5 and 6).

As Agha (1993) has argued, the use of honorifics does not necessarily encode a presupposed social relationship, but rather it indexes, what he terms 'deference entitlement' defined as 'the interaction specific comportment of an individual towards some *alter*' (1993:134). This suggests that the use of honorifics is a way of placing ourselves vis-à-vis our interlocutor, referent, bystander etc. This has been shown to be true for a

number of linguistic features. The use of certain linguistic resources has then been analysed as a way of creating (and recreating) the identity of the speaker vis-à-vis 'some *alter*'. Specifically, the use of vernacular versus standard features has been shown to index '(stances on the scale of) alterity' (Ball 2004:373). Thus, the function of both honorific versus plain and local versus standard can be seen as reaffirming, (re)creating or manipulating the positioning of oneself (the speaker) versus some *alter* in terms of how similar or different we are from our interlocutor. This can be analysed in terms of solidarity and distance, or, to employ a locally salient (but undoubtedly related) ideology, *soto* 'out-group' and *uchi* 'in-group' (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.3.5). The choices between regional versus standard, and honorific versus plain forms can then effectively be used as a resource to do precisely that – create the boundaries between *uchi* and *soto*.

If we assume that local forms are linked with indexing in-group membership (or *uchi*), standard forms can then be seen as indexing out-group membership. In a similar vein we can imagine honorific forms encoding out-group and plain forms encoding in-group. The categories defining in- and out-groupness are, of course, numerous and they may be speaker-, situation- and context-dependant.

Figure 4.2 presents an idealised picture of the effect the use of given forms may have. We can imagine any interaction as a way (of course, not in necessarily in a conscious manner) of positioning ourselves and our interlocutor, referent or bystander in a fluid space where the boundaries between *uchi* and *soto* either exist or are created in this particular interaction (or part of interaction). In this way we can see SJ honorific forms on one end

of the spectrum (indexing prototypical *soto* members), while plain OJ features on the other end (positioning the speaker and the hearer / referent / bystander as members of some in-group). While, however, it has been suggested that honorifics (versus plain forms) index out-group membership, as does the use of SJ forms (versus local forms), it is not clear whether the categories for defining this in- / out-group membership are the same for these two sets of resources. In other words, it is not necessarily the case that out-group membership indexed (or indeed created) by the use of honorifics refers to the same (sets of) categories as out-group membership indexed by the use of standard (versus local) forms. In- / out-groupness can be defined on a number of levels, starting from larger social categories like sex, age or social class difference through to more interactional features, like disagreeing with someone or expressing a different belief or opinion.

While the use of any feature can have the potential of affirming or creating these *uchi/ soto* boundaries, it is not necessarily the case that any local feature used in interaction fulfils that function (cf. Eckert 2009). I am therefore not implying that all uses of e.g. SJ forms by OJ speakers (or local forms, or honorifics) are meaningful in this way. I am only suggesting that all of these features have the potential to be used with some socioindexical purpose, as we will see in the following section that the speakers use variants from both SJ and OJ in all conversations.

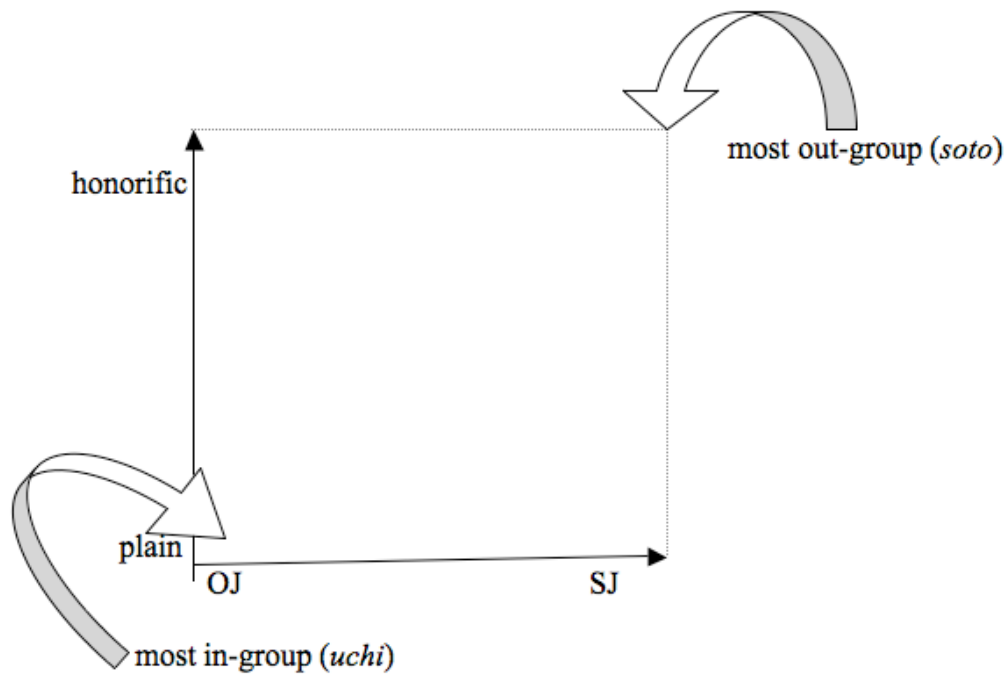


Figure 4.2. Interactional space between in- and out-group, affirmed or created by using local versus standard and plain versus honorific forms

We can then see that the analysis of local (OJ) referent honorifics presents us with a complex task of investigating these forms not only in contrast to OJ plain forms, but also SJ referent honorifics, and perhaps SJ plain forms (where such forms are available). While it may be possible to suggest that SJ honorifics and OJ plain forms stand in opposition to one another, there are other oppositions (or, rather relationships) we need to look at. Where do OJ honorific forms fit in this scheme? To be able to answer this question we need to look into a number of categories that are considered to influence the (re)creation of *uchi/soto* boundaries, and investigate which of them influence the use of local honorifics (see Chapter 6 for this precise analysis for HARU).

Another point to bear in mind is that while the researchers that have analysed the use of OJ and SJ in natural speech in terms of code-switching (or style-shifting), suggest that there exist two separate systems (OJ and SJ), as Okamoto (2008) points out it is difficult to find interactions or even utterances containing only SJ or only OJ variants. She suggests that the existence of the two systems is questionable, and that we need to rethink the analysis of naturally occurring conversation. Okamoto's investigation is based on a case study of one speaker of OJ in a number of different contexts. She shows that there is a difference with regards to the choice of variants (OJ and SJ) in different interactions, but that both SJ and OJ seem to be seen as one large set of resources, rather than two separate systems. I will now briefly consider this argument with relation to the use of SJ and OJ referent honorifics and their co-occurrence with other local and standard features.

#### **4.2.2. Co-occurrence of local and standard features**

In this section of the chapter I will focus on the linguistic context in which OJ and SJ referent honorifics occur. I will suggest that there is an extensive mixing between the two varieties, and that referent honorifics also are often juxtaposed with other marked variants not necessarily from the same variety. To do this I have extracted all sentences where referent honorification occurred, and within those utterances I have coded features which have

regional and standard variants<sup>6</sup> (the forms are listed in Table 4.2). I have included the following features: particles, copula, morphological features and lexical items (Maeda 1977; Horii 1995; Okamoto 2008). For copula, only the occurrences of plain copula were included, i.e. *ya* for OJ and *da* for SJ. While there is a traditional OJ form *dasu* corresponding to SJ polite copula/ addressee honorific *desu*, there are no occurrences of it in the corpus. Okamoto suggests the form is by now obsolete (2008). The speakers I asked about this form claim they never heard it used. These forms were not included in the analysis. The abbreviations used in Table 4.3 are as follows: ADV for adverb, and V for verb. Phonological variants are not included.

Variant type	SJ	OJ	English translation/ gloss
<i>Particles</i>			
<i>Interactional particles</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>de</i>	I tell you
	<i>no</i>	<i>n</i>	you see?
	<i>no yo</i>	<i>nen</i>	you see?
	<i>ne(e)</i>	<i>na(a)</i>	isn't it?, right?
<i>Conjunctive particle</i>	<i>tte</i>	<i>te</i>	quotative
<i>Copula</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ya</i>	copula
<i>Morphological</i>	<i>ADV+ku</i>	<i>ADV+oo/ uu</i>	adverbial ending
	<i>V+nai</i>	<i>V+hen</i>	negation
	<i>V+ru</i>	<i>V+n</i>	infinitive
	<i>V+tte</i>	<i>V+oote</i>	continuative
	<i>V+tta</i>	<i>V+oota</i>	past
	<i>V+(te)ru</i>	<i>V+to(ru)</i>	progressive
<i>Lexical</i>	<i>ikenai</i>	<i>akan</i>	not good
	<i>ii</i>	<i>ee</i>	fine; good
	<i>hontoo</i>	<i>honma</i>	really
	<i>tsukareta</i>	<i>shindoi</i>	tired
	<i>takusan</i>	<i>yooke</i>	many/ much
	<i>sore de</i>	<i>honde</i>	and then; so
	<i>(sore)</i>		
	<i>ja/ nara</i>	<i>hona</i>	then

Table 4.3. Morphological and lexical variants of OJ and SJ included in the analysis of co-occurrence of forms with SJ and OJ referent honorifics

<sup>6</sup> There are, of course, a number of features which are shared between the two varieties. In this discussion, however, I am only concerned with the variables that have both local and standard counterparts.

The analysis of co-occurrence of marked (local and standard) features with OJ and SJ referent honorifics suggests that there is a difference in the context in which the referent honorifics occur. Table 4.4 shows the total number of local and standard variants used, as well as percentage of OJ variants. As the number of utterances containing SJ referent honorifics in the corpus is very low (34), there is a large difference between the two columns.

	<i>SJ referent honorifics</i>	<i>OJ referent honorifics</i>
	Total N/ OJ N (OJ%)	Total N/ OJ N (OJ%)
<i>Particles</i>	23/ 1 (4%)	299/ 163 (54.5%)
<i>Copula</i>	6/ 2 (33%)	100/ 89 (89%)
<i>Morphology</i>	8/ 4 (50%)	106/ 51 (48%)
<i>Lexicon</i>	4/ 0 (0%)	78/ 45 (58%)
<i>Total number of marked variants</i>	41	583

Table 4.4. Use of OJ variants in utterances with SJ and OJ referent honorifics

Figure 4.3 illustrates the difference in distribution of OJ and SJ variants in utterances with OJ and SJ referent honorifics. This distribution shows that there is a preference for using SJ variants in utterances where speaker also used SJ referent honorific feature for all categories except morphological features, where there is no difference. In utterances containing SJ referent honorifics speakers never used OJ lexical variants, and there was only one occurrence of OJ interactional particle (all the other particles used with SJ honorifics were standard). The use of the copula, on the other hand, is most easily manipulated between two kinds of utterances: the use of SJ copula *da* highly correlates with the use of SJ honorification, while the use of OJ copula *ya* correlates with OJ referent honorification.

For utterances with OJ referent honorifics, the occurrence of SJ/OJ variants in the same utterance hovers around 50% for all categories, except



the copula. We can then see that there is a different degree of mixing in different grammatical categories.

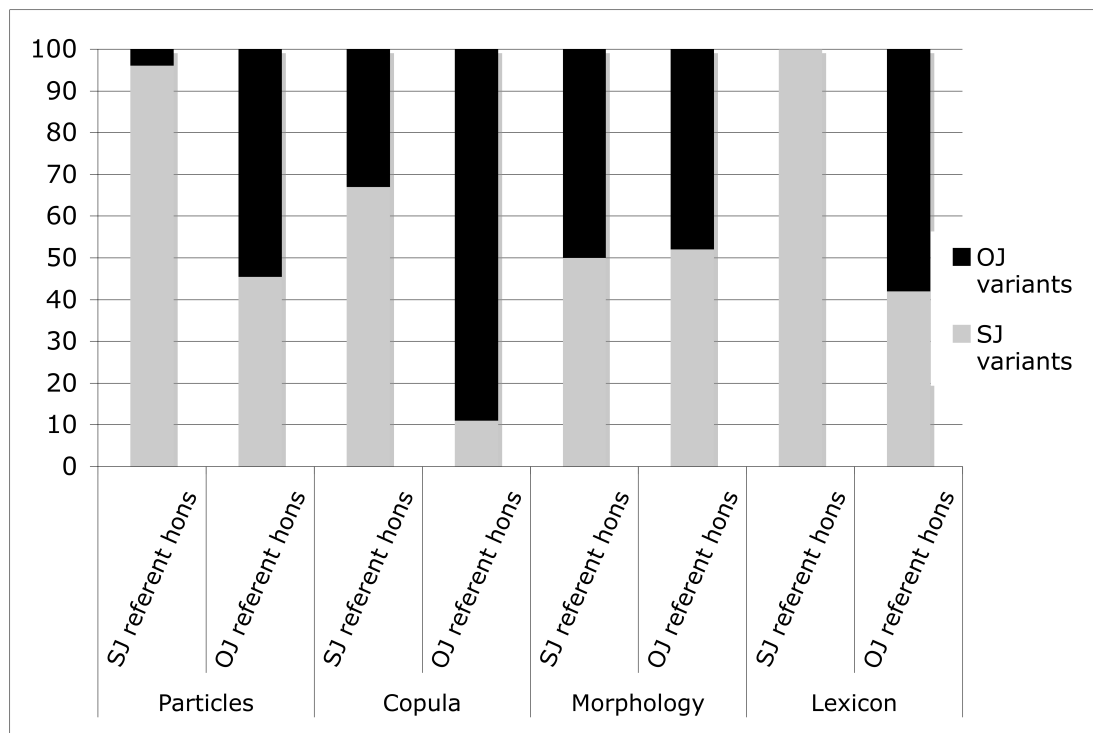


Figure 4.3. Distribution of OJ and SJ variants across utterances with OJ and SJ referent honorifics

When explicitly asked about the use of SJ, a number of speakers in the database claim they do not use it. Some suggest the use of SJ is difficult for speakers of OJ, others said they choose not to do it. In Extract 4.1 Aki (50) reflects on this question. OJ variants in Aki's speech are in bold, while SJ variants are in italics (I will use this way of marking the two varieties in the majority of excerpts in this dissertation).

Extract 4.1.<sup>7</sup>

1. Aki: ore-tachi mo hyoojungo                    **tsuka-e-n** ne  
I.MASC-PL too Standard.Japanese use-POT-OJ SJ.SFP  
*We can also use Standard Japanese*
  
2. Anna: dakara    hyoojungo                    wo tsukau toki to  
therefore Standard.Japanese ACC use        time and  
  
Osakaben    o    tsukau toki tte    aru=  
Osaka.dialect ACC use        time QUOT have  
*So do you have times when you use Standard Japanese, and then  
times when you use Osaka Japanese?*
  
3. Aki: =nai nai  
          NEG NEG  
*no, no*
  
4.            Osaka ningen wa    ammari hyoojungo                    o  
          Osaka people NOM rather    Standard.Japanese ACC  
  
**tsukawa-n yan    na::**  
use-OJ.NEG OJ.COP OJ.SFP  
*People from Osaka don't really use Standard Japanese*
  
5.            ano tsukai-taku-nai shi    muri            **ya**    shi  
          well use-want-NEG    PART impossible OJ.COP PART  
*Well, we don't want to use it, and we can't do it*
  
- {...}
6. Aki: ore-tachi wa    ano  
          I.MASC-PL NOM well  
*Well, we...*
  
7.            kissui no Osakajin            wa    Osakaben    o  
          genuine GEN Osaka.people NOM    Osaka.dialect ACC  
  
zu::tto            tsukat-teru    kara  
continuously use-SJ.PROGR because  
*Real Osaka people always use Osaka Japanese*
  
8.            dakara  
          therefore  
*And that's why...*

---

<sup>7</sup> Glossing conventions used: OJ – Osaka Japanese, SJ – Standard Japanese, SFP – sentence-final particle, HON – honorific, RH – referent honorific, AH – addressee honorific, HORT – hortative, COP – copula, CONT – continuative, TOP – topica, NOM- nominative, DAT – dative, GEN – genitive, QUOT – quotative, PROGR – progressive, PART – particle, PAST – past tense, NOMI – nominalizer, NEG – negation, COND – conditional. Transcribing conventions: = latched utterances, [] – overlapping utterances. All transcribing and glossing conventions are attached in Appendix A.

9. Osakaben ni akogare-te Osakaben o  
 Osaka.dialect DAT admire-CONT Osaka.dialect ACC  
 mane wo suru Kyuushu kara ki-ta ko  
 imitation ACC do Kyushu from come-PAST kid  
 oru wake ya kara  
 OJ.be case OJ.COP because  
*There are kids who come from Kyushu, who admire Osaka Japanese,  
 and so they imitate it.*
10. Anna:he::
11. Aki: (inc.)
12. dakara hoogen o kaku-soo to suru **yanka**  
 therefore dialect ACC hide-HORT PART do OJ.COP
13. Kyuushu no ko ga  
 Kyushu GEN kid TOP  
*Kids from Kyushu try to hide their dialect*
- {...}
14. Aki: wakamono nante kawat-te *ki-teru* **na**  
 young.people such.as change-CONT come-SJ.PROGR OJ.SFP  
 Osakaben  
 Osaka.dialect  
*Osaka Japanese of young people is changing*
15. hyoojungo ni chikaku *nat-teru*  
 Standard.Japanese DAT closely become-SJ.PROGR  
*chigau*  
 SJ.be.wrong  
*It is becoming closer to Standard Japanese maybe?*
16. nanka chotto **chau** **ya** **na**  
 things.like little OJ.be.wrong OJ.COP OJ.SFP  
*Somehow it's a little different*
17. ore-tachi demo *chigau*  
 I.MASC-PL but SJ.be.different  
*But we are different too*
18. ore-tachi no oya no sedai no Osakaben  
 I.MASC-PL GEN parents GEN generation GEN Osaka.dialect  
 to

and  
*Osaka Japanese of our parents' generation and...*

19. ore-ra no sedai to  
I.MASC-PL GEN generation and  
*and of our generation...*

20. **honde** mata ore-ra no kodomo mo  
OJ.and.then again I.MASC-PL GEN children too

*chigau* shi  
OJ.be.different PART  
*and then (Osaka Japanese of) our children's generation is different  
still*

(Osaka I, AB, Aki & Anna, 00'29'46-00'32'41)

There are several notable points in Aki's speech. He suggests that those who are 'real Osaka people' don't use Standard Japanese, but he also acknowledges that Osaka Japanese is changing now, and that the changes have been happening for a while. He notices that the language spoken by his parents' generation is different than that spoken by his generation, and that his children's generation is again further in the process of change. While all of these are merely Aki's perceptions, we can nonetheless see the importance of the local variety, its vitality and the pride in speaking it. It is also interesting to note that Aki claims that younger generations is becoming *hyoojungo ni chikaku* 'closer to Standard Japanese' in their speech. However, even though Aki suggests he does not use Standard Japanese, we can see the presence of several morphological and lexical features in his speech. In line 1 we can see OJ infinitive ending *-n* used together with SJ interactional particle *ne*. There is exclusive use of SJ progressive *-teru* (lines 7, 14 and 15), and OJ lexical item *chau* 'be different; be wrong' is used interchangeably with SJ *chigau*. Interestingly, they appear in the excerpt about Osaka Japanese, where

we could assume he is more conscious about the way he talks (Labov 2001). This might suggest some of these features have become so standardised that they are in fact not variable for OJ speakers. This may be the case for progressive suffix *-teru*. A more in-depth investigation of the co-occurrence of different features is needed, but for now it is sufficient to say that while a number of OJ users claim they do not use SJ, we can observe that this is not the case. Rather, there is an intimate code-mixing of the two varieties, present both across and within utterances, even in places where we might least expect it.

Examples 4.1-5 illustrate the various possibilities for using variants from both varieties in the same utterance. Referent honorifics are highlighted, SJ variants are in italics, while OJ variants are in bold. Examples 4.1-2 contain OJ referent honorific suffix juxtaposed with other SJ variants (interactional particles in 4.1, and particles, copula and morphological variants in 4.2); in Example 4.3 OJ and SJ referent honorifics are used in one utterance, while in Examples 4.4-5 SJ referent honorifics co-occur with other OJ features (OJ copula in 4.4 and OJ negation in 4.5).

- (4.1) sore o *ne* hakkiri kuchi de dashi-te **ii-harun**  
 this ACC SJ.SFP clearly mouth by produce-CONJ say-OJ.RH  
**yat-tara** *ne* o-kotowari deki-masu wa  
 OJ.COP-COND SJ.SFP OH-refusal be.able-AH SFP  
*If she actually said this directly I would be able to refuse.*  
 (Osaka I, ME, Midori)

- (4.2) wakari-mas-en *yo* **te** **yut-te-hat-ta** kara  
 ma::  
 know-NEG-AH SJ.SFP OJ.QUOT say-SJ.CONJ-OJ.RH-PAST therefore  
 well  
 are *dat-tara* mata ano rirekisho dashi-te kudasai

that SJ.COP-COND also well resume submit-CONJ please

**te** **yat-ta** **kara**  
OJ.QUOT OJ.COP-PAST therefore

mata ano dashi-masu **te** *yut-teru* kedo  
still well submit-AH OJ.QUOT say-SJ.PROGR but

dashi-te-*nai* **nen** kedo  
submit-CONJ-SJ.NEG OJ.SFP but

*She said 'I don't know', so, well, in that case I was like, please bring a resume, and so she says 'I will still bring (it)', but so far she hasn't.*

(Osaka I, KMAT', Kazuko)

In Examples 4.1-2 OJ referent honorific HARU co-occurs with both SJ and OJ features. We can see not only both morpho-syntactic and lexical variants from both varieties, but also mixing within the word boundary, as in Example 4.2, where SJ continuative *-tte-* is used together with OJ referent honorific HARU in *yuttehatta* 'she said'. Similar examples can be found for SJ referent honorifics (4.4-5), we can also find cases where both OJ and SJ referent honorifics occur in one utterance, as in Example 4.3. In this example OJ referent honorific HARU is juxtaposed with *irassharu*, SJ referent honorific form of the verb *iru* 'be'.

- (4.3) are **mot-te-haru** hito mo **irassharun** desu-ka  
that possess-CONT-OJ.RH people too be.SJ.RH AH-QP  
*Are there also people who have this?*

(Osaka I, MT, Takeshi)

- (4.4) sono okaasan ga **ki-rare-ta** o-kimono **ya** kara  
that mother TOP put.on- SJ.RH-PAST OH-kimono OJ.COP therefore  
*Because that is the kimono that mother used to wear.*

(Osaka I, ME, Midori)

- (4.5) wakare-**henkat**-tara mata yon-de **kudasat-te** mo ii  
understand-OJ.NEG-COND again call-CONT give.OJ.RH-CONT too fine

desu *yo* *ne*  
AH SJ.SFP SJ.SFP

We can then see that there is a high degree of intrasentential code-mixing in informal conversations of OJ users. In line with Okamoto's (2008) argument, the choice of variants is probabilistic rather than categorical. A much more in-depth study is needed to establish to what extent the specific variants are used, whether there is a difference within categories, and whether some variants (e.g. negation) are more standardised than others. For the purpose of this dissertation, however, it is sufficient to say that the distribution of variants correlating with SJ and OJ referent honorifics shows that while it is more probable for SJ referent honorifics to co-occur with other SJ variants, this distinction is not categorical. Rather, there is a high degree of code-mixing between the two varieties, which suggests that in informal conversations, a mixed code is the unmarked choice for OJ users. This suggests that OJ and SJ referent honorifics are best seen as points on a continuum, whose use and functions are not independent from one another, rather than features that belong to two different codes (I will return to this point also in the analysis of the function of HARU in Chapter 6). To be able to understand and analyse their functions we need to look at each of the features separately, but also in comparison to all other existing options.

In the second part of this chapter I will turn to analysing the functions of SJ and OJ referent honorifics, and show that they are also used to encode different meanings and different interpersonal relationships.

### 4.3. Standard Japanese referent honorifics in the speech of OJ users

The use of Standard Japanese honorifics in informal conversations of OJ speakers is indeed very rare. Previous research has shown that in informal conversations of Osaka women, SJ honorifics are found mainly in formulaic expressions (SturtzSreetharan 2008), or to index sarcasm (Inoue 2006; SturtzSreetharan 2008). In the discussion which follows I will show that in informal conversations in Osaka I corpus, if SJ referent honorifics are used at all, they are used either to delineate the *uchi/soto* boundaries, or to mark indirect communication.

There are two kinds of SJ referent subject honorification found in the corpus: suppletive verbs and V+(*ra*)*reru*. There are 17 occurrences of suppletive (lexical) honorifics, 5 of which are found in the speech of men and 12 in the speech of women. Only 4 kinds of these special verbs can be found: *irassharu* (honorific form of *iru* 'be'), *ossharu* (honorific form of *iu* 'say'), *gozonji* (honorific form of *shiru* 'know') and *kudasaru* (honorific form of *kureru* 'give'). *Kudasaru* only occurs in the benefactive constructions (Extract 4.5). There are 17 occurrences of V+(*ra*)*reru* in the corpus, 12 of them found in the speech of men and 5 in the speech of women.

All SJ referent honorifics found in men's speech occur in the speech of two men, the oldest speaker in the sample, Kenta (86) and Makoto (71). All of the uses of SJ occur in a similar context, they are all used in addressing me, and are all used in questions. The 5 uses of suppletive honorifics occur in the speech of Makoto, and he only uses the verb *gozonji* (honorific form of *shiru* 'know'), when asking whether I know about certain things or customs in



Japan or in Osaka. Extract 4.2 is representative of all uses of SJ honorifics by men.

Extract 4.2. comes from a conversation between Makoto, Hiroko and Keiko. I was also present, but not really participating actively in the conversation. The use of *gozonji* in this excerpt is very similar to all the other uses of this verb by Makoto. It occurs in the middle of a story about Kawachi, the area where he was born, in a question addressed to me. Interestingly, all of the uses of this type of SJ honorific occur in one 6-minute-long stretch, and are restricted to this one verb only. No other suppletive verb is found in his speech, or in the speech of any other man.

The referent honorific is highlighted here and in the other examples in this section (following the convention used previously).

#### Extract 4.2

1. M: Kawachi demo ne ano::  
[name] but SJ.SFP well  
*Well, but Kawachi...*

2. ano: Bon odori  
well Bon dance  
*Umm, the Bon dances*

<to Anna in a lowered voice:>

3. gozonji de-sho  
know.SJ.HON AH-HORT  
*You know (what I'm talking about), don't you?*

4. A: un un  
*yes yes*

5. M: Kawachi so ya Bon odori yutte ne  
Kawachi yes OJ.COP Bon dance say-CONT SJ.SFP  
*Well, that's right, Kawachi is about the Bon dances*

6. natsu no sono Bon ni odori ga hayatte=  
summer GEN that Bon DAT dance TOP be.popular-CONT

*In the summer, Bon dances were getting popular...*

7. H: =un un  
yes yes

(OsakaI, HKM, Makoto, Hiroko & Anna, 00'14'18)

This excerpt is taken from one of the stories Makoto tells Hiroko and Keiko. It is a response to Hiroko's request to talk about Kawachi and about customs from there. The story is addressed at everyone present, but the uses of SJ honorific suppletive verb occur, across the board, only when asking me questions that check whether I know the terms or customs Makoto is referring to. It may then be seen as code-switching into SJ to delimit the *uchi/soto* (see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.3.5, and Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.1) boundaries, and place me outside the group of people who are familiar with the local customs. This shift may also mark a change in frame (Goffman 1986), as I discuss below. Arguably, this shift may be perceived as a kind of accommodation to me as a foreigner. However, all of the speakers have known me for some time, and they are aware that I am conversant in OJ. At most other occasions they address me using OJ, and (as I have been told on several occasions) perceive me as a speaker of OJ rather than SJ.

The other man who uses SJ honorification is Kenta. Kenta's use of SJ honorifics V+(ra)reru throughout is very similar to Makoto's. Switches into SJ honorification very often occur when the flow of the story is broken to check whether I am familiar with the concepts that are being discussed, and are often uttered in a lower voice than the rest of the story. This further reinforces my argument that SJ honorification found in informal interactions of OJ users has the role of demarcating *uchi/soto* boundaries, placing me – an outsider anyway – even more in the *soto* 'out-group'. Interestingly, this

function of SJ referent honorifics occurs only in the speech of men. This shift also marks a form of instruction, that may bear resemblance to ‘teachers’ style’ discussed by e.g. Cook (1996, 1999). In the speech of older women, however, SJ referent honorifics seem to be used with a different function (see below), while active management of *uchi/soto* boundaries is often done with the use of OJ referent honorifics (see Chapter 5, section 5.5.2.2).

I will now briefly discuss how this kind of shift may be seen as indexing a change of frame. This interpretation of such a style-shift (switching between honorific and plain, SJ and local forms) can also apply in a number of other situations, where the shift is indexical of a change in the understanding of the activity or situation. In his original definition, Goffman defines frame this way:

It has been argued that a strip of activity will be perceived by its participants in terms of the rules or premises of a primary framework, whether social or natural, and that activity so perceived provides the model for two basic kinds of transformation - keying and fabrication. It has also been argued that these frameworks are not merely a matter of mind but correspond in some sense to the way in which an aspect of the activity itself is organized - especially activity directly involving social agents. Organizational premises are involved, and these are something cognition somehow arrives at, not something cognition creates or generates. Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting. These organizational premises - sustained both in the mind and in activity - I call the frame of the activity (Goffman 1986:247)

Putting it simply, the frame of any activity is the actual understanding of participants ‘of what it is that is going on’ and acting accordingly. It is not, however, something created or constructed by the participants, but rather noticed and understood. Behaviour of the interactants is an important aspect of any frame, and the understanding of an action or event in certain terms (i.e. ‘I understand that what we are doing at the moment is x’) influences this

behaviour. Looking back at Extract 4.2 we may observe two frames: the main story line and the remarks on the side. The main story line is Makoto telling a story about customs and events from a given area. Although unarguably intended for my benefit (as I am the only obvious outsider who may be unaware of the local customs), it is addressed at everyone, and the two women present in the room pay attention to it, and make occasional comments. The remarks on the side, on the other hand, are obviously intended to be registered only by me (as they are usually spoken in a lower voice), and are not related to the main story. They are also not commented on, or not interrupted in any way by the other two women – a sign that they too understand and recognise this change of frame as a quick detour from the main story line intended for all listeners, to engage in a different frame, in which the two women are not seen as participants. Makoto's understanding of 'what it is that is going on', and the recognition of the change in frame, is marked by a lowered voice and a shift into SJ honorification.

Makoto uses OJ honorifics to address me at other times, when asking direct questions, as in Extract 4.3. He also uses SJ form *V+(ra)reru*, as seen in Extract 4.4. Both of these come from the same interaction as above, and suggest that SJ honorification is perhaps seen as a higher ranking kind of honorific (an argument I will return to in more detail in Chapter 5), as when OJ referent honorific form is used it correlates with addressing me with my first name only (Extract 4.3, line 5), while when SJ honorific is used Makoto addresses me with an honorific title *-san*, i.e. *Anna-san* (Extract 4.4, line 8). In Extract 4.3 Makoto and Hiroko are talking about Edinburgh, knowing that I

was studying there. In Extract 4.4 the conversation revolves around some interesting places around Osaka. Referent honorifics are highlighted, SJ variants are in italics, OJ variants are in bold.

Extract 4.3.

1. M: ejinbara te eikoku **ya** kara *ne:*  
Edinburgh QUOT UK OJ.COP therefore SJ.SFP  
*Edinburgh is in the UK, right?*
2. H: so des-ho  
right COP.AH-HORT  
*That's right.*
3. M: so **ya** kara [ano]  
right OJ.COP therefore well  
*That's right, so, well...*
4. H: [ryuugaku] **shi-te-haru** no *yo*  
study.abroad do-PROGR-OJ.RH PART SJ.SFP  
*(Anna) is an exchange student*
5. M: Anna ejinbara daigaku **ryuugaku** **shi-te-hat-ta**  
Anna Edinburgh university study.abroad do-OJ.RH-PAST  
*Anna, you were an exchange student at the University of Edinburgh?*
6. A: [uun ano:]  
no well  
*No, well...*
7. H: [so so so]  
*yes yes yes*

(Osaka I, HKM, Hiroko, Makoto & Anna, 00'09'29)

Extract 4.4.

1. M: shootengai ano ichiban warui no=  
shopping.street well number.one bad PART  
*The worst in the shopping district...*
2. H: =a: [ha:i]  
*oh yes*

3. M: [Temwabashi] no=  
 [name] GEN  
*In Temwabashi...*
4. H: =watashi mada it-ta [koto nai]  
 I not.yet go-PAST NOMI NEG  
*I haven't been there yet*
5. M: [inc.]
6. H: katsura-san shika it-te-nai toko  
 wig-TITLE only go-PROGR-SJ.NEG place  
*The place where only people in wigs go*
7. M: un so so so  
*yes right right right*
8. Anna-san asoko *ika-re-tara* ii to omoi-masu  
 [name]-TITLE there go-SJ.RH-COND good QUOT think-AH  
  
*yo*  
 SJ.SFP  
*Anna, I think it would be good if you went there.*
9. are wa yuumei-soo  
 that NOM famous- look.like  
*Apparently it's famous*

(Osaka I, HKM, Hiroko & Makoto, 01'03'54)

When Makoto uses OJ referent honorific suffix HARU to address me in Extract 4.3, line 5, it is used together with my first name only, and is not followed by addressee honorification. When, however, I am addressed with SJ referent honorific, Makoto addresses me using honorific title *-san*, and in the same sentence uses addressee honorification *-masu* in *omoimasu* 'I think'. More SJ referent honorifics in the corpus co-occur with addressee honorification (64%) than are used without, unlike OJ referent honorifics. SJ honorifics are also more often used to address (62%) than to refer. This suggests that SJ honorification is seen as having a different function than OJ referent honorifics (for a further discussion of this issue with regards to OJ honorific suffix HARU, see Chapter 5, section 5.5.1.1).

The utterance in line 8 has also a quality of instruction, which may again be seen as linked with the 'teacher style' (Cook 1996, 1999), as SJ honorifics are used very often in this way (as we have seen in the example above and we will see also in the discussion of Extract 4.6 that follows).

I will now discuss the way SJ honorifics are used by women to show other possible patterns of their use in naturally occurring conversations in my corpus.

In the speech of women SJ honorific verbs occur in two kinds of situations: in the speech of Tomoko and Midori, both of whom are craft teachers, when they address or refer to their students; and in the speech of Kazuko during a phone conversation. The use of SJ honorifics in a phone conversation is not surprising, as it has been shown in previous research, that honorific expressions are likely to be used in such indirect means of communication as letter or phone (e.g. Minami 1987). In the phone conversation Kazuko calls the home of their (her and her friends') English teacher, who has not shown up to class. She switches into using mostly SJ when talking to the teacher's wife who answers the phone, including SJ referent honorifics, which appear as components of highly formulaic expressions.

The other instances where we can find the use of SJ honorifics in interactions are utterances by two craft teachers, Tomoko and Midori. For both of them, the forms are used when they address a larger group of people (2-3 students), rather than talking individually to one of the students. In Extract 4.5 Tomoko is telling a story about picture scrolls for 'The tale of Genji' to the whole group of her students, including Emi (63).

Extract 4.5.

1. T: Genji monogatari no emaki ni wa ne  
Genji story GEN picture.scroll DAT NOM SJ.SFP  
*On the picture scrolls of 'The tale of Genji'*
2. konna kuro:i-  
such dark  
*These dark...*
3. konna kumo mitaina egara ga ippai aru des-ho  
such cloud similar pattern TOP many be AH-HORT  
*There are lots of these dark cloud-like patterns, aren't there?*
4. E: un un  
*yes yes*
5. T: are wa nani ka gozonji desu-ka  
those NOM what QP know.SJ.RH AH-QP  
*Do you know what they are?*
6. shira-nai des-ho  
know-NEG AH-HORT  
*You don't know, do you?*

(Osaka I, TE, Tomoko & Emi, 00'20'41)

This kind of interaction may be compared to the indirect communication mentioned above. While the medium is not indirect, these utterances are not addressing anyone in particular.

An interesting utterance proving Okamoto's point that there is extensive code-mixing with speakers choosing selected variants, rather than switching between the two codes or varieties can be seen in Extract 4.6. This is the only example where Tomoko uses SJ honorification to address an individual student (Emi), after explaining to her what she should be doing next.



Extract 4.6.

1. T: wakare-hen-kat-tara      mata yon-de      kudasat-te  
understand-OJ.NEG-COND again call-CONJ give.SJ.RH.-CONJ

mo ii      desu      yo      ne  
too good AH.COP SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
*If you don't understand you can call me again.*

2. E: a ha:i  
oh yes/ok.

(Osaka I, TE, Tomoko & Emi, 00'55'39)

Again, we can see the visible link between using SJ honorification and giving instructions. This might suggest, that it is a particular kind of frame that triggers the use of SJ honorification by OJ users. Cook (1996, 1999) has pointed out that honorifics are a part and parcel of a particular style, recognised as that of a teacher. In her analysis of spontaneous interactions she has argued that using honorifics (although in Cook's example the focus was more on addressee honorification) correlates with the person acting in a particular way, or enacting a particular role. The role of teacher then 'comes with social responsibilities and obligations' (Cook 1999:94) it is then understandable that the presentation of self as a teacher may also be linked with the use of honorification. If we understand this kind of 'role' (or social persona) in a broader sense, we can infer that it may be a type of frame – behaving in a way which is typical of a teacher, which includes, explaining, giving instructions, correcting, checking if the other person understands or follows etc. – that triggers the use of SJ honorification. This interpretation accounts for a number of occurrences of SJ honorifics, as we have already seen in the discussion above.

In Extract 4.6 we can also see an interesting example of code-mixing, where Tomoko uses OJ negation *wakarehenkattara* ‘if you don’t understand’ immediately followed by a benefactive construction with SJ suppletive honorific form *kudasatte*. This example is different to the one above (4.5), as in 4.6 Tomoko is addressing one of her students directly. This is the only example, in the speech of both Tomoko and Midori, where we can find SJ honorification used to address someone personally. All the other utterances with SJ referent honorifics are aimed at the whole group of students. Therefore it seems meaningful that in this particular utterance she uses OJ morphological variant (negation) together with SJ referent honorific.

We can then see that the use of SJ referent honorification in informal conversations of OJ speakers is not only limited in number, but also in scope. Women in the sample use SJ honorifics in formulaic expressions or indirect communication, mostly in talking to a group of people, but not in any direct, personal communication. The only use of SJ suppletive honorific to address a single person by Tomoko (Extract 4.6, line 1) is juxtaposed with OJ plain negation. SJ referent honorifics in the speech of two men, Makoto and Kenta, are used consistently to address me, and are often used together with addressee honorification *desu/masu*, and the honorific title *-san*. Seeing that at other times both men also use local honorifics, without addressee honorification or honorific title to address me, this might suggest that SJ honorification is seen as more formal, or higher, than local honorification. This is in line with suggestions in previous research, that SJ honorification can be found in more formal types of interactions (Strycharz 2009). It is also notable that the only people to address me with SJ honorifics are two older

men. SJ honorifics might be used here to index large social distance between us: taking into consideration all of the social categories that have been shown to influence the use of honorification, Makoto and Kenta are distant from me on a number of different levels. I am a woman, much younger, and foreign.

I have shown how SJ referent honorifics are used by OJ speakers in informal conversations. I have suggested that they are not only limited in number of occurrences, but also in the scope of use. SJ honorifics often co-occur with addressee honorification, and are more often used in utterances where the referent is also the addressee. I have shown the use of SJ honorification that can be seen as co-creating the *uchi/soto* boundary. It is especially convincing when considered together with the topics it coincides with, as it is used to address me (a foreigner) when talking about Japanese customs. SJ honorification was also found to be used in indirect communication – either such where the conversation is not face-to-face (i.e. over the phone), or where the speaker is not addressing anyone in particular. When SJ honorification was used to address a particular person (Extract 4.6), it was used together with salient OJ features.

I will now discuss the use of OJ referent honorifics in the corpus to further analyse the whole range of resources available to OJ speakers. I will focus first on one of the two OJ suffixes used by the youngest generation, YORU (4.4.1) then move on to discussing YARU and HARU (4.4.2) I will conclude by again looking at the differences in meanings indexed by all these features, concentrating on the different indexicalities of SJ versus OJ honorification, and motivate my decision to focus on analysing HARU in much more detail in the remainder of this dissertation (4.5).

#### **4.4. Osaka Japanese referent honorific suffixes**

In the next section I will focus on the uses and functions of OJ referent honorifics found in the database. I will first describe the functions of YORU, and then move on to discussing YARU and HARU. In the discussion of HARU and YARU I will also show why the notion of face and the presentation of self need to be incorporated in any analysis of honorifics. I will suggest that while those local honorifics are the main resource for expressing politeness towards the other in informal interactions of OJ users, they are also an important resource for building a desirable image of the self.

##### **4.4.1. V+YORU**

There are 15 occurrences of YORU in the corpus, 3 in the speech of women and 12 in the speech of men. As we have seen on Figure 4.1 YORU composes more or less the same percentage (between 9.5-16%) of all honorifics used by men in each age group.

In the Osaka I corpus we can find two types of utterances containing YORU: those where the subject NP (referent) is someone younger, usually a family member (as in Extract 4.7), or those where the use of YORU indexes disapproval (Extract 4.8). The functions themselves can be seen as rather prescriptive, as YORU is often described as ‘minus-honorific’ (or anti-honorific) form. The overarching function present throughout all occurrences

of YORU seems to be marking a member of *uchi* 'in-group'. This differentiates YORU from prescriptive uses of all other referent subject honorifics, which are normatively used towards members of *soto* 'out-group'. This, to a certain degree, resembles the use of humble language (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1), but unlike humble language, YORU is never used when referring to oneself.

The purpose of including YORU in the analysis is to show a range of all subject referent honorific forms available to and used by OJ speakers.

Extract 4.7 is taken from a conversation between two friends, who also work together at a record shop: Yuusuke (25), and Tai (26). Tai is Yuusuke's *senpai* 'senior' at work, but they have known each other for years and socialise often. Tai is not included in the final sample, because he was born in a different part of Kansai area, and his parents moved to Osaka when he was 6. In the following extract Yuusuke is talking about his family and what they used to do at Christmas.

Extract 4.7.

1. T: nani shi-ta no  
what do-PAST QP  
*What did you use to do?*
2. Y: e::to ne::  
well SJ.SFP  
*Well...*
3. nanka bideo torun desu yo  
things.like video take AH SJ.SFP  
*They take a video*
4. T: bideo  
video
5. Y: un kazoku de  
yes family by  
*Yes, of the family*

6. A: nan no  
 what GEN  
*What kind?*
7. Y: nan des-ho ne  
 what AH.COP-HORT SJ.SFP  
*What would it be*
8. itokodooshi atsumat-te koo waiwai shi-teru  
 cousin.fellows gather-CONJ like.this noise do-PROGR  
  
 toko toru  
 place take  
*They record when the cousins get together and were noisy*
9. nanka koo uta utai-ma::su mitaina  
 things.like like.this song sing-AH similar  
  
 nat-te  
 become-CONJ  
*They are like: 'I'm singing a song'*
10. gakkoo de narat-teru uta o  
 school at learn-PROGR song ACC  
*Songs they learnt at school*  
  
 <laughs>
11. **utai-yorun** desu itoko wa  
 sing-OJ.RH AH cousin NOM  
*The cousins sing*

(Osaka I, YP, Yuusuke, Tai & Anna, 00'28'58)

As we can see in Extract 4.7 line 11 Yuusuke uses OJ form YORU to refer to his younger cousins singing during a family gathering at Christmas. In the entire extract Yuusuke talks in a friendly way, as he is reminiscing about what his family used to do at Christmas time. In a later part of the interaction he also expresses regret they no longer gather together for Christmas, and that now he sometimes likes to watch the old videos he talks about in line 3. This suggests that his use of YORU is not to express negative emotions or judgement, but rather he chooses to use this 'minus-honorific'

because the people he is referring to are younger than him, and they are members of his own family (his in-group).

Another way in which YORU is used in the database is to express disapproval, or negative judgement of someone or someone's actions. In Extract 4.8 Yoshiko (76) and Yukiko (74) are talking about world politics, and comparing the way things are going in Japan and in the US. Yukiko is impressed at the way politicians in the US openly discuss problems and issues.

Extract 4.8.

1. Yoshiko: Amerika no ii toko ya na  
America GEN good point OJ.COP OJ.SFP  
*This is America's good point, isn't it?*
2. Nihon yat-tara sonna koto nai de  
Japan OJ.COP-POT such thing NEG PART  
*This wouldn't happen in Japan*
3. Yukiko: (inc.)
4. Yoshiko: Nihon sugu aa yuu koto shi-yoru  
Japan soon like.that say thing do-OJ.RH  
*In Japan things like this are done immediately.*
5. yoku-nai na::  
good-NEG OJ.SFP  
*It's not good.*

(Osaka I, MYY, Yoshiko & Yukiko, 01'00'32)

In Extract 4.8 we can, again, see YORU used for marking in-group membership (Japan versus America), but this time the use of the form seems to also be indexing negative judgement or disapproval of Japan's actions. In this part of the conversation, Yukiko and Yoshiko compare the way uncomfortable matters are handled in the US, and in the immediately preceding conversation Yoshiko expresses her admiration at how American

politicians talk openly about things. She suggests this would never happen in Japan (line 2). In the fragment missing from this conversation, marked as incomprehensible in line 3, Yukiko talked about Japanese politicians acting quickly without consulting the public. I could not reproduce this fragment, as Yukiko walked to the kitchen as she said it, and her voice is almost inaudible in the recording. I was present during this conversation, so I know the content of this utterance. Regardless, however, of the exact phrasing of her comment, it is clear that Yoshiko expresses her disapproval towards Japan's actions, which we can see in line 5, when she comments that 'It's not good'.

There is one interaction in the database, where another referent honorific suffix, HARU, is used in a set of utterances containing negative evaluation of the referent. I will discuss this interaction here to show that, while HARU appears here in such context, the purpose of its use is not to index negative evaluation, but rather that it is used to do complex face work both towards the referent, addressee and towards the speaker herself. The extract comes from a conversation between Midori (45) – a craft teacher - and her student Emi (63). The topic of this interaction is another student of Midori's, who is still taking her classes, but at the same time he is selling what he makes during the class without mentioning Midori's name.

Extract 4.9.

1. M: X-san mo soo desu yo  
X-TITLE too like.this AH.COP SJ.SFP  
*Mr X is also like that*
  
2. E: so desu-ka  
like.this AH.COP-QP  
*Is that right?*



3. M: Onomichi ni ano hito ga tsukut-ta mono ga arun  
 Onomichi in that person TOP make-PAST thing TOP be  
 desu yo  
 AH SJ.SFP  
*There are things he made in Onomichi*<sup>8</sup>
4. motomoto X-san hora ano ironna mono wo tsukuru  
 originally X-TITLE INTERJ well various thing ACC make  
  
 hito ya kara  
 person OJ.COP because  
*Because Mr X has always been making different things*
5. honde saikin it-tara **ut-te-haru** desu yo  
 OJ.and.then recently go-COND sell-CONT-OJ.RH AH SJ.SFP  
*But then recently I went there and he is selling (them)*

(Osaka I, ME, Midori & Emi, 02'02'47)

It is clear from a number of previous comments (even if not explicitly visible in this particular interaction), that the practices of Mr X are negatively evaluated by both Midori and Emi. While Midori is happy to teach people, and she generally is very fond of all her students, she is also very particular about the personal characteristics of the people she agrees to accept as students, and very protective of the skill she has. Therefore learning the skill to be able to sell the products is something she does not approve of. The use of HARU towards Mr X when discussing his behaviour in line 5 is then very interesting on a number of levels. While it is clearly a negative evaluation, HARU is not prescriptively used as an antihonorific (unlike YORU). The value judgement found in this sentence therefore does not come from the use of HARU, its use is therefore more complex. Since honorifics can be seen as a negative politeness strategy, which may be used to redress a FTA (Brown & Levinson 1987), this could be an example of such redressive action. However, Mr X is neither present during this interaction, nor is there anyone else who

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<sup>8</sup> Onomichi is a place name, where Midori also goes to organize classes.

approves of his actions. The use of referent honorific can therefore only partly be seen as an attempt to redress a face threat towards the referent. Passing this kind of judgement on one of her students might also be, in a way, an act that may potentially threaten the face of the teacher (i.e. the speaker).

Finally, it has been suggested that honorifics in general are among the most powerful resources for building a desirable image of the self (Agha 1993). Research has shown that people who use honorifics, even those who use them incorrectly, are generally seen as more refined and more educated than those who don't use them at all (Wetzel 1994). We can then see this use of HARU as a way of combining all of these factors, building a positive image of the self, especially that in this case the person in question is a teacher, who is concerned about her image in front of her students. Even though HARU is used to pass negative evaluation, we can see that this is not the primary function of this form.

As we have seen in Extracts 4.7 and 4.8 the function of YORU is markedly different than that of all other subject referent honorifics available to speakers of OJ. YORU is used to mark in-group, rather than out-group membership, and is often linked with expressing disapproval. These functions of YORU are also outlined in previous research. The uses of the form are, therefore, rather normative in that respect. It provides a resource for indexing meanings different than those of other referent honorifics, and this might suggest that while it is used very rarely, it will nonetheless continue to be used, as the functions it fulfils are do not overlap with the functions of other OJ referent honorifics.

#### 4.4.2. V+YARU and V+HARU

In this section I will focus on the functions of the remaining two referent honorific suffixes found in OJ, and used in the dataset: V+YARU and V+HARU. I will suggest that the possible attrition of YARU (as seen in very low numbers of occurrences in Table 4.1 coming down to zero in the youngest generation) may be linked to the overlap of functions in the use of the two forms. I will show that there is no difference between the use of the two suffixes, and that HARU seems to be now used as the main resource for indexing a number of facets of honorification. I will start by suggesting that this may also be linked to the two forms sharing their origin.

HARU is derived from Old Japanese passive honorific of the auxiliary verb *nasu* 'do' (Martin 1987). The passive form of *nasu* is *nasaru*, and it can still be found in use in Standard Japanese, also in the construction V+*nasaru*. The change it has undergone in Osaka Japanese (to become HARU) seems to be first the s>h sound change (present currently also in a restricted number of lexical items found in Osaka Japanese, such as e.g. *obahan* instead of SJ *obasan* 'aunt'), resulting in *nasaru*>*naharu*. The form existed as an honorific suffix, leading to the developments of forms like:

iki-nasaru > iki-naharu > iki-'aharu > iki-yaharu 'goes'  
ki-nasaru > ki-naharu > ki-'aharu > ki-yaharu 'comes'

(Maeda 1961, cited in Martin 1987).

No accounts are given as to the possible origins of the other OJ referent honorific suffix: YARU. One of the possibilities is that YARU and

HARU are both derived from the same Old Japanese verb *nasaru*, with the path being:

V+*nasaru* > V+*naharu* > V+*'aharu* > V+*yaharu* > V+*haru*  
V+*ya'aru* > V+*yarū*

The basic function of the two forms is very similar – they are both used as honorific verbal suffixes, the function of which is to denote respect towards the referent of the utterance, who may at the same time be the addressee. Interestingly, while this is also the function of SJ honorific suffix – *(ra)reru* (see section 4.2 above), in publications on Osaka Japanese it is HARU that is shown to be an OJ equivalent of SJ *-(ra)reru* (e.g. Horii 1995). I will, however, look at the functions of the two forms in the same section, due to their possibly common origin, the same morphological position and similar function. I will suggest that it is possible that, as HARU is the main form of referent honorification in informal conversations among OJ users, it is possible that in the speech of the youngest generation of speakers, HARU has taken over this function entirely. Low number of occurrences of YARU in the older and middle generations suggests this may be an ongoing trend that is nearing completion among the younger speakers.

#### **4.4.2.1. Functions and meanings of the two local referent honorific suffixes**

In this section I will focus on showing the functions of the two referent honorific suffixes in interactions. I will argue that both can be used to index very similar interactional and interpersonal functions. I will also suggest that

since overall the frequency of use of honorification is drastically decreasing in the younger generation, and the use of referent honorifics is highly restricted (see Chapters 5 and 6 for the discussion), the possible attrition of YARU may be related to HARU taking over honorific functions in informal interactions. I will start by showing that the two features are already used interchangeably among the older and middle generation of speakers.

Extract 4.9 is taken from a conversation between Yukiko and her sister-in-law, Yoshiko. The opening lines of this interaction are a response to my comment that everyone I meet seems to be asking me how much rent I pay. Referent honorifics (OJ, as only OJ honorifics occur in this interaction) are highlighted.

Extract 4.9.

1. Yukiko: sore wa so ya wa  
that NOM like.that OJ.COP NOM  
*It's like that*
2. **shinpai shi-te age-te-haru** ne  
worry do-CONT give-CONT-OJ.RH SJ.SFP  
*They worry (about you), don't they?*
3. Yoshiko: **shinpai shi-yaru** ne  
worry do-OJ.RH SJ.SFP  
*They worry*
4. Yukiko: moo sugu Osaka no obachan sonna suru no  
already soon [name] GEN aunt such do PART  
*Osaka aunties immediately do things like that*
5. Yoshiko: honde na  
so OJ.SFP  
*And so...*
6. **shinpai shi-te-haru** nen  
worry do-CONT-OJ.RH OJ.SFP  
*They worry*
7. ee toko chotto sagashi-te age-yoo-ka  
good place little search-CONT give-HORT-QP

*'Shall we look for a good place for you?'*

8.           zettai     so       ya     ne  
              definitely like.this OJ.COP SJ.SFP  
              *It's definitely like that*

(Osaka I, MYY, Yukiko & Yoshiko, 00'22'03)

In this extract we can see honorifics used towards someone Yukiko and Yoshiko approve of and see their action as desirable behaviour. Their comments reveal positive evaluation of the action described, as my reaction to people asking me about rent was uncertain. Both of them see this as a sign of women in Osaka being kind and taking interest in me. HARU and YARU are used interchangeably, for the same referent (Osaka women), and with the same light verb *shinpai suru* 'worry'. This suggests that the function of the two local referent honorific suffixes is not distinguished by the speakers, as we can observe Yoshiko using YARU in line 3 and then HARU in line 6.

Overall in the dataset YARU seems to be used mostly to express positive evaluation of the action of the referent, as seen in Extract 4.8. It is never used to address or refer to close friends or family, but rather towards people speaker knows somewhat. YARU can be found used both to address the interlocutor and to refer to a third person. HARU is a more multifunctional suffix, as presented in Table 4.4, encoding a wider range of information than just positive evaluation of the action of some other (a detailed analysis of the plethora of functions of HARU is the core of Chapters 5 and 6). It is therefore possible that the functions of YARU have come to overlap with those of HARU, and with the overall decrease of the use of referent honorific suffixes by the younger generation, YARU is abandoned altogether. This is also seen in self-reported research, where the speakers

claim they never use YARU (Strycharz 2005), while the main form of both reference and address-type honorification is HARU, and YORU is used only to refer to younger people (Miyaji 1987; Strycharz 2005).

It is also interesting that YARU is found only in the speech of those people who use all of the OJ options available: Takeshi and Yukiko, and those who exhibit high frequency of use of referent honorifics: Ayaka and Yoshiko.

Table 4.5 combines some aspects and functions of the referent honorifics found in the Osaka I corpus, and illustrates what meanings and relationships tend to be encoded when each of the forms is used.

	V+HARU	V+YARU	V+YORU	SJ referent honorifics
Positive evaluation	✓	✓	rarely	✓
Negative evaluation	✗	✗	✓	✗
Used to address	✓	✓	✗	✓
Used to refer	✓	✓	✓	✓
For older referents/ addressees	✓	✗	✗	✓
For younger referents/ addressees	✓	rarely	✓	✗
For close family/ friends	✓	✗	✓	✗
For people speaker knows	✓	✓	✓	✓
For strangers	rarely	✗	✗	✓

*Table 4.5. Comparison of functions of OJ and SJ referent honorific forms*

We can see in Table 4.5 that indeed HARU has the widest scope of use of all the referent honorifics used by OJ speakers (in informal interactions). For negative evaluation, where HARU is not used (see the discussion in

section 4.4.1), YORU is used, while for addressing strangers speakers of OJ mostly use SJ referent honorification (although this, too, seems to be changing – see the discussion in Chapter 6). YARU is then the only feature which does not have a function that cannot be indexed by the use of HARU. Since it is seen as a politeness device with functions similar to those of HARU, it is perhaps not surprising that with the overall use of honorification drastically decreasing in the speech of the younger generation, YARU has disappeared altogether. There are also no occurrences of SJ referent honorification in the interactions of this age group. Informal comments suggest that SJ is now seen as appropriate in formal interactions, but not in informal ones. Since this generation has been taught to use both SJ and OJ for different situations (Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2), lack of SJ referent honorifics in informal conversations which constitute the bulk of Osaka I corpus, might be related to this. It is possible that for this younger generation SJ honorifics are seen as appropriate only in formal conversations, and using them in informal interaction rather than conveying some form of respect towards the referent, would be seen as introducing unnecessary formality. It is also an overall trend observed in the speech of young Japanese that they prefer plain forms to honorific forms (e.g. Okamoto 1997).

#### **4.5. Conclusions and motivation for further discussion**

In this chapter I have discussed the effects of standardization (or contact with Standard Japanese) on the informal speech of OJ users. I have shown that there is intense code-mixing throughout all interactions, happening on all



levels of linguistic structure (although different levels are affected to a different degree). I have also argued that seeing the practices of OJ users as utilizing resources from a large continuum, rather than switching between two codes means we need to see all referent honorific options available to the speakers as interdependent. The remainder of the discussion in this dissertation is focused on the local referent honorific HARU.

As we have seen, in the informal interactions of OJ users HARU is the referent honorific with the largest scope of use, as well as one that is most commonly used by all speakers. Since HARU is a suffix that is used for marking a number of different relationships, it is impossible to find one overarching function it is linked with. However, as I have previously discussed, there are two main meanings HARU is linked with that need to be taken into consideration, when analysing this form: the meaning brought about by the form being a local honorific feature. This in turn means that the form can bring about two, seemingly opposite, sets of meanings: it can be creatively used to index in-group and out-group membership. What this effectively means for the analysis of this suffix, is that we need to consider what kinds of forms it is used in opposition to (that is SJ honorifics and plain forms), as well as the linguistic context it appears in.

The various creative uses of HARU, as well as population-specific uses of this form are discussed and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, as are the changes in its distribution, use and functions. Throughout the discussion analysing this suffix I will also make reference (where appropriate) to other honorific options, as discussed in this chapter.

Since the data and analysis in the main part of this dissertation is focussed on one suffix, much more (and more in-depth) analysis is needed to understand the relationship of different variants, both OJ and SJ, on different levels of linguistic structure, as used by speakers of OJ. The in-depth analysis of HARU is intended as one of many such investigations, which will allow us to further understand the practices of speakers of varieties undergoing intense dialect contact/ standardization.

In the detailed analysis of HARU I will draw on a number of concepts used in previous discussions of honorifics. I will base my investigation based on both qualitative and quantitative methods, which will allow me to bridge the gap between a number of previous studies. I will also show how the changes in the use of HARU need to be linked to a number of social changes happening in the community under study.

## Chapter 5

### 5. Indexicality and the social meanings of HARU

In the discussion in this chapter I will employ the notion of *indexicality* (Abercrombie 1967; Ochs 1992; Silverstein 1976, 2003; Eckert 2008) to better understand the patterns of use of local referent honorifics in Osaka Japanese. I will focus the discussion on HARU, as this local referent honorific suffix is the main form of referent honorification employed by the speakers in my corpus (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3. for the distribution of all referent honorifics in the corpus). Uncovering social meanings linked to the use of HARU, I will trace how those meanings change over time from generation to generation, and how they can potentially be employed differently by different groups of speakers in the same speech community. The main issue I focus on is therefore that of new, emerging meanings for old traditional variants, and their possible use in the everyday construction of identity or style. As the uses of certain linguistic forms in interaction are essentially choices (conscious or not) that speakers make, these uses 'may either invoke a pre-existing value or stake a claim to a new value' (Eckert 2008:464). The uses of linguistic features unfold from interaction to interaction, and these momentary uses inform the understanding of larger patterns. It is then important to not only look at the overall pattern of use (i.e. who uses the form, who doesn't, thus focusing on the correlation between the use of forms and certain populations of speakers), but look within those patterns in the interactions themselves, as the use of a particular variant on its own does not

necessarily give us insight into the ideological moves invoked by it. I will therefore start with discussing the correlations of frequency of use of local honorifics with larger social categories of age, gender and network type, to then move on to focusing on the use of HARU in interactions in order to give a more in-depth and bottom-up view of the possible social meanings HARU is used to index. In addition, I incorporate metapragmatic discourse surrounding the use of HARU as an additional source of data. This metapragmatic discourse is, among other features, a rich source of information about speakers' opinion about the language and the people who use it. I use the term 'ideology' with the meaning intended by e.g. Silverstein, as 'any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979:193).

In the discussion which follows, first I will further review some of the main concepts used in discussions of indexicality mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3.4.2, (5.1), devoting more attention to the concept of indexical orders and their significance in exploring how meanings associated with particular features shape over time (5.2); I will then move on to make a link between these studies and frameworks and studies of Japanese honorifics (5.3) to finally focus on the social meanings of HARU (5.4-6). In the analysis of HARU I will also show how this linguistic feature has come to be linked with specific social types, or groups of people. To analyse and discuss the social meanings of HARU I will first draw on the distribution of the feature across different populations of speakers, and discuss the observable change in the frequency of use of HARU over time (5.4). I will then focus on the close

analysis of interactions and metapragmatic comments of the speakers (5.5). I will also show how the use of ideologies influences the meanings linked with HARU.

### 5.1. Indexicality – linguistic resources in the social world

When talking about what certain linguistic features mean, there are different kinds of meanings we can refer to. We can broadly divide them into:

- Semantico-referential meaning: this meaning relates to the things or events to the world. This kind of meaning is independent of the context (e.g. *My mother drinks coffee*).
- Referential indexical meaning: in this case, denotation depends on the context. Some examples are demonstrative pronouns: *here*, *there*, or personal pronouns, which do not point to any specific entity in real life when taken out of the context. Their meaning is thus context-dependent, and changes with regards to how, where, when and by whom they are used.
- Non-referential indexical meaning: this kind of meaning links linguistic features with some qualities of the social sphere. They can, for example, evoke, construct or re-construct things like stance, identity etc. This link between the linguistic and the social has been explored in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology.

In the discussion which follows, I focus on these last kinds of relationships – i.e. the relationship of linguistic features with the social domain – but I incorporate the significance of the referential meaning in section 5.3.1, where I discuss the inherent meanings of local honorifics.

The link between linguistic and social domain has been of interest to sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology since the inception of the study of language in use. One of the processes that help explain this link, and tie an abstract linguistic resource to some notion of the social realm is the process of *indexicality*. This process focuses on the social meaning of language, building on a variety of concepts brought in from anthropology, sociology and literary criticism (for a full discussion of influences in the current understanding of indexicality, see Ochs 1992). The basic assumption is such, that a given form  $x$  when used by a speaker in interaction evokes some kind of social meaning  $y$  (Meyerhoff, in press).

Several questions arise, however, when we try to move beyond theory and look at actual examples of language use. Firstly, how does a feature get linked to a particular social meaning, and not to another? And, if a feature has come to be associated with a given social meaning, does it mean the same thing for all speakers, in all contexts, all the time? Secondly, if a feature indexes one given social meaning, how does it come to then index other types of meanings as well?

Current operationalisations of indexicality offer several different solutions to the problems mentioned above. If we assume that a feature can index some social meaning, it is clear that there are a plethora of not only different social meanings, but also different *kinds* of meanings a given linguistic feature can be indexically linked to. We can tentatively divide these meanings into stances (e.g. 'effortful'), acts (e.g. 'talking to family'), activities (e.g. 'passing judgement') on one, more local and interactionally oriented end, and more permanent qualities (e.g. 'educated') and social types (e.g.

'Gay Diva') (after e.g. Ochs 1992; Eckert 2008) on the other end<sup>9</sup>. Those more permanent meanings – social/ demographic categories, personae or identities (such as e.g. gender) seem to be indexed by a given linguistic feature as an outcome of the more interaction-based meanings – this, as has been noted, is the more common of the situations and some argue all social meanings arise by a feature being primarily linked to a stance (Ochs 1992; Kiesling 2009). Those more fluid meanings (stances) are therefore *directly* indexed by a linguistic form, while the more permanent ones form a more *indirect* relationship with a linguistic resource (Silverstein 1985; Ochs 1992). However, when we look at linguistic features that have come to be associated with e.g. certain geographic distinctions, these might be understood as a direct index of 'being local', i.e. a demographic category (although what 'being from here' means interactionally and ideologically might take on a number of interpretations – see the discussion below). Those forms have the potential to again acquire new meanings, and although they have 'historically come to distinguish geographic dialects [they] can take on interactional meanings based in local ideology' (Eckert 2009:462).

If we then agree that one form can be indexically linked to a number of different, socially significant and very diverse meanings, we need to look into the availability of those meanings for the speakers. In introducing the notion of 'indexical field' as a pool of meanings available for any given variant, Eckert (2008) shows that one linguistic feature can have a number of different meanings assigned to it. In the discussion of released /t/ analysed

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<sup>9</sup> These two pools of meanings do not necessarily indicate discrete categories. We can imagine one being transferred into the domain of another, e.g. a form being used to evoke a 'funny' stance might then lead to the form indexing a 'funny person' (Eckert 2008:469, see also a discussion on 'stance accretion' in Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

in a number of different studies, she shows that meanings of released /t/ can vary from stances such as 'effortful', 'formal', or 'clear', through permanent qualities like 'educated' or 'elegant', to social types like 'School Teacher' or 'Gay Diva'. Some of these indexical meanings can presumably exist in any community, while some are limited to certain groups or communities (like 'Gay Diva', or 'Nerd Girl'). Other questions, already mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, that arise, are then: What limits the availability of certain meanings of linguistic features? Who has access to what? It is relatively easy to argue that some meanings will exist only in some communities, where they are socially loaded, or where there exist specific types of personae or identities – i.e. the 'Nerd Girl' meaning linked with released /t/, as discussed in Bucholtz (1999), can only exist in a community of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) where there are those kinds of girls, and then it exists as a part of their stylistic package. With other meanings, however, it seems not to be as straightforward. Johnstone & Kiesling (2008) discuss the different meanings of /aw/ monophthongisation in Pittsburgh for five different speakers from the area. Monophthongal /aw/, as in 'dahntahn', is a feature that has stereotypically come to be linked with Pittsburghese speech, appearing on local T-shirts and mugs, and in lists of 'Pittsburghese' words. It seems to have acquired the strong local meaning 'based in local ideology' (Eckert 2008:462), that can potentially exist for all speakers of Pittsburghese. Nonetheless, Johnstone & Kiesling show that not all of the speakers associate this variant with local identity. They argue that different interpretations of linguistic feature can occur even within one speech community, due to the different experiences of individuals, and



because 'indexical meaning is created and reinforced in local practices in which different people participate in different ways, if at all' (Johnstone & Kiesling 2008:6). Their results show that even if larger correlations exist, it does not necessarily mean that all of the speakers (and hearers) associate the feature with the same meaning(s).

Assuming then that indexicality is an ongoing process of meaning making and re-making, this form-meaning relationship is not static, neither is it given once and for all. Eckert's concept of indexical field (2008), and Ochs' multiple linking of stances, acts, activities and linguistic features (Ochs 1992) point to the fact that these relationships can be more fluid, changing and that they can (in various orders, presumably) have influence over the other ones. How these changes come about, and how they then affect the actual language use (and possibly language change) is precisely the focus of the current discussion.

## **5.2. Indexical orders**

To better understand how exactly different features can be related to different meanings in the social world, and how these relationships can shape and change over time (thus influencing the actual use of forms) I employ here Silverstein's notion of 'indexical orders' (1976, 2003). I will now review this concept, link it with Labov's distinction between indicators, markers and stereotypes and show why the concept of indexical orders is a useful framework when exploring the use of OJ honorifics.

The concept of orders of indexicality, as Silverstein suggests, is 'a

concept necessary for showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon' (2003:193). It rests on the assumption that there are different kinds of relationships between linguistic features and social meanings linked with them. These different kinds of relationships are created in a process of meaning-making, beginning with a social meaning most 'basic' to the linguistic feature, if we can say so. Thus an *n*-th order index is one which 'presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the "appropriateness" of its usage in that context' (2003:193). What follows is the emergence of *n*+... order indexicals. While the emergence of new meanings follows in some kind of order, where first order indexicals can give rise to second order indexicals and so on, it does not necessarily entail that any given index cannot be seen as first and second order, depending on its use in a given interaction, as 'once performatively effectuated in-and-by its use, the *n*-th order indexical form can itself also be conceptualised as well in terms of its *n*+1st order indexical relationship to context' (2003:194). This complex relationship has been illustrated e.g. in the analysis of the use of mock Spanish (Hill 2005), which, as Hill argues, can be used as a first-order indexical linked simply with qualities of Spanish-speakers, but also as a second-order indexical to evoke certain pejorative meanings such as 'laziness'.

It has been suggested (Silverstein 2003; Johnstone et al. 2006) that Silverstein's orders of indexicality run somewhat parallel to Labov's (1972) three-way distinction into indicators, markers and stereotypes, where

indicators are those features that don't show any stylistic variation, and are below the level of conscious awareness; markers exhibit stylistic variation, although speakers may not be aware of the features or their social meaning; while stereotypes are those features which are above the level of awareness and available for both social work and overt metapragmatic comments.

Johnstone et al. (2006) suggest that Labov's taxonomy is parallel to Silverstein's notion of first-, second- and third-order indexes, and they show how one can turn into the other (i.e. how first level indexicals can give rise to second-level indexical meanings and so on) over time. In their example, certain variants found in Pittsburghese speech turn from first level order of being correlated with people living in the area and those who are working-class, with no social meaning attached to it by the speakers, through second-level indexing where the local forms become available for some social work and stylistic variation occurs (thus, as they suggest, turning from indicators into markers), to finally become stereotypes, or third-level indexicals, which are available for speakers' metapragmatic comments and utilised to 'perform local identity, often in semiserious, ironic ways.' (Johnstone et al. 2006:83), as in e.g. T-shirt representations of 'dahntahn'. This example shows how certain ideologies can play part in features' moving up indexical orders, with people noticing them, paying attention to them, attaching to them some social meaning, which potentially sets grounds for new meanings to develop. Again, however, not all of those meanings develop uniformly for all speakers, as we can expect – depending on their life experiences and histories, participation in various communities and a number of other factors, certain meanings exist for and are used by certain (groups of)

speakers.

### **5.2.1. Indexical orders and local honorifics**

The feature I am dealing with – local referent honorific – is above the level of speakers' awareness. While some speakers comment on various uses of it, and some have strong opinions as to the personal qualities of people who use these forms (as I discuss below), others don't see it as bearing much social meaning in the sense discussed above. As one of the ladies I interviewed told me, 'everyone around here uses it'. The analysis of spoken data suggests otherwise, and there are clear age, gender and network effects with regards to who uses the form and who doesn't (see also section 5.4.1-2).

There is a lot of discourse surrounding the use of these forms, especially focusing around the use of HARU, with a number of ideologies attached to it by different people, as I discuss in the remainder of this chapter. The use or non-use of these local forms also depends on style or situation (Palter & Horiuchi 1995; SturtzSreetharan 2008; Strycharz, 2009, in prep.). HARU is then, in Labov's terminology, a linguistic stereotype – a feature above the level of awareness, one that is subject to style-shifting and present in 'talk about talk'. We can imagine following Johnstone et al.'s example, that it may well have been below the level of awareness at certain point in time, when mobility was minimal, people didn't have contact with outsiders, and thus did not realise they speak in a distinct way.

However, even with the high awareness and presence of the feature in 'talk about talk', the distribution of HARU, its interactional meanings (the

stances it is linked with) and social meanings assigned to it by the speakers differ across individuals, genders and generations. There is a difference in both its use and perceptions among the speakers themselves. The concept of indexical orders allows us then to explore how this process comes about, and how some 'ideologically driven metapragmatics' (Silverstein 2003:219) linked with the feature can evoke old, or construct new, meanings for certain groups of speakers. As Eckert argues '[s]ince the same variable will be used to make ideological moves by different people, in different situations, and to different purposes, its meaning in practice will not be uniform across the population.' (Eckert 2009: 467). This variability in use and in understanding the meaning of HARU in different groups of speakers might have an influence over the use of HARU now, and possibly for the path of it in the future.

I will now turn to discussing what I refer to as inherent meanings of HARU and show how they relate to the frameworks and concepts reviewed above. I will then move on to explore the different meanings that have come to be attached to this form, different interactional meanings HARU is used to convey, and the ideologies that are linked with it. I will discuss the distribution of HARU across different populations, and the relationship of this distribution with the meanings of the form. In discussing the plethora of social meanings of HARU, I will draw on the close analysis of interactions and speakers' metapragmatic discourse, in addition to the distributional data. I will also devote some space to discussing the stereotyped social types that are referred to in speakers' comments.

### **5.3. The meanings of HARU**

In this section I will focus on the meanings indexed by the use of HARU, how these meanings manifest themselves in the discourse (both as a tool in interaction and in the form of overt comments about language) and how they change over time. I will start by suggesting that there are two meanings that can be identified as inherent meanings of the form, and we can perceive these as  $n$ -th order indexicals, in Silverstein's terms. I will then move on to focus on different age and gender groups and show how they utilise the form. Finally, I will go back to the concept of indexical orders to show how these different meanings come about, and use Eckert's concept of indexical field to show how they are interrelated.

#### **5.3.1. Referential and social meanings of HARU**

Honorifics do not have a referential meaning as such in the sense discussed above. They do not point to certain entities in the real world. However, through their high degree of conventionalisation, we have come to think of them as though their referential meaning is that of 'honour' or 'respect'. Thus the inherent meaning of a referent honorific, which is neither indexical nor semantic, is expression of respect towards a given referent. It is possibility somewhat similar to the referential meanings as discussed above, and thus needs to be seen as different from the socio-indexical meanings of this feature. This will provide the basis for the investigation of the role each of the levels of meaning (i.e. referential and indexical) plays in interpretations and

reinterpretations of HARU. The starting point for the discussion of (social) meanings of HARU needs to be seen as a combination of two meanings that are linked with it: (i) the inherent meaning of this form – that of ‘respect’, i.e. respecting/ honouring the referent, which in turn has come to be associated with a stance (‘being respectful’ or ‘being polite’), and (ii) the indexical meaning, which in this case is a socio-demographic type (‘being local’ or ‘being from Osaka’). These meanings are central to a number of uses of HARU, and can therefore be seen as *n*-th order indexicals (Silverstein 2003). However, there are communicative events where one of the meanings is foregrounded over the other (see also the discussion below), and some meanings that have come to be linked with HARU have come about indirectly through one of these *n*-th order indexicals, while other new meanings can be linked both to the notions of localness and respect.

I will now turn to discussing the indexical meanings of HARU explored in previous research, and then move on to showing how these meanings can be ideologically linked, and how they, in turn, give rise to other, *n*+1st order indexes.

### **5.3.2. Indexical meanings of HARU in previous research**

A number of analyses of HARU in interactions have suggested, if only implicitly, that the feature is well suited for exploring the varied meanings on different levels it can be used to convey. Even if not explicitly discussing the possible indexical meanings of HARU, the studies, as they usually focus

on close analyses of interactions, show how HARU is linked with a number of different microsocial as well as macrosocial categories and qualities.

Beginning with the descriptive (and prescriptive) accounts of the form, HARU is linked with 'femininity' by some researchers (e.g. Maeda 1980), while it is not seen as sex-exclusive by others (Horii 1995). This suggestion is empirically tested by SturtzSreetharan (2004, 2008), who shows that indeed in her data the feature occurs categorically in the speech of Kansai women, and does not appear in any of the recordings of Kansai men. She does not pursue the potential route that might have led to the form being seen as (potentially) feminine. Instead, she focuses on the role it performs in the discourse, suggesting it is used to 'give deference to relatives of their close friends/interlocutors' and 'to depict familiarity and respect' (SturtzSreetharan 2008:169). My data does not fully corroborate her findings – while the form is at times described as 'feminine' (see below), there are men who use HARU in my database, although they do so to a much lesser degree than do women (see Chapter 3, section 3.3, and section 5.4.1. below). As her goal is not the exploration of the meanings linked with HARU, SturtzSreetharan (2008) suggests that the form is used rather prescriptively, to depict 'deference', 'familiarity' and 'respect'. She therefore points to meanings both microsocial, those seen in interaction ('familiarity', 'respect'), some linked with the pragmatic meanings of HARU, and macrosocial categories, such as 'femininity'. All of these seem to be linked with the core meanings of HARU I have suggested above, I will therefore explore these ideas in more detail in the discussion which follows, providing examples and a more in-depth discussion.



Onoe (1999) has also suggested that HARU can be seen as an important marker of local identity – as a highly salient feature that speakers are aware of, it has a potential of being linked with stereotypically local qualities. However, no empirical evidence is offered to support this claim.

Focusing on microsocial meanings found in interaction, Okamoto's study provides an analysis of honorifics (both local and standard) used in sales talk in Osaka and Kyoto (Okamoto 1998). She shows that HARU is found in situations less formal than Standard Japanese honorifics, heard most often in marketplaces and in face-to-face communication rather than public announcements in shops, or conversations in large supermarkets. HARU, unlike SJ honorifics, was found most often in 'conversations that were more personally oriented' (Okamoto 1998: 150). It was also never used to address multiple customers. This suggests a clear difference between HARU and Standard Japanese honorifics – while they are canonically both used to give deference, local honorifics are found to index familiarity or informality of some kind.

We can then see that many different researchers have suggested a variety of both micro- and macrosocial meanings that HARU can be indexically linked with. In the discussion which follows, I will provide a more unified account, looking for a comprehensive exploration of the plethora of interactional meanings, and linking those with the larger social categories that HARU is thought to index. I will discuss the links between those many meanings, and offer a discussion which takes into account actual interactions, distribution and ideology. This is, of course, not to say that there are no other meanings HARU can be used to index, or that those meanings

will remain stable thereafter. As I have already suggested, we have seen in previous research and theoretical discussions that the processes linking linguistic features and certain social meanings are fluid and some may be more fleeting than others. The processes involved in creating and expanding the indexical field of any given linguistic feature are therefore complex, and encompass a number of different levels, spanning from the semantic and pragmatic meanings of the features, through the distribution across populations, to interactional uses linked with meaning making and remaking (or presupposed and creative uses, in Silverstein's terms).

As I argue that different meanings of HARU are available for and utilised by different members of the community, I will now first focus on the distribution of HARU across different populations of speakers, and then discuss the ideologies and interactional meanings observed in the conversations. I will discuss some meanings that can be observed across different groups of speakers, to then move on to discuss those that seem to be prototypical for different age / gender groups. I will also argue that the discussion of the changing meanings of HARU needs to be seen in the local socio-cultural context.

#### **5.4. Meanings across populations and speakers**

In this section, I will first focus on the overall distribution of HARU, showing its use over a sample of speakers stratified for age, gender and social networks. I will discuss the changes we are witnessing, relating to both the frequency of the use of this form, and the functions that are most common in

the younger generation of speakers. I will argue that while there is a trend towards avoidance of local referent honorifics, there are also changes in the meanings attached to HARU, as evidenced in the ways in which it is used. I will demonstrate that there are new, emerging indexicalities (that can be seen as  $n+\dots$  order indexes) that younger speakers link with this local referent honorific, and explore ways in which the use of the form among younger speakers differs from the older generations.

#### **5.4.1. Distribution of HARU across generations**

In the Osaka I corpus I use for the discussion in this dissertation, HARU is the most common option of referent honorification, overshadowing the use of all other referent honorifics, both standard and local (see Chapter 4, Table 4.1 for the overall distribution of all referent honorific forms in the corpus, and Figure 4.1 for the comparison of the frequency of all honorifics). Overall, HARU constitutes 85% of all referent honorifics used in the corpus. The following discussion is based on the use of HARU only, and takes into consideration all of the speakers in the corpus (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2). There are a number of speakers, who are categorical non-users of HARU. For the purpose of the discussion in this chapter, and to observe the overall distribution of HARU in the community across different populations of speakers, these speakers are also included in the discussion in this section. Those speakers are excluded from the discussion of the changing functions of HARU (Chapter 6, section 6.2) and the multivariate analysis of constraints (Chapter 6, section 6.3).

Focussing only on the distribution of HARU, Figure 5.1 presents the distribution of HARU across age, gender and type of social network (for the full description of methodology and division into different groups see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2). The percentages here were calculated out of all possible uses of referent honorific, taking into consideration both the predicates with referent honorific and those without one, but where the use of one would be possible. The envelope of variation therefore consists of all finite verb tokens, with a clear human referent other than oneself (for a full discussion see Chapter 3, section 3.7).

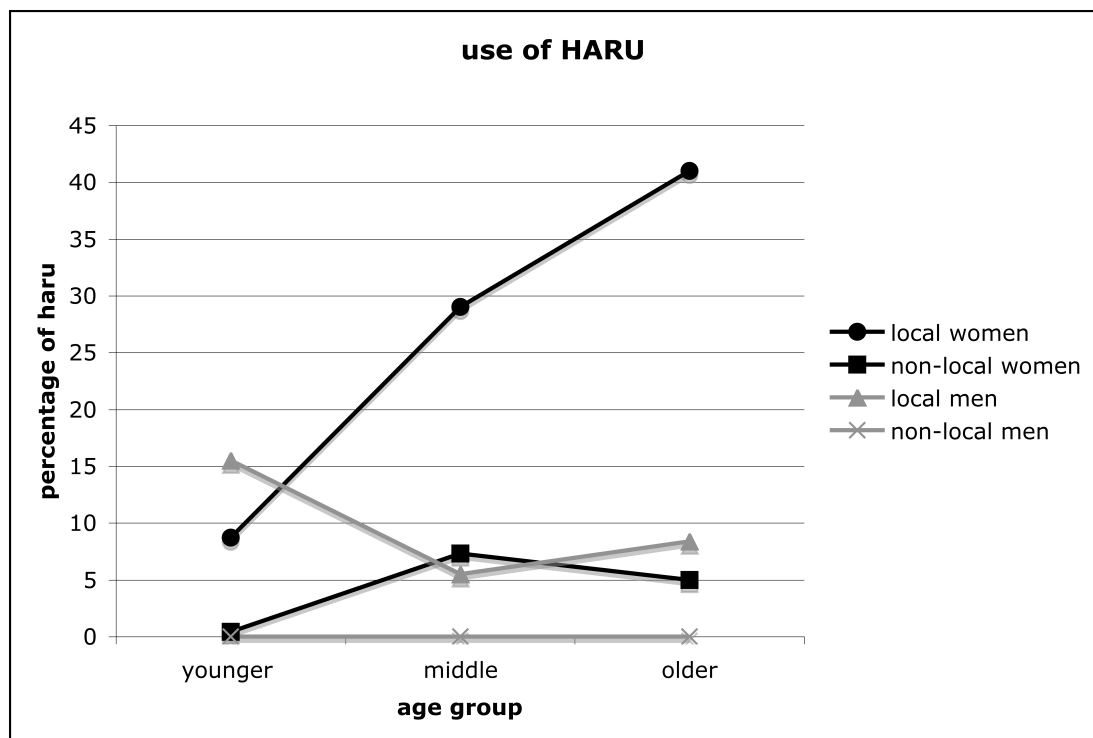


Figure 5.1. Distribution of HARU across age, gender and social network

There is a visible change in the use of HARU across time. As the sample was stratified for age, in accordance with the apparent time hypothesis we may infer a change in progress happening in the community (see also

Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1-2) combined with a process of age grading. While the use of honorifics undoubtedly changes as speakers progress through life, several factors suggest that the observed pattern may also be attributable to an ongoing change on the level of the whole community. An important factor to also bear in mind is that the youngest speaker in the sample was, at the time of recording, 18 years old, so past adolescence.

As previous studies also suggest (e.g. SturtzSreetharan 2008) the data in my corpus show that the form is female-preferred, with women using it significantly more than men ( $\chi^2=76$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0$ ). However, women with non-local networks, who work outside their local community and have loose social networks with very little contact with their local community, use this local form to a much lesser degree. This is in line with previous research, which showed that dense, multiplex networks inhibit language change (Milroy 1995), and supports the analysis of the observed pattern as a change in progress. While women with dense local networks are changing their speech patterns at a much slower pace, those with more open networks, possible due to external influence, are exhibiting a different pattern with regards to the use of local honorifics. The difference in the use of local honorifics by locally networked and non-locally networked women is thus indicative of a possible shift in the use of forms in the community (so, a historical change).

The form never appears in the speech of men with non-local networks. It appears that the distribution is not, as has been previously suggested, clearly along the boundaries of gender, but rather at the intersection of age, gender and the networks of speakers. Two extreme ends of this continuum

seem to be locally networked older women, whose use of HARU is much higher than everybody else's, and non-locally networked men, who, regardless of age, never use the form (at least in my dataset). Non-local women join non-local men in the younger generation, dropping the form entirely.

The difference in the use of HARU is smaller for men when we look at the two network types, than it is for women. It is clear that all three social factors interact, and we cannot discuss them separately (cf. Gumperz 1982). While I applied clear guidelines, which allowed me to divide the participants into locally and non-locally networked (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3), there is a qualitative difference between these two network types, when we consider men and women, as well as when we consider younger versus middle and older age cohorts.

Local women usually have dense, multiplex local ties – those are connected with their work (if they have any), friends, children's schools, hospitals, where they take their children and parents. The local women in my sample either have no job or work really closely in the community – they are part-time nurses in the local hospitals, organise private classes at home for their own children and their children's friends, teach crafts at the local community centres. All of these jobs create multiplex ties within the community, which are both their friendship ties, and their professional ties. The lives of local women who do not work revolve in circles similar to the ones who have jobs – they do not teach, but they participate in the classes; if their children attend additional classes or cram schools (*juku*) organised by one of their friends, they too attend and meet on a social basis with the other

mothers; if their friends work in the local hospitals, they have regular chats with them concerning their children or their parents. In this way the networks created among the 'local' women are very dense and multiplex. None of these women have full-time jobs. For the women then the meaning of being local versus non-local is actually a matter of getting out of the community at all, and having any ties outside it. Non-local women have full-time jobs, and while they still have some local ties (the ones who have talked to me told me they still keep in touch with their high-school friends) because they take care of their parents, deal with their children's teachers etc., their networks are mostly situated outside their local community.

For men the difference between being local and non-local is situated differently – they all have jobs, most of them work full time, and so their networks are more varied. Even if they work within the local community and their social and professional networks converge at some points, they have contact with many more people than the women in my sample. Local men work in local shops, run cafes and bars in the community. Their social ties are mostly composed of friends who also live in the area. However, they also have contact with people from outside of the community, such as business partners or deliverymen.

When we consider locally networked women, the difference in the 'localness' of network lies between younger and middle age groups. While for older and middle age groups, being locally networked is similar (and as described above), younger women are set apart in one way. They do have ties outside. Their social networks focus within their local community, as do their job-related networks, for those of them who work. However, unlike

their mothers and grandmothers, they know people from outside of the community, and although these people are not within their immediate social network, they socialise occasionally.

Therefore the distribution of HARU may also reflect this qualitative difference in the locality networks, where locally oriented women from the middle and older age cohorts participate in very local, multiplex, dense networks that have been shown to inhibit change.

The overall results also confirm other findings that younger generations use honorifics significantly less than older generations ( $\chi^2=23.4$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0$ ). With the form steadily decreasing in use among women, it is apparent that the difference between the younger and middle generations is much more dramatic than that between the older and middle generation. When we consider female speakers, the sudden drop in the use of the form in the youngest age group might be attributed to two intertwined processes: possible change in progress, and age grading. Female speakers in the older and middle groups may then be using this form to create their refined, feminine personae, through the use of honorifics (and especially through the use of referent honorifics without addressee honorification, as we have already discussed). This kind of identity is often associated with these age groups, rather than with young girls. The low use of local referent honorific among younger women can, to a certain degree, also be a reflection of this process. We will explore the possibility of a change in progress as another facet of this change shortly, incorporating metapragmatic comments of young women into the analysis. Overall, it is highly possible that the patterns we are observing (especially among women) are an outcome of both



these processes. We can speculate about the extent to which each of them influences the use of local honorification, but with only apparent time data available more research might be necessary to find definitive answers to these issues.

Interestingly, younger men with local networks are behaving differently in this respect from all the other speakers in this age group. Their use of HARU is higher than younger women, but also higher than the use of HARU among men in the older age groups. This means they use the form more often than their fathers and grandfathers, and the difference between the use of HARU among middle and younger locally-networked men is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=6.270$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.0123$ ). This shift in the overall trend might suggest that the younger men are 'recycling' (Dubois & Horvath 1999) the form, using it as a feature that carries a social meaning different than that recognised in the older generations, and also different from the meaning that is associated with it by younger women, who do not seem to show signs of recycling of the form. This shift in the overall trend once again suggests that we are observing a change of which some facets can be seen as a change in progress.

I will now focus on discussing the ideologies, functions and interactional meanings of HARU across different populations of speakers, and show that indeed new emerging social meanings of HARU are not uniform for the whole community. I will suggest that the biggest differences can be seen in the younger generation of speakers, where men and women perceive and use the form differently.

## 5.5. Expanding the indexical field of HARU

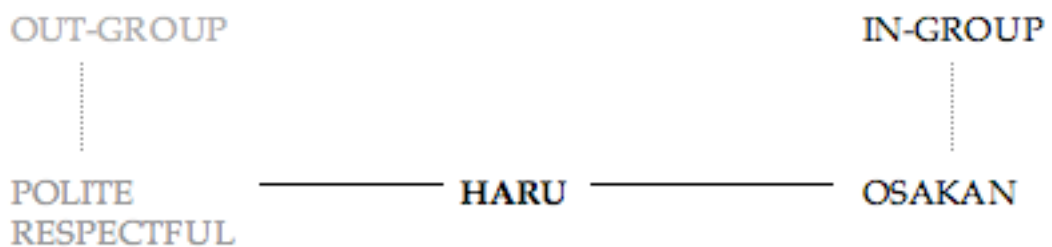
I will now focus on exploring the different meanings of the form for different populations, paying attention to the use in interactions and ideologies present in the discourse of the speakers. I will also draw on the different experiences of each of the groups with regards to the sociolinguistic reality of the Osaka dialect – I suggest the way in which the dialect was perceived and presented may also have an influence on how each age cohort utilises it in the present study.

It has been suggested in previous research that HARU may be linked with indexing femininity (Maeda 1980; SturtzSreetharan 2006) and localness or local identity (Onoe 1999). Indeed, these two meanings can be readily seen in the distributional data – women overall use it much more than men, and people with strong local networks and strong feelings of being ‘true Osakans’ use it more than those whose networks focus outside their local community. These two meanings, however, are not directly linked with the inherent meanings of HARU I have discussed above: ‘being from Osaka’ and ‘respectful’. We therefore can consider these meanings to be  $n+...$  order indexicals.

How then have these meanings come about? The same question can be applied to the meanings pointed to by Okamoto (1997) and SturtzSreetharan (2006): those of ‘friendliness’, ‘informality’ or ‘casualness’ that, as they argue, HARU evokes in interactions they have analysed.

We are then brought back to the questions asked at the beginning of this chapter: How does a feature get linked to specific meanings? And, if a

feature has come to be associated with a given social meaning, does it mean the same thing for all speakers, in all contexts, all the time? Secondly, if a feature indexes one given social meaning, how does it come to then index other types of meanings as well? I will now turn to exploring these questions with the local referent honorific suffix HARU. I will show how different groups of speakers perceive and use this form, and how its meanings have come to change over time. I will start this discussion by mapping out what I have referred to as inherent meanings of HARU, i.e. 'local' (here: Osakan) and 'respectful' (meaning respectful towards a referent). Below is a figure presenting these meanings, and providing the starting point for the discussion of the indexical field of HARU.



*Figure 5.2. Indexical field of HARU with meanings indexed directly*

The meanings in grey are those that are indexed by the form through it being an honorific, while the ones in black are those linked with it being from the local dialect.

Characteristics such as 'polite' or 'respectful' can be seen as stances used in a particular moment of an interaction, but these also can be easily perceived as 'permanent qualities' (Eckert 2009:469). A person can be

perceived as talking in a polite way in a given moment, to a given person, but through the use of an honorific the speaker himself can be seen as a polite *person* (see e.g. Wetzel 1994 for a discussion of perceptions towards people who do or don't use honorifics, or Agha 2002 on honorifics as capital). I am therefore not making a distinction here between 'stances' and 'permanent qualities', as it seems unclear how they might be differentiated from different perspectives (speaker's, hearer's etc.). I will now turn to discussing HARU as it is used and perceived by different groups of speakers.

### **5.5.1. Meanings and functions of HARU across populations**

There are distinct ideologies when we compare comments expressed in the different age/gender groups with regards to Osaka Japanese in general, and HARU specifically. It seems therefore that HARU is perceived as doing different social work depending on the age and gender of the speaker. As far as use in interaction is concerned, there are several meanings, or properties, of HARU that can be found in all groups. The prototypical functions of HARU that can be found across populations are discussed in Chapter 4. In this chapter I will focus on the interactional functions of HARU typical for each age/gender group, and the perceptions of HARU that differentiate these groups from one another. I will begin by showing how the functions of HARU are gradually changing across generations, discuss the use of local referent honorification in comparison with the Standard and suggest that SJ honorific grammar is influencing the use of HARU in the youngest generation of speakers. I will also show the differences in the use of HARU to address and

to refer, that show yet another dimension of the ongoing change, which this time is also clearly linked with gender. Having established the overall changes in function, I will move on to discussing the ideologies and interactions of specific age and gender groups. I will discuss in more detail the changes across generations with regards to the characteristics of the referent and addressee in Chapter 6.

#### **5.5.1.1. HARU with addressee honorification**

The analyses of referent and addressee honorification in Standard Japanese show that while the two have separate (to a certain degree) functions, and in theory can be used independently from one another, in actual use they seem to act in concord. There are very few investigations of referent honorifics based on conversational data (with the majority of studies focusing on addressee honorification), but the ones available show a clear interrelation of referent and addressee honorification. In her analysis of referent and addressee honorification, Okamoto (1998) shows that the use of referent honorification is directed at the addressee rather than the referent, and used together with addressee honorification. Similar evidence is presented in Yamaji's (2002) analysis of first-time encounters. She also found that the use of referent honorification is closely related to the occurrence of addressee honorification. She argues that referent honorifics are rarely used for an absent third-person referent, but are rather used for an addressee, and that the use of referent honorifics correlates highly with the use of addressee honorification. Yamaji suggests that the role of referent honorification is

actually addressee-oriented. With regards to referent honorifics themselves, it has been suggested that while addressee honorification, often termed ‘polite language’, can often be used even in more casual interactions, SJ referent honorification requires a Socially Superior referent (Harada 1976). This high degree of formality associated with SJ referent honorification may also be seen as related to the fact that referent honorification is usually used with addressee honorifics.

The analysis of local referent honorific HARU shows a different pattern of use than that of SJ referent honorifics both when referring to a third party or addressing someone and its correlation with addressee honorification (see Table 5.1). As previous research suggests, HARU is usually found in more informal situations, such as conversations between friends or family (SturtzSreetharan 2008; Strycharz 2009). One thing, however, that differs in the use of HARU across populations is its co-occurrence with the addressee honorifics *desu* and *-masu*. While in SJ referent honorifics are found to be often used with addressee honorifics *desu/-masu* (see also Chapter 4, section 4.2), it is not so for the local referent honorific HARU. This seems to affirm its status as an in-group (local) marker. SturtzSreetharan (2008) finds that in her data HARU is used almost always without addressee honorifics. She suggests that this is done ‘to underscore or reinforce the familiarity with the interlocutors regarding the person being discussed by the speaker’ (2008:169). This is confirmed in my data for the speakers of comparable characteristics as those analysed by SturtzSreetharan, i.e. older and middle-age women. The situation in my corpus is, however, more varied, as presented in the Table 5.1.

	HARU without addressee honorific N (%)	HARU with addressee honorific N (%)	Total N
<b>Older women</b>	136 (92%)	11 (8%)	147
<b>Older men</b>	19 (68%)	9 (32%)	28
<b>Middle women</b>	126 (77%)	37 (23%)	163
<b>Middle men</b>	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	9
<b>Younger women</b>	9 (56%)	7 (44%)	16
<b>Younger men</b>	4 (21%)	15 (79%)	19

*Table 5.1. The correlation of the use of HARU with addressee honorification desu/masu across speakers*

As we can see, while all of the situations recorded are fairly informal (see Chapter 3 for full discussion), the use of verbal addressee honorification with HARU is not uniform across ages and genders. While the middle and older age cohorts use HARU without addressee honorification significantly more, the situation is not as clear cut in the younger age group, where both men and women use HARU with addressee honorification 21% and 56% of the time, respectively. This trend is perhaps better illustrated in Figure 5.2, showing the use of HARU with addressee honorification (the innovative use) on a steady rise across the three age groups. It appears that among the youngest groups of speakers the trend found in SJ (i.e. the use of referent honorifics with addressee honorifics) is present also in their use of local referent honorifics, as if they are applying this SJ rule to the local forms.

Notice as well that female speakers in the older and middle groups use HARU without addressee honorification much more frequently than with addressee honorification. This use of referent honorification in SJ is often associated with stereotypically feminine speech, or Yamanote speech. Thus, we can argue that the use of OJ honorifics by older women especially reflects this kind of pattern of speaking in a way that is considered polite or refined

(*joohin*), and that is associated with adult women rather than young girls. Thus the dramatic drop in the use of HARU by younger women might be related to their avoidance of forms that are socially perceived as adult feminine norms of speaking. I will further explore this argument in the discussion of the use of form by younger women.

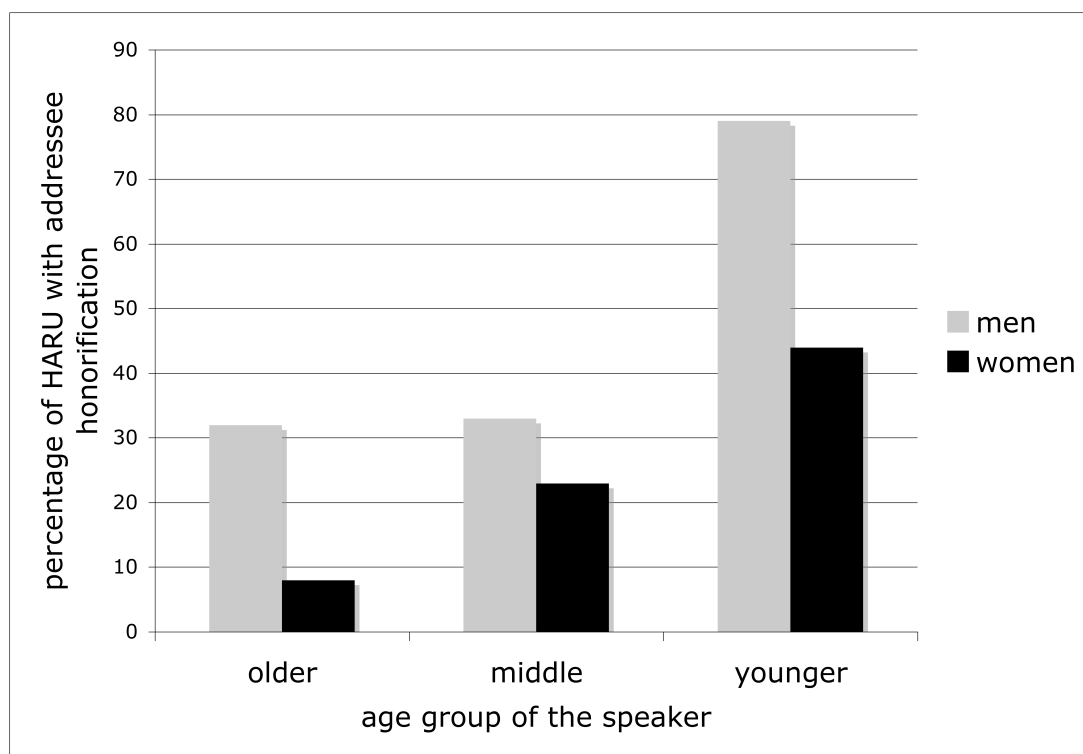


Figure 5.3. Use of HARU with addressee honorification across age and gender

The overall change toward using HARU with addressee honorification is led by men, with younger men using it with addressee honorification 79% of the time. SturtzSreetharan (2008) suggested that the use of HARU without addressee honorification underscores the familiarity between the speaker and the addressee. The trend towards using HARU with addressee honorification might be understood as a shift in indexical focus, with the younger speakers foregrounding the meaning of ‘respectful’ or ‘polite’, and backgrounding the in-group marking. I will return to this argument in the

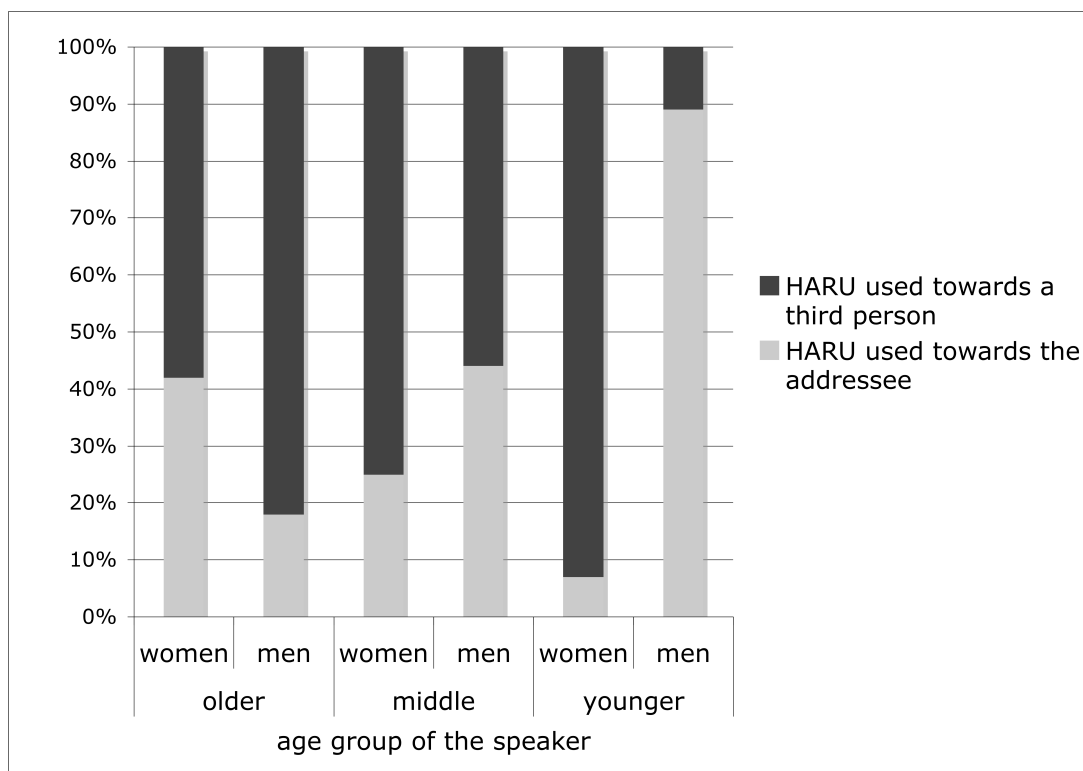


discussion of the youngest speakers in the remainder of this chapter.

I will now turn to the function of HARU, and briefly focus on the use of HARU to address and to refer to third persons. There is also a change in progress in the use of HARU as a referent honorific used to address or to refer, but apart from the overall change in time, the two genders are moving in opposite directions. This again suggests that different groups in the community perceive and use the form differently, linking it with different meanings that are also visible on the level of functions of HARU.

#### **5.5.1.2. HARU used to address and to refer**

In the previous section we have seen that the use of HARU without an addressee honorific is steadily decreasing over time, regardless of the gender of the speaker. We have observed that men are leading in this change, but also that there is an overall decrease in the use of HARU. The group where this trend might be reversing are younger men. I will now briefly discuss the function of HARU used to address and to refer, and look at the change across age and gender. Figure 5.4 compares the two functions of HARU: i.e. when the form is used to address (in utterances where the referent is also the addressee), and when it is used to refer to a third-person, who is not the addressee.



*Figure 5.4. Use of HARU to address and to refer. Distribution across age and gender of the speakers*

This distribution shows yet another aspect of the ongoing change. While men are using HARU increasingly in utterances where the referent is also the addressee, women are showing a shift in the opposite direction. This change in the function of HARU, going in different directions for the two genders, supports my previous suggestions that the form is used differently by different groups in the same community. The difference is seen most clearly in the youngest generation, and I will return to this point when discussing the different indexicalities and ideologies that the youngest speakers link with HARU.

I will now turn to looking at ideologies and interactions, where there are clear differences in both perceptions and uses of HARU among the different age and gender groups.

As the middle and older age cohorts (for both men and women) pattern in a similar way with respect to a number of different factors (see also discussions in Chapters 3 and 4, and further analysis and discussion in Chapter 6), as well as overtly expressed ideologies with respect to OJ, in the discussion which follows I will group the older and middle age cohorts together for both men and women.

## **5.5.2. Older and middle women**

Women in the middle and older age cohort use HARU to a greater degree than any of the other groups. Out of 381 tokens of HARU, 313 (82%) were uttered by women in those two age groups. While the use of HARU in interactions in these two age groups seems the most varied, ideologies connected with its use are very uniform. I will now look first at metapragmatic comments, and then interactions in which women from these two age groups use HARU.

### **5.5.2.1. Metapragmatic comments**

Osaka dialect in general, as well as specifically HARU, are readily commented on by speakers from all age groups in my dataset. Women in the older and middle age cohort have a very uniform idea as to when the form should and should not be used. We can see it in Extract 5.1, which comes from the ending part of an hour-long conversation. Women in this particular

interaction know each other well, they socialise often and share a number of hobbies. In this conversation they talked to me about living in Osaka now and when they were children, about the situation of the dialect and dialect use and awareness in the schools when they were children, and now when their grandchildren go to school. As one of them – Kazuyo, is a teacher, she reflected on the differences in how OJ was presented in teaching when she was a child and now. She remembered being told not to use OJ at school, but also remembered that teachers often used it outside the classroom. She said when she is teaching she is not particularly worried about using SJ, and that most of the teachers now use both when in the classroom. However, as can be seen in the extract, Kazuyo also suggests there are domains and situations where the use of OJ is not appropriate.

As this was the first time two of them met with me, this particular recording was not used in the subset of the database I used for analysing the occurrence of HARU.

Extract 5.1.

1. Y: we use it (.) everyone uses *haru* [I think]
2. K: [normally] yes
3. A: normally?
4. K: in a normal conversation, or in a shop=
5. Y: =or to a friend
6. K: mhm
7. Y: not like this, not in a special conversation (.) not in an interview, no <laughs>

(Osaka I, TTL, Kazuyo, Yumiko & Anna, 00'27'02)

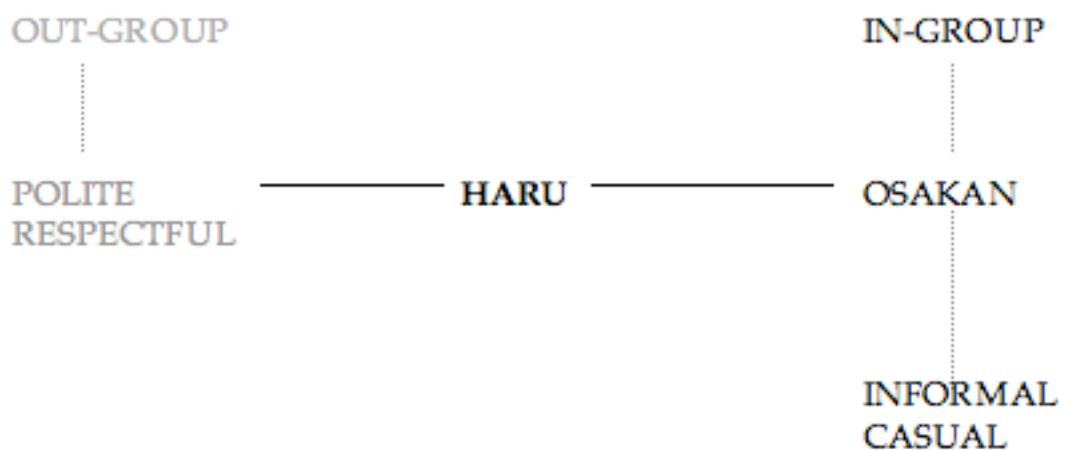
As we can see there seems to be a very clear ideological division of domains in which the use of HARU would or would not be appropriate: while it is used 'all the time' and 'by everyone' in the shops, cafes, and in

conversations with friends, it is not appropriate in a 'special conversation', which they go on to explain is like the interview they were participating in, as this is 'more like on the radio or TV' than a usual everyday interaction. This seems to be in line with comments made by authors writing on the topic for a wider audience (cf. Palter & Horiuchi 1995:32, discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2.1). While it is not entirely clear what they mean when describing OJ as used in situations which are 'between formal and informal' (Palter & Horiuchi 1995:32), presumably it relates to the fact that while HARU is an honorific, it is not seen as equal on the formality scale as SJ honorific forms, which are used 'when truly formal language is required'. This shows that there exists some kind of stereotyped, or ideological, continuum of: Standard Japanese honorific > Osaka Japanese honorific > no honorific, which reflects the scale of formality. An analysis looking at more informal contexts would be needed to further investigate to what degree the forms can be seen as functionally differentiated with regards to the formality of situation. However, from the contexts available for the analysis we can infer that the feature is used in situations that are relatively formal, which again suggests that SJ honorifics may be present in different contexts.

I have discussed elsewhere the distribution of local and standard honorifics with regards to the type of interaction in which they are used (Strycharz 2009, in prep.), noting that in interactions where all the participants were very familiar with one another (i.e. only family and close friends were present), if any honorific forms were used, they were categorically OJ honorifics, while in interactions among women who were

not as close with each other there was a mixed use of both local and standard honorific forms.

Kazuyo and Yumiko's opinion was pretty common for all the women in the older and younger age groups in my database, that is, for those who expressed any opinion about the use of HARU. It is in line with analyses by Okamoto (1997) and StrurtzSreetharan (2008), who also find that HARU is used to express the meanings of 'friendly', 'informal' or 'casual'. It might seem paradoxical that an honorific may index a casual/informal stance, as based on being an honorific, it should be used in situations that are not informal or casual. However, the complexity of HARU is that while it is an honorific, it also is a form that has historically come to be associated with the dialects of Kansai. Being a vernacular form then adds another dimension and new array of meanings, to its indexical field, as presented on Figure 5.5. HARU needs then to be analysed not only as opposed to plain (i.e. non-honorific) forms, but also Standard Japanese honorific forms.



*Figure 5.5. Indexical field of HARU with both directly and indirectly indexed meanings, with added meanings identified by older women*

Another point made by Kazuyo is that everyone, in her opinion, uses the form. 'We all use it', she says, and then goes on to specify in what situations. This suggests that while the form is socially meaningful (it indexes informality or casualness), there is no local ideology with regards to particular groups of people who are expected to use it. I am not suggesting that these women are unaware of the different degree to which the form is used by different people, or that they do not know it is a local form.

However, this might not be as meaningful for women, like Kazuyo, who are not mobile and have had little contact with outsiders. They perceive the form as potentially used by everyone. This is similar to the situation described by Johnstone et al. (2006), with regards to different features of Pittsburghese.

I will now turn to exploring what kinds of meanings HARU is used to evoke when it appears in interactions among women from these two age groups.

#### **5.5.2.2. Interactional use**

In this section I will discuss the uses of HARU typically found in conversations among middle and older women. The examples presented below (for all of the groups) are not meant to encompass all possible uses by every member in each of the groups, but rather to illustrate prototypical uses that are most commonly found in this age and gender group.

As I have already shown (Chapter 4, section 4.4.2) HARU is often used in a prescriptive manner to evoke respect for the referent, in informal rather than formal settings. There are, however, several interactional meanings

HARU is used to index, found typically in this age and gender group. I will now analyse several interactions that I consider typical for women in the older and middle age cohorts.

Women in the middle and older age cohort tend to use HARU in equal proportions to refer and to address, most often without addressee honorification. This seems to underline the relationship of familiarity with the addressee vis-à-vis the referent (cf. SturtzSreetharan 2008). It is also common for this group to find interactions where the interlocutor is not normally addressed with an addressee honorific, but at times HARU is used to address him or her. This again suggests that the placement of HARU on the continuum of formality/politeness is, at least for this particular group, different than that of SJ referent honorifics. Not using addressee honorifics for a given interlocutor does not automatically presuppose that OJ referent honorification will also not be used (as seems to be the case with SJ referent honorifics). It also occurs in utterances where the person is referred to or addressed with their first name and the diminutive suffix *-chan*. It seems therefore that while the use of SJ referent honorification is required with the presence of Socially Superior Subject (Harada 1976), it is not so for the local referent honorific HARU. The following extract is taken from a conversation between Yoshiko, Yukiko, Kazumi, Shin and me. Kazumi was my craft teacher and invited me to meet her family, and after a while I visited them a few more times and recorded two of the interactions. Yoshiko is Kazumi's mother, Shin is Yoshiko's brother and Yukiko is his wife. As both Yoshiko and Yukiko's names start with 'Y' I use full names rather than initials, and for the ease of further discussion the utterances are numbered. There are a



number of utterances in this particular interaction where the predicate is either addressing or referring to me. All the predicates in utterances where I am the referent of the subject NP are underlined, while those containing HARU are additionally in bold. There is not a single use of addressee honorification, either to me or anyone else in this extract. In other parts of the same conversation occasionally Yoshiko addresses Yukiko – her sister-in-law – with an addressee honorific, but nobody ever uses them to address me in any situation. I am always addressed and referred to either as ‘Anna’ with no title, or ‘Anna-*chan*’ with a diminutive suffix. The use of HARU throughout the conversation is inconsistent, with 7 plain forms and 3 V+ HARU.

Extract 5.2.

1. Kazumi:      ironna            o-sake                            aru ya-ro=  
                   various            OH-alcohol                    be OJ.COP-HORT  
                   *They've got lots of different kinds of sake*
  
2. Anna:            =sugo:i na:  
                   great OJ.SFP  
                   *Wow that's amazing*
  
3. Kazumi:      bikkuri shi-tan                            chigau            ima <laughs>  
                   be surprised-OJ.PAST                    be wrong            now  
                   *You're surprised now, aren't you?*
  
4. Kazumi:      oji-    uchi    wa    oji-            ano sugoi-  
                   uncle I        TOP. uncle        well great  
                   *Uncle, my uncle, he's got amazing...*
  
5. Yoshiko:      a o-sake            no    bin  
                   OH-alcohol GEN.    bottles  
                   *Ah, the sake bottles?*
  
6. Anna:            [un]  
                   yes  
                   *Yes.*

7. Yukiko: [Anna] wa [shochuu nomu]  
 NAME TOP. alcohol drink  
*Anna, do you drink shochuu?*
8. Yoshiko: [ironna aru ano] ryokoo it-te kat-te  
 various be well trip go-TE buy-TE  
 ki-ta na  
 return-PAST OJ.SFP  
*We have many different ones, umm, he goes travelling and brings them back.*
9. Yukiko: mada aru ne=  
 still be SJ.SFP  
*We've got some more*
10. Kazumi: =so so kore dake chigau  
 yes yes this only be wrong  
*Yeah, it's not just this.*
11. Yukiko: sore mo anta jinsei na: hachijuu  
 that too you life OJ.SFP eighty  
iki-te-tara [na::]  
 live-TE-POT OJ.SFP  
*Well, that's life, you'll see when you've lived for eighty years, right?*
12. Yoshiko: [un un]  
 yes yes  
*Yeah*
13. Yukiko: otoosan moo hooboo it-ta shi  
 father already here.and.there go-PAST  
 PART  
*My husband has already been to so many places*
- <Yukiko goes to the back and brings a huge sake bottle>
14. Yukiko: anna mo an de  
 that too be SFP  
*They've got this too!*
15. Anna: <laughs>
- <Yoshiko smiles and turns to her sister-in-law>

16. Yoshiko: Anna yoo shi-te-haru na ammari  
 NAME well know-OJ.RH OJ.SFP rather  
 noma-n kara na  
 drink-OJ.NEG therefore OJ.SFP  
*Anna knows well! I don't really drink so...*

<the door opens>

17. Kazumi: Anna demo nani ga suki yut-te-ta-ke  
 NAME but what NOM like say-TE-PAST-QP  
*What did you say you liked?*

18. Anna: [umeshu]  
 plum wine  
*Plum wine*

19. Kazumi: occhan kaet-te ki-tan chigau sore  
 uncle return-TE come-OJ.PAST be wrong that  
*Oh, wasn't that your uncle coming back?*

20. Yukiko: shoochu nomi no occhan  
 alcohol drink-NOM. GEN. uncle  
*The uncle who drinks shoochuu?*

21. Kazumi: un kaette kita  
 yes return-TE come-PAST  
*Yes, he's back.*

22. Yukiko: Anna-chan wa nomun yat-tara [zettai]  
 NAME-chan TOP drink OJ.COP-POT definitely  
*Anna, if you drink he'll definitely...*

23. Kazumi: [zettai] yorokobu <laughs>  
 definitely be happy  
*He'll definitely be happy*

<uncle walks in the door>

24. Kazumi: a o-kaeri  
*welcome back*

25. Yukiko: [okaeri]  
*welcome back*

26. Yoshiko: [okaeri]  
*welcome back*

27. Kazumi: hai <laughs>  
yes
28. Yoshiko: Anna ga-  
NAME NOM  
Anna...
29. Kazumi: -Anna ga ki-ten de issho ni=  
NAME SUBJ come-PROGR SFP together  
Anna has come with me
30. Yukiko: =Anna-chan no koto nanka yuu-te age-na  
NAME-chan GEN thing something say-TE give-NEG  
  
shira-n yuu=  
know-OJ.NEG say  
Tell him something about Anna, he's saying he doesn't know her.
31. Kazumi: =so so so daka bikkuri suru  
yes yes yes therefore be surprised  
Yeah, that's why he'll be surprised.
32. Yoshiko: un un=  
yes yes  
Yes
33. Kazumi: =uchi no ano tanki no seeto-san  
I GEN well short term GEN student-san  
  
toka yuu-te (.) Anna Porando kara  
something say-TE NAME Poland from  
She's my short-term student, will that do? Anna, from Poland
34. Yoshiko: Porando kara ki-han nen to  
Poland from come-OJ.RH SFP QUOT  
She has come from Poland.
35. Kazumi: mimi ga chotto tooi kara=  
ears NOM little far therefore  
He's a little hard of hearing, so...
36. Shin: =Porando yat-ta(ra) tooi yo  
Poland OJ.COP-POT far SJ.SFP  
If she's from Poland that's far.
37. Yukiko: un Anna-chan tooi tokoro kara kite  
yes NAME-chan far place from come-TE

**kure-haru**

give-OJ.RH

*Yes, she comes from a far away place.*

38. Yoshiko: Kazumi-chan no na- Kazumi-chan no-  
NAME-chan GEN OJ.SFP NAME-chan GEN  
*She's Kazumi's, umm Kazumi...*
39. Kazumi: un o-tomodachi  
yes OH-friend  
*Yes, friend*
40. Yukiko: Anna-chan ocha nomu  
NAME-chan OH-tea drink  
*Anna, do you want some tea?*

(Osaka I, MYY, Yoshiko, Yukiko, Kazumi, Shin and Anna, 00'35'52)

Throughout this conversation both Yukiko and Yoshiko address me, most of the time, with no honorific forms. However, occasionally they refer to me with HARU, when addressing someone else. This is visible in the above interaction, where in line 7 Yukiko asks me, using plain form, if I drink *shoochuu* (a kind of strong alcohol, made with barley, sweet potato or, sometimes, rice). She continues using plain verb to address me in line 11, but when afterwards she turns to her sister-in-law to comment on the fact that I know some things about alcohol (line 16), she switches to using HARU to refer to me. Note also, that while the referent honorific is suffixed to the verb, my name remains used without any suffix, 'Anna', suggesting that she does not necessarily see me as someone as distant or superior – factors that in SJ would prescriptively warrant the use of referent honorification. Yukiko then returns to addressing me with plain form (line 22).

The most striking contrast, however, can be seen at the end of this interaction, when both Yukiko and Yoshiko talk to Shin (Yukiko's husband)

about me – both of them use verbs suffixed with HARU. In her utterance Yukiko refers to me as ‘Anna-*chan*’, and by using this diminutive suffix diminishes the distance between us. But she immediately follows this with a verb suffixed with referent honorific. This again suggests that indeed, the place of local referent honorifics on the formality continuum is not the same as that of SJ honorifics – in my corpus, and in line with other research, SJ referent honorifics always co-occur with one of the two titles: *-san* or *-sensee*. HARU, however, usually occurs with no titles at all, or sometimes with *-chan*. It also seems that HARU is not only a lower ranking honorific than SJ honorifics, which may be unsurprising, but the uses of HARU by women from older and middle age groups also suggest that it might be lower than addressee honorification, or ‘polite language’ (see the discussion in section 6.4.1). Often people to whom addressee honorification is not used, are referred to with HARU, but rarely the other way round – if a person is addressed with polite language most of the time some form of honorification is also used when referring to that person.

This use of HARU is very typical for this group of speakers. While definitely indexing some kind of informality, as can be seen by the fact that it rarely occurs with addressee honorifics, and is often used in conversations among close friends and family members, HARU also seems to be employed to fulfill a complex role of depicting the relative distance between all of the interactants. This is similar to the role of HARU pointed to by SturtzSreetharan (2008), who says the form is used to ‘underscore or reinforce the familiarity with the interlocutors regarding the person being discussed by the speaker’ (2008:169). While I am not treated as distant or

superior, and therefore no honorific forms are used when addressing me, when referring to me in conversations with someone close (like Yukiko talking to her husband) HARU is used to manipulate a multi-leveled picture of relative distances between Yukiko, her husband or her sister-in-law, and me, where Yukiko uses HARU to position herself with regards to all of the interactants. This use of HARU can then be seen as a way of managing the *uchi/soto* boundaries in a creative and subtle way (cf. the use of SJ referent honorifics by older men, in Chapter 4, section 4.3).

Another typical use of HARU is the occurrence of the form in a joking context. This, again, is typical for women in the older and middle age groups. Interestingly, although younger men talk about the form potentially sounding funny, none of them actually uses it in such a way (see the discussion below). The following extract was recorded during a *chigirie*<sup>10</sup> class. The class is composed of women only, there were about 8-10 women in the class I attended, but the microphone was placed at one end of the room, so the interactions are between the teacher, Tomoko, two students, Emiko and Miki, and occasionally myself. The following two extracts illustrate the joking key introduced together with the use of HARU. There are, however, two instances when Emiko uses only the local honorific, without addressee honorification (6.3-4). This extract starts with Emiko and Tomoko talking about me and about my presence in the class. Tomoko recalls how she was worried the day before about her ability to communicate in English – she had only met me once before and in a fairly large group, so she did not know to

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<sup>10</sup> *Chigirie* is a technique of creating images by using colourful pieces of paper glued together. The technique originated in Heian period, and is now one of the many crafts taught on courses throughout Japan.

what extent I could communicate with her in Japanese (all the other students had known me and we had taken other craft classes together before this recording took place).

Extract 5.3.

1. T: sugoi ne nihongo de ko:: ne: joozu ni setsumei suru  
great SJ.SFP Japanese in this SJ.SFP well explain

to mata sugoi  
and again great

*It's great, that Anna can explain things so well in Japanese*

2. E: sensee mo ano oshieru no mo raku desu  
ne

teacher too well teach NOMI too easy COP.AH SJ.SFP  
*It's easier for you to teach, isn't it?*

3. T: [raku te iu ka-]  
easy QUOT say QP  
*Well, is it easier? I...*

4. E: [ano nihongo ga} moo tsuuyoo dekiru kara=  
well Japanese NOM already use can therefore  
*Well because she can already use Japanese, so...*

5. T: =so so daka kinoo yoru ne doo  
yes yes therefore yesterday evening SJ.SFP. what

shi-yoo eigo ne::  
do-HORT English SJ.SFP.

*Yes, yes that's right, so yesterday evening I was wondering what to do, you know, in English...*

6. E: sensei benkyooshi-te-hat-tan chigau <laugh>  
teacher study-TE-OJ.RH-PAST be wrong  
*You were studying, weren't you?*

<everyone laughs>

7. E: yuube isshokenmei  
evening very.hard  
*In the evening, (I was studying) very hard*



8. T: so so doo shi-yoo=  
 yes yes what do-HORT  
*Yes, what to do...*
9. A: =sumimase::n  
 sorry  
*I'm sorry!*
10. T: so doo shi-yoo (.) motto eigo  
 yes what do-HORT. more English  
  
 benkyooshitokeba yokatta  
 study-COND good-PAST  
*Oh, I was thinking what to do, I should have learned English more*
11. E: <laughs>
12. E: sensee kore mo ikkai mise-te kure-masu ↑  
 teacher this again once show-TE give-AH  
  
 ano ima saki mise-ta no  
 that now recent show-PAST NOMI  
*(Teacher) would you please show that one again? The one you showed last?*
13. T: un hai hai  
 yes yes  
*Oh, yes, yes.*

(Osaka I, TE, Tomoko, Emiko & Anna, 01'26'07)

In lines 2 and 12 Emiko addresses the teacher with *desu/-masu* forms, and elsewhere in the same interaction either *desu/-masu* only or SJ referent honorifics with *desu/-masu* are used. In line 6, however, she breaks that pattern, suffixing the predicate with HARU, and not using addressee honorification. The joke made by Emiko – that the teacher was so nervous about communicating with me that she had studied English all evening the night before – is welcomed with laughter by everyone. Interestingly, however, Emiko chooses to use a SJ form of *chigau*, when an OJ form (*chau*) exists, reaffirming her unmarked style of addressing the teacher mostly in Standard Japanese, thus possibly showing deference/respect or establishing

out-group boundary between herself and the teacher by choosing to use a Standard Japanese out-group marker. When Emiko addresses the teacher again in line 12, this time with a question concerning the class, she shifts back to her default and uses *-masu*.

Her use of HARU is then different than the one in example 5.2, but this use is also very common among women from these two age groups. Another student uses the same strategy in the same class, as we can see in Extract 5.4. Again, the way Miki usually addresses the teacher, that is, her unmarked choice, is with a predicate suffixed with an addressee honorific *desu/-masu*. In the short extract below, however, we can see she uses HARU without addressee honorification to evoke the same joking key as Tomoko in 5.3.

Here, the ladies were making Buddha's face, and it was apparently one of the most challenging images that semester. They were making sure that every detail was right to get the desired final effect. In the part preceding the interaction in 5.4. Tomoko was giving detailed instructions on what colours to use and how to tear the paper.

#### Extract 5.4

1. T:    so     soo suru     to sore dake de           otokomae ni  
           yes    this make    and this only PART       handsome to  
           nari-masu  
           become-AH  
           *If you do it like this, this is enough to make him look handsome.*
2. T:    dakara       na     [ano otokomae ja     nai       to-]  
           therefore    OJ.SFP well handsome SJ.COP NEG       COND  
           *That's why if he doesn't come out handsome...*
3. M:    [sensee otokomae   yoo           shit-te-haru       na:]  
           teacher handsome well.OJ       know-PROGR-OJ.RH OJ.SFP  
           *You know a lot about handsome men, don't you?*

<everyone except Tomoko laughs>

4. T: dakara ne X-san ga ne koko kitto  
 therefore SJ.SFP NAME-san NOM SJ.SFP here severely  
 shimat-teru ja nai desu-ka  
 closed-PROGR SJ.COP NEG AH-QP.  
*That's why, Mrs. X has got this tightly closed bit here, doesn't she?*
5. M: a so desu-ka  
 like that COP.AH-QP.  
*Oh, is that so?*
6. T: so desu  
 like that COP.AH  
*Yes, it is.*

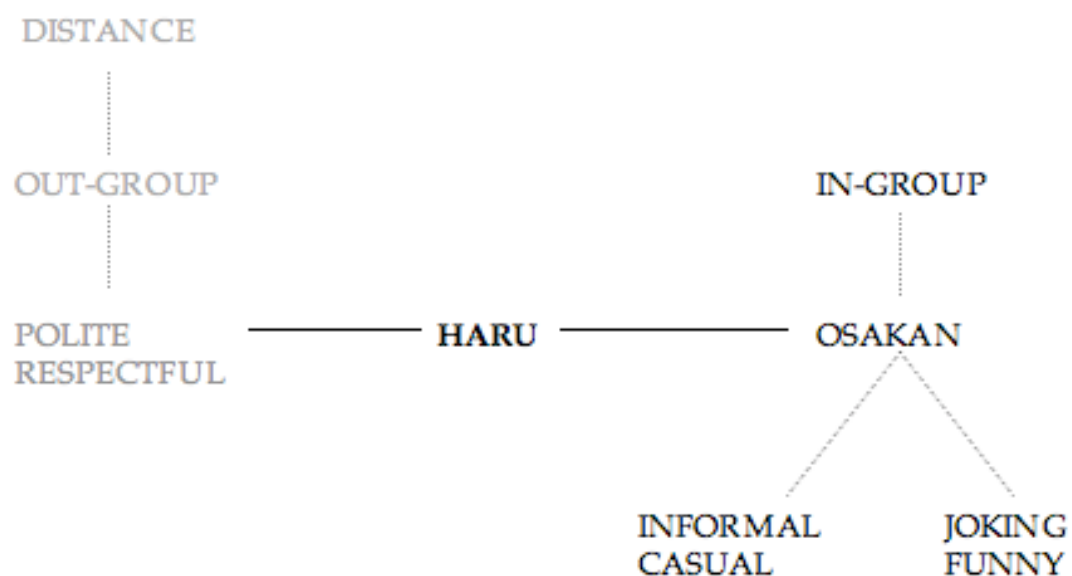
(Osaka I, TE, Tomoko & Miki, 01'08'52)

Again, here HARU in this interaction is used to make a joke. This time, when the teacher explains how to make Buddha's face look handsome, Miki makes a joke about Tomoko knowing a lot about handsomeness. Everyone in the class laughs, Tomoko herself is the only one who ignores it and in response picks Miki's work to show how it should not be done. To do this she shifts entirely into SJ. Even though in line 2 when giving instructions she chose OJ particle *na*, in the response to Miki's joke she uses only SJ variants. In line 5 Miki also shifts back to her unmarked choice of using addressee honorification.

Osaka Japanese is often thought of as sounding funny, and this comic quality is recognised nationwide and often drawn on in various kinds of media representations (see Chapter 1, and also Onoe 1999). For this reason I would like to propose its index of funniness or joking is derived indirectly, and has come to exist as an *n+...* index of Osaka Japanese nowadays. HARU has also come to be associated with this quality, as we will see in the comments offered by younger men in Extract 5.8. This quality associated with the dialect and the people in the area is drawn on here in the two

excerpts above – to make a joke both Miki and Emiko use the suffix HARU in addressing their teacher, which is not the way they generally address her. Although for any given speaker, the use of HARU in a joking key may be infrequent, across the board we can say that a joking key frequently occurs with a switch to HARU in this age / gender group.

Apart from the prescriptive meaning of conveying respect, women in these two age groups frequently use HARU to create a distance between themselves and the referent vis-à-vis their interlocutor (5.2), but also to make jokes (5.3-4). They perceive the form as being used frequently (and, in these two age groups, it frequently occurs) in situations which are less formal. This is also manifested in their high use of HARU without referent honorification. The ambiguous position of HARU 'between formal and informal' hinted at by Palter & Horiuchi might be seen as manifesting itself in the fact that it is used to refer to those people who are not addressed using *desu/-masu* forms. This, in turn, suggests some ideological continuum may exist with regards to which forms are more / less formal. If we then want to go back to the indexical field of HARU, we would need to extend it as illustrated in Figure 5.6.



*Figure 5.6. Indexical field of HARU with both directly and indirectly indexed meanings; with meanings indexed in interactions among older women added*

I will now turn to looking at ways in which men from the older and middle age cohorts conceptualise the use of HARU, what kind of ideology they attach to it and then look at prototypical uses found most commonly among these men.

### **5.5.2. Older and middle men**

As we have already seen (Section 5.4.1, this chapter) men overall use HARU significantly less than women do, and the form is found exclusively in the speech of those men who have strong local networks. While the form does not occur frequently in their speech, some of the men have overt ideologies that they attach to the use of HARU. I will now briefly look at the stereotypes

and ideologies about the use of local honorifics emerging in the discourse, and then focus on the ways in which older men employ HARU.

### 5.5.2.1. Metapragmatic comments

Although men overall offered fewer overt comments about language in general, a recurring stereotype was the link of the local honorific HARU to women. The extract below comes from a conversation I had with two men, Katsuo and Ryoo, who run a local café together.

#### Extract 5.5.

1. Katsuo: Women used to be more elegant than they are now (.)
2.           they spoke- they used better language.
3.           They were more polite and now- now- well (.)
4.           I don't [know]
5. Anna: [What] kind of language?
6. Katsuo: More honorifics maybe- they said (.) umm
7.           They- they used honorifics.
8.           Ye::s.
9.           We have honorifics in Osaka- Osaka- umm- dialect (.) *haru*
10.          like in *ikiharuru*?
11. Anna: but a lot of women use *haru*
12. Katsuo: mhm

(Osaka I, KR, Katsuo & Anna, 01'20'22)

Katsuo suggests that HARU is linked with being a woman. His comments offer a view that women in the past were 'more elegant' presumably also in the way they spoke because they used more honorifics than women nowadays. This suggests that for him politeness and elegance are inherently linked with language, and that women who do not use honorifics are not seen as equally polite and elegant as ones that do. This seems to be linked with pan-Japanese ideologies about women, language

and politeness for example that ‘among various features which make women’s speech more feminine, politeness in speech stands out in Japanese’ (Ide 1990:63). In Katsuo’s definition of honorifics he also includes local honorifics, as we can see in lines 9-10.

The fact that HARU is linked with ‘being a woman’ or ‘femininity’ can also be seen in the actual patterns of use of the form, where women use it significantly more often than men. However, as we also saw, the form is not sex-exclusive, and occurs in the speech of men, although fairly rarely. The question then arises – if men see the form as feminine what role does it have in the discourse of men when it is used? I return to this question in section 5.5.2.2.

If we add feminine to the indexical field of HARU, it needs to be seen as a social type that is indexed by this honorific indirectly, or rather as a second-order indexicality. Throughout the history of Japan, women have been seen as those in whom polite and courteous conduct is vested. In the discussions of gendered linguistic practices in Japanese, the link between ‘women’s language’ and politeness or the use of honorifics stands out (see e.g. Niyekawa 1991; Smith 1992; Suzuki 1993). Numerous studies have shown that women are considered not to use rude language (Ide 1990), that their language is seen as more refined. Even though some empirical studies suggest otherwise, this ideology is fairly deeply entrenched, and most people assume that women indeed speak more politely than men, and that ‘more than anything, the politeness in women’s speech derives from the higher frequency of the use of honorific forms’ (Shibatani 1990:374). A number of explanations have been proposed for this link between polite/honorific

language and some notion of femininity (see Okamoto 2004:40 for a discussion), the most notable one being women's relatively lower social status, which makes them 'more concerned about appearance and thus use honorifics, or polite language, to indicate that they are refined, or members of a higher social class' (Okamoto 2004:40; see also Ide 1982, 1990). Japanese 'womanhood' and Japanese women's language have been presented as unique, beautiful and elegant, as we can see in the following statement by Kindaichi:

'Japanese womanhood is now being recognized as beautiful and excellent beyond compare with the other womanhoods in the world. Likewise, Japanese woman's language is so good that it seems to me that it is, along with Japanese womanhood, unique in the world.'  
(Kindaichi 1942:293, cited in Inoue 2004:58)

As a consequence of this, HARU might be seen as indexing 'woman' or 'feminine' through the direct index of 'polite', stemming from this pan-Japanese ideology linking politeness, in both behaviour and speech, with women. Hence the second-order index emerges for this feature by it first being linked with certain stances (polite, respectful etc.) that are, in turn, attributed to a given group of people – women.



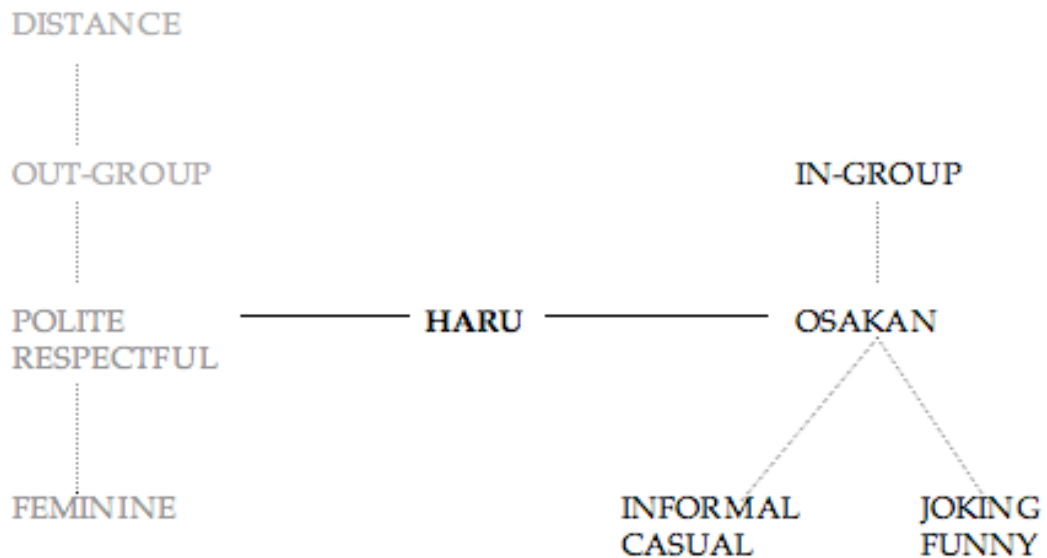


Figure 5.7. Indexical field of HARU with both directly and indirectly indexed meanings; with meanings identified by older men added

I will now look at contexts in which HARU typically occurs in the discourse of men in the older and middle age cohorts.

### 5.5.2.2. Interactional meanings

One of the uses of HARU which, to a certain degree, converges with the one we have seen in the previous section in the speech of older women, is that of informality or casualness. In the speech of older men HARU also ranks lower than addressee honorifics – people who are not addressed with *desu/-masu* are often addressed or referred to with verbs suffixed with HARU. Moreover, they are used together with second-person pronoun *anta*, which ‘designates an addressee of equal or lesser social status’ (Takahara 1992:119), and *kimi* which is a male-preferred form used in informal contexts, as well as with

third-person reference *koitsu* 'this guy'. It is also used in one utterance with hortative OJ copula *yaro(o)*, a form very seldom used by women.

Interestingly then, while the form is seen as honorific and linked by men with femininity, in the speech of older men HARU co-occurs with features that index masculinity, roughness or informality.

Two extracts below show a typical use of HARU found in this age/gender group. Extract 6.7 comes from a conversation between three friends Makoto (71), Hiroko (63) and Keiko (66). They have all known each other for an extensive period of time and occasionally socialise. Hiroko owns a *juku* ('cram school') and organises classes for primary school children at her home, while Keiko does not have (and, to my knowledge, never has had) a job. Makoto buys and sells art, mainly paintings. The two ladies, as becomes clear throughout the conversation (and as they told me later on) admire Makoto's educational background, his command of English and how well-travelled he is. The conversation was recorded at Hiroko's home where the three friends and I had lunch together. In extract 6.7 Makoto addresses Keiko with an informal second-person pronoun *anta* (a contracted version of *anata*), and the predicate suffixed with HARU is then immediately followed by the OJ plain hortative copula *yaro(o)*.

SturtzSreetharan (2010) places *anta* in the middle of the formal-informal continuum. For Makoto, this way of addressing Keiko is a marked choice, as throughout the conversation he uses her first name and the polite suffix *-san*. Extract 6.7 is the only situation in the whole interaction where Makoto chooses a different address form when talking to Keiko. *Yaro(o)*, as SturtzSreetharan (2008) suggests, is often avoided by women, and has a

potential for indexing masculinity. My data shows that *yaro(o)*, while not avoided by women entirely, is used by women significantly less than by men – there are only 7 uses of this form by women in the whole corpus, versus 61 uses by men.

In the preceding part of this interaction the conversation revolved mainly around studying and speaking English. The interaction in 6.7 starts with Keiko's answer to why she finds studying English in a group difficult – she says that most people who go to classes are young and it is hard for her to follow.

Extract 5.6.

1. K: hayoo shi-te na: toka yuu-te=  
quickly.OJ do-IMP OJ.SFP or say-CONJ  
*They say 'hurry up' or something like that*
2. M: =e:
3. K: hayoo shi-te:: na toka yu- <laughs>  
quickly.OJ do-IMP OJ.SFP or say-  
*'Hurry up' they say*
4. okureru na yuu <laughs>  
be.late OJ.SFP say  
*'you are slow' they say*
5. oneechan hayoo shi-te yuu  
older.sister quickly.OJ do-IMP say  
*They say 'hurry up (older) lady'*
6. M: anta **benkyooshi-te-haru** ya-ro  
you study-PROGR-OJ.RH OJ.COP-HORT  
*You do study, don't you?*
7. K: he:  
*hm?*
8. M: ie de **benkyooshi-te-haru** ya-ro  
home at study-PROGR-OJ.RH OJ.COP-HORT  
*You study at home, don't you?*

9. K: watashi  
I  
Me?
10. M: un  
yeah
11. K: watashi ne:: (.) ECC ni it-terun desu yo  
I SJ.SFP ECC to go-PROGR AH SJ.SFP  
*I go to ECC.*
12. are mo wakai ko bakkari (.) konna mo toshiyori  
that too young child only such too older  
  
ori-mase-n wa  
be.HUMBLE-AH-NEG SFP  
*There are only young kids there. There are no older people.*

(Osaka I, Keiko & Makoto, HKM, 00'21'53)

In this interaction we can see the use of HARU co-occurring with linguistic features that signal informality and possibly masculinity: second-person pronoun *anta* and OJ copula *yaro(o)*. This again suggests that HARU is perhaps seen as a lower honorific than SJ honorifics, and may be used to index informality of the situation. But knowing that these men overtly comment on the form as being feminine also suggests that this may be a way of mitigating, or softening the overall tone of the utterance.

In her account of young people's reactions to her studying in lines 1-4 Keiko uses plain form *yuu* 'say', and in quoting what people say to her she employs Osaka Japanese forms where available (*hayoo, naa*). However, once Makoto asks her if she studies at home Keiko immediately shifts into using addressee honorification in line 10 (*itterun desu*), followed by SJ sentence-final particle *yo*. Then in line 11 she uses humble form of the verb *iru* 'be' (*orimasen*). This is a visible shift from her speech style used throughout the interaction until this moment – until Makoto's question Keiko was using

mostly OJ forms, and hardly any addressee honorifics. Her shifts seems to have happened in response to Makoto’s question: ‘You are studying at home, aren’t you?’ The shift in Keiko’s speech, signaling a different positioning of the two interactants, happens directly after lines 6 and 8, which include other salient markers (*anta, yaro*). It is therefore impossible to assert which of these linguistic feature triggers Keiko’s style-shift, if any at all – it might also be prompted by the topic and nature of the question itself. However, the co-occurrence of HARU with highly informal forms is what stands out in this, and other interactions among men from older and middle age cohorts. We can also see this in the next interaction, where HARU is used with a deprecatory form *koitsu* ‘this guy’.

In Extract 5.7 the interactants are Midori (45) and Takeshi (79). Takeshi is Midori’s acquaintance, they do not really socialise, but occasionally meet at cultural events they are both involved in; he is also a generation older than Midori. In this extract Takeshi is talking about a man he remembers from his school days, who used to be a substitute teacher in his class. He refers to the man with *koitsu* ‘this guy’, the form which may be used in a deprecatory or vulgar manner (Naruoka 2006), often indexing tough masculinity. Tse gives a translation of *koitsu* as ‘he, she or you meaning “the (in view) scoundrel”’ (1993:16), while Shibatani uses *aitsu*<sup>11</sup> (‘that fellow’) in an example of vulgar speech level (Shibatani 1990:377).

#### Extract 5.7

1. T:     boku ne  
          I       SJ.SFP

---

<sup>11</sup> *Koitsu/soitsu/aitsu* are demonstratives used for persons or objects meaning ‘this one/that one/that one’.

Well, I...

2. M: ha:i=  
ye::s
3. T: =boku shoogakkoo no toki ni ne=  
I primary.school GEN time at SJ.SFP  
*When I was in primary school*
4. M: =hai  
yes
5. T: ano:: shoogakkoo no toki ni (.) ano Kyoto-san=  
well primary.school GEN time at well Kyoto-TITLE  
*Well, when I was in primary school... well, from Kyoto*
6. M: =a Kyoto hai  
Kyoto yes  
*Ah, Kyoto, yes*
7. T: un (.) Kyoto-san no hito [ne]  
Kyoto- TITLE GEN person SJ.SFP  
*There was this man from Kyoto*
8. M: [hai]  
yes
9. T: shihan gakkoo de-te  
teachers college leave-CONJ  
*He graduated from teachers college*
10. M: a shihan gakkoo hai  
teachers college yes  
*Oh, teachers college*
11. T: de sono gakkoo funin shite=  
and that school leave-CONJ  
*And then he left that school*
12. M: =hai  
Yes
13. T: honde teinen naru made koitsu chigau gakkoo  
ni  
and retire become until this.guy different school  
in

**it-tehat-ta** (.)

go-PROGR-OJ.RH-PAST

*And then until he retired he was at a different school*

14. M: a soo desu-ka  
so COP-AH-QP  
*Oh is that right?*

15. T: nde (inc.)  
*and*

<the phone rings, Takeshi continues the story as he moves about the room>

16. M: hai  
*yes*

17. T: ano:: teinen- Kyoto de teinen yat-ta  
well retirement Kyoto in retirement OJ.COP-PAST  
  
desu  
AH  
*And well, he retired in Kyoto*

18. honde tannin no sensei ga byoki arui wa jiko  
and charge GEN teacher NOM illness or accident  
  
de yan-da toki ni  
because of quit-PAST time at  
*And when our homeroom teacher quit because of an illness or an accident*

19. sono Kyoto-san ga ki-te=  
that Kyoto- TITLE NOM come-CONJ  
*that man from Kyoto came*

20. M: =a hai  
*yes*

21. T: honde jugyoo nashi da  
and lesson without SJ.COP

22. ano jugyoo nashi nde Hirano no rekishi no hanashi  
well lesson without and Hirano GEN history GEN story  
*And then there were no classes, only stories about the history of Hirano.*

(Osaka I, Takeshi & Midori, MT, 01'19'04)

Here again the use of HARU co-occurs with a highly informal feature *koitsu*. Interestingly, however, when Takeshi talks about his homeroom

teacher in line 18, he does not use HARU but a plain verb *yanda* 'quit'. Again then we can see HARU used in informal contexts, but here often co-occurring with very informal, potentially masculine features. The use of HARU in this context might be seen as a way of softening the whole utterance, where otherwise potentially masculine forms, such as *yaro(o)*, and forms indexing toughness (*koitsu*) occur. We can also infer that Takeshi did not really approve of 'this guy's' behaviour, as can be understood from line 22, where he suggests that with the substitute teacher 'there were no classes, only stories about the history of Hirano', suggesting they did not learn anything from him. Interestingly, Takeshi doesn't use HARU when referring to his homeroom teacher in line 18, but uses a plain verb form *yanda* 'quit'. The non-use of HARU to refer to someone with a higher social position, and the co-occurrence of it for someone referred to as *koitsu* 'that guy', whose behaviour Takeshi does not really approve of implies that the form is not indexing 'respect' or 'politeness', but rather has the effect of distancing himself from the referent, and might be seen as a way of softening the overall utterance. I will return to the question of social position and distance as a factor determining the use of HARU across generations in Chapter 6.

As we have seen in the analysis of interactions containing HARU among older speakers, this form is often used to index relative informality of the situation (second order index), sometimes also indexing funniness (second order index)

The informal use is supported by the co-occurrence of HARU with plain forms rather than addressee honorification, a trend contrary to the one observed in SJ (cf. Yamaji 2002). However, when we consider the youngest



age cohort of speakers, it appears that these meanings and norms are different, as is the overall rate of use of HARU. HARU is used more often with addressee honorification (see Table 5.1), and to address rather than to refer (see section 5.5.1.2). This is similar to the analyses of SJ referent honorification proposed by Okamoto (1998) and Yamaji (2002).

In the following section I will focus on the different meanings attributed to HARU by the youngest cohort of speakers, the functions of HARU in interactions when used by these speakers and I will suggest that these indexicalities might provide an additional explanation for the sharp decrease in the use of the form among younger women, and the possible increase of the use of the form among younger men. I will consider both genders together in this section of the chapter, starting with competing ideologies that younger men and younger women report for HARU, then moving on to discuss these local ideologies and local cultural stereotypes in more detail. I will conclude with an investigation of the meanings and functions of HARU in the interactions of this age cohort.

### **5.5.3. Younger speakers**

We have already seen the different ways in which men and women perceive and use HARU. I have also shown the different aspects of change in progress with regards to the use of this honorific. We have then seen how the younger generation overall tends to use the form in a similar way to that of SJ referent honorifics, but also that younger men and younger women differ in how they use HARU. While younger men prefer to use the form when addressing

someone, younger women use it more often to refer to a third person referent.

In Chapter 3 I discussed the different sociolinguistic reality that all of the age groups experienced when growing up. For the youngest generation of OJ speakers dialect awareness programmes were in place in schools, and it is not uncommon to hear OJ used in national media (cf. Carroll 2001). This high vitality and high awareness of OJ may have led to the development of distinct indexical meanings that younger speakers now link with certain features in the local speech. Bearing this sociocultural context in mind, I will now explore the ways in which younger men and younger women in my corpus talk about, and use, the local referent honorific HARU.

#### **5.5.3.1. Metapragmatic comments**

Both younger men and younger women in my recordings seemed to have a lot to say about not only local cultural stereotypes that abound in conversations with people from Osaka (see also Chapter 1 and 3), but also about the local dialect, often pointing to specific linguistic features. HARU is one of the forms that appeared often in these conversations. However, in looking for overt comments regarding the association of HARU with certain social meanings, identities, or qualities, it appears that there exist two distinct ideologies – while younger men suggest that a number of people use the form, and that it can be found especially in the speech of people who strongly identify themselves with Osaka (see Extract 5.8), younger women have strong opinions of the form indexing a certain type of local femininity

they don't want to associate with. They often claim they don't use it or that they use it only in very restricted circumstances (see Extract 5.9).

Two examples of such conversations can be seen below. The first extract comes from a conversation with Shunsuke (25) and Taka (21), who have known each other for quite a long time. Shunsuke left school and at the time of recording was trying to make a career as a comedian, while Taka was at the time a university student. This conversation took place in the bar when I first met them and was not included in the Osaka I corpus. Extract 5.9 comes from a conversation between two university friends – Kaori (23) and Junko (23) and was also not included in Osaka I. Later recordings with Shunsuke, Kaori and Junko, however, are a part of the Osaka I corpus.

#### Extract 5.8.

1. S: Well (.) I don't know (.) it is used when=
2. T: =no but not everyone uses it [I think]
3. S: [no but]=
4. T: =if you're really from Osaka you use it.
5. A: really from Osaka?
6. T: yes, if you're a 'real Osakan'
7. people in Osaka speak different because
8. we are different
9. A: mhm
10. T: we're more laid-back than Kyoto or Tokyo (.) I=
11. S: =but *haru* is an honorific
12. T: yes, but it's (.) Osaka language (.) dialect.
13. S: it can sound (.) funny
14. A: *haru*?
15. T: mhm. Sometimes (.) comedians use it

(Osaka I, Shunsuke, Taka and Anna, ST, 01'02'23)

#### Extract 5.9.

1. K: I don't think I use it [*haru*] (.)
2. maybe <laughs>
3. maybe when I talk to my grandma (.)
4. or- or older women in the family

(...)

5. J: Somehow it feels old (.) like an *Osaka-no obachan* <laughs>
6. K: And we're not <laughs>
7. J: No, no we're not
8. You are sometimes, [aren't you] <laughs>
9. K: [You are!]

(Osaka, Junko & Kaori, OD, 00'46'06)

In the comments provided by younger men (5.8) it appears that HARU is seen as indexing local identity, as it is seen as related to being *honma no Osakajin* 'real Osakan' in line 6. It is also linked with being or sounding funny, as we can see in lines 13 and 15, where Taka associates it with being sometimes used by comedians. While no recordings of younger men show the kind of use that could be interpreted as funny (unlike in the recordings of older women discussed in section 5.5.1.2 above), this second order indexicality seems to them to be one that is salient.

I have already suggested that the indexical link of HARU with 'funniness' may have come about through the nationwide association of people from Osaka, and therefore the Osaka dialect, with comedians and comedy. For these younger men funniness is clearly linked with strong local identity, and HARU is in turn indexically linked with these local interpretations of what it means to be from Osaka. Being noticed as such, the form has the potential to do identity work. This in turn means the form can be used to 'perform local identity often in ironic semi-serious ways' (Johnstone et al. 2006:83). HARU seems to have become a marker of local identity, which for these younger men is also connected with being funny. Indexing local identity can then be seen as a second-order index, derived from the form being linked with locality in a correlational manner, but with

no overt local ideology. The relationship of HARU with 'being from Osaka' is reanalysed, providing grounds for the emergence of this new, locally interpreted meaning.

For younger women, on the other hand, HARU seems to be indexically linked with a specific type of person – an *Osaka-no obachan* (Osaka auntie), a highly stereotyped local persona. This ideology linked with the use of HARU provides an example of 'the use of sign with an image of personhood' (Agha 2002:31), discussed by several researchers and reviewed above in the discussion of indexical field. Before discussing the different ideologies linked with HARU by the younger generations, I will look at the stereotype evoked by the younger women in their discussion – that of *Osaka-no obachan*.

#### **5.5.3.2. *Osaka-no obachan* – a local cultural stereotype**

The stereotyped image of Osaka women, which exists in popular imagination, has come to be linked with the use of HARU for the youngest generation of female OJ speakers.

Osaka women are considered, in the general imagination, not to align with the image of typical Japanese womanly woman (see e.g. Shibamoto 1987). This image of Osaka women is readily available in the public sphere (e.g. they are often represented in a variety of comic strips, TV dramas etc.), and often commented upon. SturtzSreetharan, in her analysis of linguistic practices of Osaka women, writes:

'Ideas about regional Japanese women are entrenched in (at least) local and national consciousnesses of Japan. The *Osaka Obachan* is a

particularly salient category of the Japanese Regional Woman who shows up in various satire and comic sketches on TV, in *manga*, and in region-based folklore in general. One of the ways to recognize her is through her speech ...' (SturtzSreetharan 2008:163).

Whether or not this iconicised image of Osaka woman is indeed what women in Osaka *are*, is a different question altogether. It is important, however, that this is what they are often *seen as* both by people from outside Osaka, and their fellow Osakans (also by women). The characteristics of Osaka women are easily recognised – there is a book (discussed in SturtzSreetharan 2008) describing typical traits of Osaka women in the form of a checklist allowing anyone to test the degree to which (s)he could qualify as *Osaka no obachan*. There is even a Facebook page 'Osaka no oba-chan', that says in the description: 'If you're having potential to be Osaka no Oba-chan!! YAY !!! Join us from all over the world!' suggesting, in line with Maegaki's book, that Osaka-no obachan's traits are not only readily and easily recognised, but that they transcend the geographical origins of the phrase.

During the course of my fieldwork the notion of *Osaka-no obachan*, and the discussion of Osaka women in general, came up on numerous occasions and was readily commented on by participants. Interestingly, women subscribe to the notion only partly (if at all), talking about these social types more in terms of behaving like one, or becoming like one, rather than saying someone actually is one.

Several, often commented on, features of *Osaka-no obachan* can be seen in Extract 5.10, which comes from a conversation between two Osaka-born and raised friends: Hiroko (63) and Setsuko (66). In line 4 Setsuko uses the old name for Osaka – Naniwa.

Extract 5.10.

1. H: Do you know the word *Osaka-no obachan*?
2. A: Yes, I know
3. H: Yes, yes, *Osaka-no obachan*
4. S: *Naniwa-no obachan*=
5. H: =yes, yes, yes
6. They say that if you make *Osaka-no obachan* your enemy it's scary
7. because she talks
  
- {...}
  
8. H: I was told by a guy from Tokyo
9. he said he heard some gossip like this
10. everyone in Osaka wears clothes with leopard design
11. he thought we all wear leopard design clothes
12. (inc.) I said it's not like that
13. S: <laughs>
14. H: yes, yes
15. I said not everyone
16. leopard design bag (inc.) well it's not like everyone's got one
17. I have one leopard design bag
  
- {...}
  
18. H: we say it like it is
19. people from Osaka have bad mouths but we are kind
20. I am kind <laughs>
21. S: you are kind
  
- {...}
  
22. H: Osaka women haggle even in department stores
23. <both laugh>
24. H: they haggle even in the department stores
  
- {...}
  
25. A: well, what about womanly women (*onnarashii onna*) in Osaka
26. H: womanly, umm, womanly=
27. A: =yes=
28. H: =there are no womanly women in Osaka, are there?
29. <both laugh>
30. H: In Osaka there are either men or aunties
31. <laughs>
32. [everyone]
33. S: [well] you don't really meet womanly women among people our age
34. H: yeah, that's right

(Osaka, HS, Hiroko, Setsuko & Anna, 00'01'50 – 00'28'44)

As we can see from the above conversation, *Osaka-no obachan* is a very salient local stereotype that people in and outside of Osaka are aware of. The features of an *Osaka-no obachan* listed here are: scary, because 'she talks' (presumably about other people, not necessarily in a pleasant way), one who likes lots of patterns and colourful clothes, one who has a 'bad mouth' but is kind, haggles everywhere 'even in department stores', is not embarrassed to talk about money and is proud when she buys something cheap.

As we can see in the joking tone of the ladies, while they can identify the characteristics of an *Osaka-no obachan*, they do not necessarily want to be associated with all of these features. They may overtly align with some features, but distance themselves from others. We can see this for example in line 20 where Hiroko responds: 'I am kind' in the discussion of 'bad mouths'. However, when talking about haggling, Hiroko describes it as an activity associated with 'women from Osaka', we therefore do not know to what extent she sees herself as one of the women who engage in this activity. Interestingly when Hiroko offers one of the final comments, that there are no womanly women in Osaka, as it is either 'men or aunties', Setsuko corrects her explaining that you don't really meet womanly women among the people in their generation. She therefore recognises that the stereotype of Osaka women as not being feminine is age-specific and that it might not be one younger women associate themselves with. While not all women of that age are *obachan*, all *obachan* are older women.

A lot remains to be said about the origins, existence and appropriation of the image of an *Osaka-no obachan*, as well as its linguistic manifestations



(Kajino & Strycharz, in prep.), but for the purpose of the discussion in this dissertation I will conclude by noting simply that while the image is readily available and widely recognised, not all women in Osaka associate with it. Moreover, as an *Osaka-no obachan* is a specific iconicised local persona, there are a number of features this style is composed of – as a consequence some women associate themselves with some of these features, but not others. Interestingly, however, this kind of local identity has come to be linked with the use of the local referent honorific suffix HARU, as we have seen in Extract 5.9. The younger women find the image of an *Osaka-no obachan* unattractive. While they may find it very amusing, it is not the style they want to associate with. Some of these young women have also come to attribute these qualities to the use of HARU. We can see this in Extract 5.9, line 5: ‘somehow it feels old (.) like an *Osaka-no obachan*’. It may then be that this kind of association, bringing about new meanings into the indexical field of HARU, potentially limits the likely scope of use of the form among younger women. The type of femininity that is indexed by the use of HARU in the perspective of older men can be linked to the images of politeness and respect, and is perhaps related to stereotypical femininity and pan-Japanese cultural stereotypes about women (see section 5.5.3.1). For younger women, however, it appears that HARU has come to be associated with different kind of femininity, one that is embodied by the local image of an *Osaka-no obachan*. For these young women the link between politeness or respect and femininity evoked by HARU is no longer relevant, as they reconceptualise femininity linked with the use of HARU in terms of local cultural stereotypes. This stereotypically local woman is not a womanly one, as we have seen for example in the conversation in

Extract 5.10. While HARU is unarguably not a sole defining feature of an *Osaka-no obachan*, it is salient enough to become strongly linked with this local persona. We have seen in other studies that it is indeed a combination of various features (not only linguistic) that make a certain style particularly recognisable (e.g. Eckert 2000; Podesva 2006; Mendoza-Denton 2008). Once such a style has become recognised, though, it is likely that any of its components is then available for some kind of reinterpretation, or appropriation – observable not only in its use, but also perceptions. We have seen a cohort of non-linguistic features defined by older women as building blocks of the image of an *Osaka-no obachan*: loud-mouthed, wearing fake leopard skin, always looking for a bargain. For younger women in this community, in addition to the non-linguistic characteristics, HARU has come to be indexically linked with this persona as well. This association of HARU with an *Osaka-no obachan* might be part of the reason behind the sharp decrease of the use of this form among younger women. As younger men do not have this kind of association, their reinterpretation of the form rests entirely on the local personas available for men – that of a comedian, or as an index of local identity, as we can see in Figure 5.8 below.

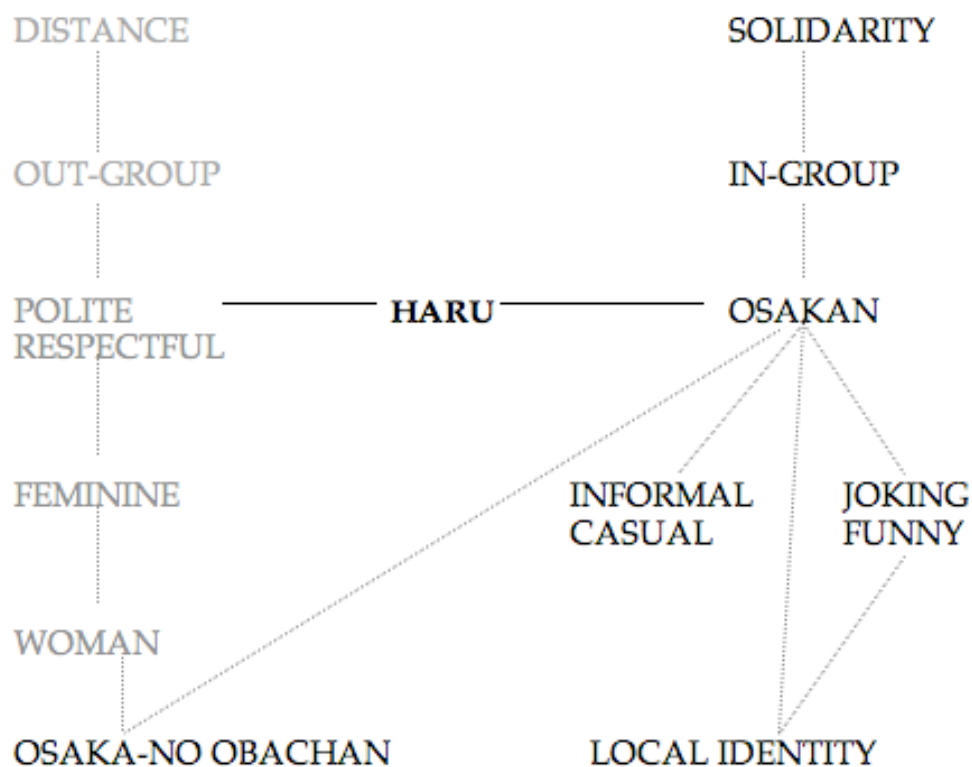


Figure 5.8. Indexical field of HARU with both directly and indirectly indexed meanings; with meanings identified for the younger generation added

Interestingly, the use and function seen in interactions of this younger age cohort, also differs when we compare the use of HARU among younger men and younger women. I will now turn to briefly analysing typical uses of HARU found among younger men and women, and then conclude by returning to the discussion of the indexical field of HARU, the development of different meanings and their availability for different groups of speakers.

### 5.5.3.3. Interactional meanings

As I have already shown, the functions of HARU diverge when we look at the youngest generation – while women use it primarily to refer to a third-

person referent, men use it overwhelmingly to address, or, occasionally, refer to a person directly related to the addressee ('your boyfriend'). Younger men in my corpus used the form exclusively to address me, with the exception of two instances, one referring to my boyfriend, and one (in 5.11) asking about siblings. The form is used after a short pause in the interaction, asking about things they had often asked about in our previous meetings.

The following is a part of conversation in the bar I recorded with Ai (22) and Shunsuke (25). For a while we talked about living in different places and being away from home for long periods of time. In line 2 Shunsuke addresses me asking whether I get homesick. HARU occurs then in line 7, when he changes the subject after a short pause and asks whether I have any siblings. The predicates with which Shunsuke addresses me are highlighted, and the OJ referent honorific is in bold.

Extract 5.11.

1. Ai:            uchi wa sonna (.) nanka (.) zutto    Osaka ya  
                   I    NOM that    well    all the time Osaka OJ.COP  
                   ne  
                   SJ.SFP  
                   *I, well, umm, I've lived in Osaka all the time*
  
2. Shunsuke: yappa            kedo modori-tai (.) hoomusikku mitaina  
                   apparently but    return-want homesick    like  
                   kanji    yo    ne  
                   feeling SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
                   *But you do want to go back, you get that homesick like  
                   feeling, right?*
  
3. Anna:            un  
                   yes
  
4. Shunsuke: nari-masu    [yo ne] ↑  
                   become-AH    SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
                   *You do, don't you?*

5. Anna: [nari-masu] yo ne  
 become-AH SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
*You do, right*
6. Shunsuke: e:  
 (.)
7. Shunsuke: e: sono- nanka- kyoodai toka  
 that well something siblings or  
 i-te-harun desu-ka  
 be-OJ.PROGR. OJ.RH AH-QP  
*Umm, well, do you have any siblings?*
8. Anna: un ootoo hitori  
 yes younger.brother one  
*Yes, one younger brother*

(OsakaI, SA2, Ai, Shunsuke & Anna, 00'02'49)

Throughout the interaction Shunsuke addresses me using mostly SJ sentence-final particles, and most of the time also addressee honorification *desu/-masu*. HARU appears when he changes the subject and directly asks me about something, usually after a short pause, as we have seen in line 7. This use is typical for Shunsuke, and happens 4 times throughout the conversation. HARU then seems to be used in a very prescriptive manner, to show respect to the addressee, usually combining it with addressee honorification.

When we then turn to the use of HARU among younger women, there are two distinct ways in which the suffix is used: to index solidarity or in-groupness (5.12). It is also used in the same way as we have seen it used among older women in order to manipulate the distance between the interactants and people referred to in the interaction. It is then used to diminish the distance between the speaker and the addressee, while

increasing the distance between the speaker and the referent. Since we have already seen the second type of interaction among older women, I will discuss here the use of HARU as an index of solidarity or in-groupness.

The following interaction took place during one of my recording sessions with university students. The participants are Kaori (23), Junko (23) and Kenji (24), who are all students at the same university. Here they are talking about the area where Junko lives, and commenting on the fact that I also live nearby. Again, predicates with which they address me are highlighted, while the OJ referent honorific is in bold.

Extract 5.12.

1. Kaori: minami ga **suki** nan **desuka=**  
 south NOM like AH-QP  
*Do you like the south (of Osaka)?*
  
2. Anna: =zu::tto minami (.) minami ga suki desu  
 All the time south south NOM like COP.AH  
  
 yo=  
 SJ.SFP  
*It's always been the south (.) I like (living in) the south*
  
3. Junko: Nagai kooen yatta(-ra) chikai **desu** ne  
 Nagai park OJ.COP-POT close COP.AH SJ.SFP  
*If it's Nagai park it's close, isn't it?*
  
4. Anna: dakara koko kara tooi=  
 therefore here from far  
*That's why it's far from here*
  
5. Junko: =TOOI desu yo ne::  
 far COP.AH. SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
*It's far isn't it?!*
  
6. Kenji: Matsubara tte nani sen  
 Matsubara QUOT. what line  
*What line is Matsubara (on)?*
  
7. Junko: Kintetsu minami sen desu  
 Kintetsu south line COP.AH

*It's Kintetsu southern line*

{...}

8. Kaori: un kedo sugoi desu yo ne=  
yeah but great COP.AH SJ.SFP SJ.SFP  
*Yeah, but it's great isn't it?*
9. Junko: =Osaka no hito ni mo mezurashii (.)  
Osaka GEN people for too unusual  
*It's unusual for Osaka people too.*
10. Nani sen desu-ka  
what line COP.AH-QP  
*What line are you on?*
11. Anna: Kintetsu=  
*Kintetsu*
12. Junko: =Kintetsu sen not-te-harun desu-ka ↑  
Kintetsu line get.on-PROGR-OJ.RH AH-QP  
*You use Kintetsu line?*
13. Anna: un  
*yeah*
14. Junko: ua: SUGO::I  
*wow great!*

(OsakaI, KKJ, Junko, Kaori, Kenji & Anna, 00'41'17)

The unmarked way of addressing me in this interaction is, for all three of the speakers, the use of addressee honorification and, for the most part, SJ sentence-final particles. In line 12, however, we can see that Junko uses HARU to address me, and this is the only time she uses HARU towards me in the whole recording. I suggest this use is intended to mark solidarity or ingroupness, as in this particular context it turns out we live in the same neighbourhood. In line 10 Junko asks me what train line I take and when my response turns out to be Kintetsu – the same line she also takes – she responds with a polar question as if asking for confirmation. We can see from this, as well as her further reaction in line 14 ('wow, great!'), that she

finds it quite exciting. Later on in the conversation it becomes clear also that the other two speakers, Kaori and Kenji, had trouble placing that neighbourhood on the map, and weren't too sure where the train line was. It is then clear that the fact I was also on the same train line allowed me to become placed within Junko's in-group – I suggest this is the role of HARU as we see it used in line 12.

I have then shown a variety of functions, meanings and ideologies that have come to be linked with HARU. I will now turn again to looking at the indexical field of HARU and suggest how these different indexicalities are available for different groups of speakers.

## **5.6. Conclusions**

We have seen a number of different functions linked with HARU, and different meanings it can index. I have suggested that the meanings linked with HARU are not uniform across all populations, but rather depend on collective experience of the given group, and the ideologies that have formed around language in those specific age/ gender groups. These ideologies may be influenced by the sociolinguistic reality the speakers grew up with (see also Chapter 1, 3 and 6), and the nationwide perceptions of the local dialect. While for the older women the form seems to be linked with its first-order indexicality, stemming both from the honorific value of the feature (i.e. respect, and effectively also distance), the older men, as well as younger age cohorts, seem to have attached other meanings to it. These new meanings include second order indexes, such as funniness, femininity, local identity,



and a third-order index linked with a specific local persona style, i.e. *Osaka-no obachan*. We have also seen, however, that while older women do not attach any overt ideology to the form, they utilise it to bring a comic quality to their interactions, a meaning which may be linked with the nationwide stereotype connected with Osaka Japanese. This meaning is picked up and commented on by younger men, who, on the other hand, use the form exclusively to signal respect. Thus, the availability of meanings indexed by HARU, and the overt ideologies attached to it by members of different populations, don't always overlap.

I have also shown how the change with regards to the use of HARU manifests itself on a number of different levels. While the overall frequency of the use of the feature decreases across generations, the younger men's pattern is different. Since the overall number of tokens is very small, we can only infer that it is possible that this may be the beginning of this group's recycling of the local referent honorific. This is further supported by the metapragmatic comments found in the conversations of the younger men, where they link it with strong local identity, and characteristics they themselves find appealing (being funny or being a comedian).

The functions of HARU are also undergoing a change in progress, with speakers of both genders gradually using the form more with addressee honorification *desu/-masu*. However, while women are using it increasingly for predicates in utterances where the referent is not the addressee, men use it more to address. These opposing trends are visible over time. Women in the older and middle age cohorts use the feature without addressee honorification, in a manner similar to the use of SJ referent honorifics, which

has been linked with mature and refined femininity. This can in part explain the drop in the use of HARU by women – avoidance of the form in order to avoid aligning with this kind of identity. However, we also need to account for the views expressed by these younger women, namely that they perceive this form as linked with a very different type of femininity – *Osaka-no obachan*. The distributional patterns are thus best understood in light of complex local nuances and ideologies, visible both in interactions and in metapragmatic comments offered by the speakers themselves.

In this chapter I have explored the broadening of the indexical field of HARU, and analysed the changes in its frequency, use and functions across generations of speakers. In the next chapter I will continue this investigation, focusing on other functions of HARU. Moving away from the speaker-centred perspective, I will investigate what types of referents HARU correlates with, and what kinds of social characteristics of the referent constrain the use of this local honorific. I will continue to explore the shifting meanings of HARU across generations, to further understand the change we are observing.

## Chapter 6

## **6. Referent-centred analysis of HARU: social factors and constraints**

In this chapter I will focus on investigating the various social factors that constrain the use of HARU. In Chapter 5 I discussed the change we are observing with regards to the overall frequency of the use of HARU, as well as other local honorifics. Having the data available from the corpus (apparent time picture) I have suggested we can attribute this kind of pattern to a combination of change in progress and age-grading. I have shown that the changes in the use of HARU can be seen not only in the decreasing frequency of its use, but also in the ways in which this local referent honorific is used, the functions it fulfils, and the indexicalities, or social meanings it is linked with. I have argued that the younger generation of speakers link this feature with a number of new, emerging meanings, which are locally contextualised and are arising as second- and third-order indexes. I have also suggested that the grammar of local honorifics is undergoing a change, with the younger men using it more to address than to refer, and younger women using it to refer rather than to address. All younger speakers use HARU often in conjunction with addressee honorifics, unlike older and middle generations (Chapter 5, section 5.5.1).

In the discussion which follows, I will analyse the use and distribution of HARU looking at the social characteristics of the referents towards whom the form is used. This discussion is then very much related to the social deixis, in that it focuses on 'those aspects of language structure that encode the social identities of the participants (...), or the social relationship between

them or between one of them and persons and entities referred to' (Levinson 1983:89). I will argue that the changes in how HARU is used across generations need to be seen within both the local context, as well as the larger Japanese speech community. Building on the notion that the use of honorifics is intimately tied to the local social order, I will show how this social order is influencing the use of HARU.

First I will discuss how and why the use of honorification can be seen as having a strong link with the social order (6.1.1); I will then define the factors relevant for the current study (6.1.2). Having situated the discussion in context, I will then move on to discussing and analysing the distribution of honorifics in relation to certain characteristics of the referents or addressees (6.2), and finally focus in more detail on analysing the factors that constrain the use of HARU. In section 6.2 I will look at the relative frequencies of the use of HARU across a number of different referent characteristics to further explore the hypothesis about the changing indexes of this form analysed in Chapter 5. I will then focus in more detail on the factors analysed, to check whether these observed relative changes in frequency are significant. To do this I will conduct multivariate analysis.

Throughout the discussion I will continue to focus on the ongoing changes in the use of the form, that we can observe analysing each age group separately.

### **6.1. Motivating the analysis of the referent**

The discussion in this chapter is based on the characteristics of the people HARU is used to refer to or address. As it is an honorific form, the investigation into these patterns will allow us to look into possible changes of not only the use of this form, but link them with the changing ideologies with regards to the use of local referent honorification. Situating these changes in the local context will, in turn, allow us to explore the links between the changing function of local referent honorifics, and possibly some changes in the social organization of the community. The analysis in this chapter will answer the following questions:

- (i) What kind of people is HARU used to refer to?
  - a. Is it consistent across generations?
- (ii) What factors constrain the use of HARU?
  - a. Is there a difference in constraints on use of HARU consistent between younger and older speakers?

I will now briefly discuss the link between honorific language and social order, and then move on to discussing the analysis and results.

### **6.1.1. Honorifics as a reflection of social changes**

A number of discussions of Japanese honorification from a historical perspective show the rise of honorifics, and their subsequent changes, as a linguistic reflection of the existing social order (see e.g. Shibatani 1990, Shibata 1999). Changes in the Japanese honorific system over time have often

been attributed to changes in the structure of the society, changes in the importance of certain social classes, shifting roles of people in power and the slow introduction of more egalitarian ideals. Shibatani (1990) discusses the rise and fall of honorific systems across ages, relating it directly to the visible social changes:

Particularly interesting is the rise and fall of the honorific system, since this reflects the social organization of each period rather clearly. While honorific forms are seen in the earliest history of the language, the elaboration of the system started in the Heian period, when the court-centred society came to maturity [...] The elaborate honorific system came to an abrupt end when the Meiji restoration (1867) abolished the Tokugawa social class system, thus putting an end to feudalism. Though a new class system consisting of noblemen and the common people was instituted, the tide of Western democracy and compulsory education had the effect of simplifying the honorific system considerably.

(Shibatani 1990:123-124)

Thus changes in the use of Japanese honorifics across history have often been interpreted as a reflection of changing relations in society. While this link is definitely not as straightforward, and, while at times changes in the two areas (the social and the linguistic) do not necessarily overlap (Shibata 1999), understanding of the changing use, function and role of honorifics depends also on the understanding of the social reality, and the understanding of this reality by the people (cf. Okamoto 1999 on ideologies with regards to the use of honorifics in Japan). I am not suggesting here that the use of honorification is in a straightforward manner related to showing respect to some other (be it the addressee or the referent). As we have seen (and as I have been discussing throughout this dissertation), the functions of referent honorifics are more complex than a mere reflection of some presupposed social stratification, neither can they be linked uniformly with

'expression of respect' of some kind. Nonetheless, as the prescriptive uses of honorification are widely discussed and commented on in the daily life (as we have seen in previous chapters), it seems not unmotivated to link the changes in their use with some changes in understanding of the social order.

It has been suggested that over the past few decades Japanese people in general 'have come to prefer less formal speech styles' (Okamoto 1999:56). Anecdotal evidence showing that younger people don't, or can't, use honorifics properly, abound, and one of the interpretations (expressed clearly in the quote above) is the influence of broadly defined western, or more egalitarian, ideas. At the same time, however, there are a number of available manuals and self-help books that discuss the correct and proper use of honorifics (for a discussion of those see e.g. Wetzel & Inoue 1999 or Carroll 2001).

Comments regarding the use (or lack) of *keigo* appear also in some of the conversations I recorded during my fieldwork. Interestingly, the comments about the correct use of honorific language could be found mostly in the conversations of the younger speakers. The following is an excerpt from a dinner conversation between Shun (22), Mayuko (30), Mayuko's husband Ichiroo (31) and me. Ichiroo works as a driver on the subway, while Shun and Mayuko are co-workers in kindergarten, and long-term friends. Shun is telling a story about one of the other kindergarten junior teachers, who, in Shun's opinion, is not addressing Shun properly, i.e. not using honorifics. Here she is recalling an event from a previous day at work.

Extract 6.1.

1. S: futsuu ni tomodachi to shabet-teru kankaku deshi-ta  
normally friends with talk-PROGR sense COP.AH-PAST  
*It was as if she was having a normal chat with a friend*
  2. gomen na te i-ware-ta shi  
sorry OJ.SFP QUOT say-PASS-PAST PART  
*She said 'oh, sorry'*
  3. gomen na tte  
sorry OJ.SFP QUOT  
*'oh, sorry'*
  4. M: <laughs>
  5. S: un=  
*yeah*
  6. M: datte keigo tsuka-ware-hen hito ippai oru  
but honorific.language use-POT-OJ.NEG people many OJ.be  
  
yo na  
SJ.SFP OJ.SFP  
*But there are lots of people who can't use keigo, aren't there?*
  7. ora-n ↑  
OJ.be-OJ.NEG  
*Aren't there?*
  8. kootsu ni toka ora-n  
traffic in or OJ.be-OJ.NEG  
*Aren't there lots in transport?*
- <Ichiro answers from the other room>
9. I: sonna ot-tara keru  
like.that OJ.be-POT kick  
*If there were any I'd kick them.*
  10. M: <laughs>
  11. keru tte  
kick QUOT  
*He says he'd kick them.*

(Osaka I, MS, Mayuko, Shun & Ichiroo, 01'04'48)



It is clear that for all of the speakers the correct use of honorifics in the workplace is important, and that they all have strong opinions about people who cannot conform to these norms. Shun's utterances in lines 1-3 show that she distinguishes between the ways in which one should address a friend and a senior co-worker, and that those two do not overlap, at least not in the workplace. Interestingly, while Shun is Mayuko's junior co-worker, she does not always use honorifics when talking to Mayuko, as I discuss below (section 6.2.2.3).

Where then do local honorifics fit in this large social order reflected in the use of correct *keigo*? We have already seen that local honorifics stand in opposition not only to the plain forms, but also to SJ honorific forms (see discussion in Chapter 4), forming a continuum of features that does not necessarily lend itself to being analysed as a simple polarity of *formal*: *informal*. I have discussed some ideologies connected with the use of HARU, and the domains where the use of this local honorific is seen as appropriate (among friends, in situations 'between formal and informal'). In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the characteristics of the referent (who may be the addressee) that are most often associated with HARU. I will draw on the social characteristics of the referent that have been shown to be relevant for the use of honorification. I will draw on previous research, which focussed mainly on SJ honorification, to compare whether the same factors are seen as significant in the use of local honorification. I will also look at the changes in what kinds of referents HARU is used to denote across generations, to see whether we can relate these changes in the use of local honorifics to some local social changes. My focus will be on the

characteristics of the referent (who may be the addressee), to investigate the overall patterns of the use of HARU, and to explore what kind of people it is used to refer to. Bearing in mind the multifunctionality of referent honorifics, and the fact that such an analysis is not intended to cover all possible uses, I will provide an overview of the changes in the function of this local form.

I will also argue that an investigation of the use and functions of the local honorifics over three generations of speakers might give us new, perhaps more nuanced insight into the hierarchy and social relationships reflected in the use of these forms. I will suggest that the changes in the use of HARU may be seen in part as being related to the changes in ideologies surrounding the use of honorifics. We need therefore to remember, that the analysis of the use of honorific forms, even though related to the existing social structures, needs also to take into account ideologies that link these linguistic features with the hierarchy and structure found in the social domain, and ideologies about the links between the past and the present. Following Irvine (1992) and Okamoto (1999), my analysis of the patterns of the use of HARU also takes into consideration the belief that 'language ideologies are also subject to change' (Irvine 1992:261).

Before turning to the results and analysis, I will briefly discuss the factors included in the discussion and define the context.

### **6.1.2. Defining the factors and the context**

In this section I will focus on discussing the context of the current discussion. I will first explain why the discussion in this chapter is based on a sub-

sample of speakers (those whose use of referent honorific features is variable). Following this, I will discuss the external factors included in the distributional and the multivariate analyses of HARU, i.e. characteristics of the referent that contribute to the probability of the use of this local honorific. In doing so, I will engage with previous quantitative research on honorification, but also draw on a number of locally-defined cultural constructs, such as the distinction between *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group'.

#### **6.1.2.1. Context and distribution of all referent honorifics**

In Chapter 5 I discussed the overall distribution of honorifics, including HARU, across different populations of speakers (see Chart 5.1). The discussion in that section is based on all of the speakers in the corpus used in this dissertation, i.e. 45 speakers (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.3). Including all of the speakers was important for showing the trend across the whole community, especially across age, gender and network type. In the discussion which follows, however, I am focussing on the changing functions of HARU. I will therefore only include those speakers, who were recorded using HARU at some point during their conversation, i.e. whose use of the form is variable. 14 speakers who are categorical non-users of HARU (who were important in establishing the large patterns of use of the form in the community) are not included in the discussion in this chapter. This means the total number of speakers discussed in this chapter is 30. The distribution across age and gender can be seen in Table 6.1.

	Older	Middle	Younger
Women	6	8	5
Men	5	3	3

Table 6.1. The distribution of speakers with variable use of OJ honorifics (sub-sample) across age and gender of the speakers

As the overall frequency of the use of HARU is decreasing over time, the unequal numbers of speakers in each cell are symptomatic of this change. The numbers are balanced for age and gender in the original sample (Table 3.2), but fewer younger speakers are heard using the form nowadays.

The overall use of all honorifics and bare verbs (i.e. not marked for referent honorification) included in the variable context (see Chapter 3, section 3.7 for the full discussion of the envelope of variation) is shown in Table 6.2, reproduced from Chapter 4, section 4.1 with the addition of bare verbs.

Form		Older	Middle	Younger	Total
<b>SJ:</b>	<b>Women</b>	1	4	0	5
<b>V+(ra)reru</b>	<b>Men</b>	12	0	0	12
<b>SJ:</b>	<b>Women</b>	0	12	0	12
<b>Suppletive verbs</b>	<b>Men</b>	5	0	0	5
<b>OJ:</b>	<b>Women</b>	2	0	1	3
<b>V+yoru</b>	<b>Men</b>	9	1	2	12
<b>OJ:</b>	<b>Women</b>	7	6	0	13
<b>V+yaru</b>	<b>Men</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>OJ:</b>	<b>Women</b>	152	161	14	327
<b>V+haru</b>	<b>Men</b>	28	9	17	54
<b>Bare verbs (no hon.)</b>	<b>Women</b>	211	360	282	851
	<b>Men</b>	237	109	89	435
<b>Total</b>		665	662	405	1732

Table 6.2. The distribution of verbs in utterances with a referent other than oneself across speakers with variable use of OJ honorifics

As I have already discussed, the use of HARU overshadows the use of any other referent honorific, both OJ and SJ. In the first part of the remainder of this chapter (6.2) I will focus on the use of HARU only, to show how (or rather, towards whom) it is used, when it does appear. To do so, I will provide a distributional analysis of the use of HARU with specific sets of referent features. In the second part, I use multivariate analysis to investigate in more detail which of the factors discussed constrain the use of HARU (6.3).

#### **6.1.2.2. Factors included in the analysis of referent characteristics**

With regards to the characteristics of the referent, the factors that previous research and theoretical discussions (see Chapter 2, sections 2.3.3) have identified as influencing the use of honorification are, among others: age, gender, familiarity, social position/distance, in- and out-group membership.

In her study of honorifics in shops and marketplaces, Okamoto (1998) suggests that HARU was used to address one customer, but never for more than one person. I have therefore added referent specificity to check whether this is the case for my database.

I have coded for the factors that are possible to categorise objectively (see also Chapter 3, section 3.5), that is relative age, gender, degree of familiarity, overt social status difference, and specificity of the referent.

Age was simply coded as: older, same or younger in relation to the speaker. Thus the relationship (i.e. relative age) rather than the age group of the referent was included, as this kind of relationship seems more suitable for the discussion of honorifics. Previous studies suggest that age is one of

the factors governing the use of honorification, where younger speakers use honorification to address or refer to speakers older than themselves. Coding for the relative age of interactants allowed me to test this hypothesis.

With regards to gender, I have coded both gender of the speaker, which enables me to test the hypothesis that HARU is a female-preferred form, and relate to the body of research which suggests that women use more honorifics than men do (e.g. Ide 1982, 1990; Shibatani 1990, 2006; also discussion in Chapter 5), and gender of the referent or addressee. This, in turn, allowed me to explore the relevance of referent gender (cf. Martin 1964).

With regards to the degree of familiarity the following divisions were made: own family; friends; people we know (here I included people who I know do not socialise, and do not have much in common except for meeting occasionally, and usually by chance); strangers; famous people and celebrities. This can be seen as one of the components that may be of relevance to discussing in/out-groupness (*uchi/ soto* distinction – see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.5, and below in section 6.2.2.1). I believe, however, that the *uchi/ soto* distinction is one that cannot be objectively categorised and coded. It appears that, perhaps somewhat akin to power, this notion is much more fluid and may be interactionally based and context dependant (e.g. Bachnik 1992). It is thus best suited for a qualitative analysis of the interactions (see Chapter 4) than a quantitative analysis. I will discuss *uchi/ soto* where relevant in this chapter, with reference to a number of factors that can be seen as its constitutive parts.

Social distance between the speaker and referent or addressee was coded only in the instances where there was a clear and objective status difference. Since the majority of interactions are conversations between friends, very often status or social distance are impossible to include. However, there are a number of relationships, where the interactants know each other in more than one capacity, as their networks are often multiplex. This can be seen especially for the locally networked speakers, whose social and professional networks are densely intertwined. Relative social distance was coded for simply as a relationship between the speaker and the referent or addressee: as (i) lower, where the social position of the referent or addressee is lower than that of the speaker, or (ii) higher. The relationships that can be found between the interactants included are: teacher-student (files: TE, ME), employee-subordinate (file: KR), *senpai-koochai* 'senior-junior' (files: KKJ, MS). Reference to teachers, students, employees and employers is also found in a number of other interactions, and coded where appropriate.

I am also a part of some of these networks, as I am both Tomoko's and Midori's student, and used to be Mayuko's and Shun's co-worker. Here, however, I only coded my relationship with Midori and Tomoko, as this was a current network at the time of recording.

I used to be Mayuko's and Shun's co-worker, but this relationship was less straightforward, as I was a foreigner, and therefore not treated in the same way as all the other teachers (see also Chapter 3, section 3.1.1). My situation was made more ambiguous by the fact that it was made known right from the start that I would only be working for a year, and that made it impossible to fit me within the workplace hierarchy, where there was a clear

seniority system, as it was obvious I would not be able to advance within that system. My position as a potential *koohai* ‘junior’ was then hard to fit into canonical workplace dynamics, because I would not be able to be there longer than anyone, I was employed on a different contract, and I was slightly older than the majority of the teachers. I was also mainly involved in teaching English and art, which meant I had no other teachers directly involved in my curriculum, which again contributed to my outsider status.

Finally, the referents were also divided in terms of specificity into: specific singular (one person), specific plural (‘your mother and father’, ‘those two women’), unlimited group (‘the Chinese’) and unclear referents (such as ‘the television’).

All of the above mentioned factors have been, in one way or another, shown to have an influence on the use of honorification. No study so far, however, has tested their contribution to the use of local honorifics, using naturally occurring data. I will now first look at how HARU is used with regards to these factors, when it does appear in the discourse (6.2). I will then move to discussing in more detail the factors which constrain the use of HARU (6.3). Throughout the discussion I will focus on the ongoing changes in the use of this feature, which we can observe by comparing three age cohorts of speakers.

## **6.2. Distributional analysis of HARU across social categories of the referent**



Previous research on the use of honorification (both standard and local) has shown that in order to fully understand the nature, function, and a plethora of roles that honorifics can fulfil interactionally, we cannot focus only on the imposed social categories (see Chapter 2 for the discussion of this research, and Chapters 4 and 5 for the discussions of creative uses of HARU). It has therefore been suggested, that applying quantitative analyses may not be an ideal tool for the analysis of honorification. I use the quantitative analysis in this chapter not as a means of understanding the full array of meanings conveyed by honorification, nor as a way of exploring the possible reasons for intra-speaker variation, but rather as a way of investigating the general patterns of the use of HARU across different groups of speakers, and the changes in the use of HARU across generations. For this reason I employ not only the speaker-centred perspective (who uses the form) explored in Chapter 5, but also addressee or referent-centred view (towards whom is the form used?). I believe the combination of these two views, used to analyse naturally occurring interactions can give us an important insight into the general ways in which HARU is used in the community I am studying.

Unarguably, the use of honorification (both standard and local) is often highly creative (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5), and we have seen in a number of previous studies that the use or non-use of honorifics cannot be fully explored by looking at a decontextualised social factor, such as age, gender or degree of intimacy (e.g. Ikuta 1983; Miller 1989; Cook 1996, 1997, 1998, 2006; Okamoto 1997, 1998, 1999; Dunn 1999, 2005; Yoshida & Sakurai 2005; Strycharz 2010). No single social factor can explain the patterns of use of honorification. I will therefore look at the factors available for such an

analysis, and supplement the discussion with qualitative and ethnographic observations where suitable.

The analysis I am offering in this chapter, however, is needed to give us an overview of the situation of OJ honorific system today. In addition, there have been very few studies of honorification using quantitative methods to study naturally occurring interactions (for some exception see e.g. Yamaji 2002, and 2008 for a discussion of first-time encounters), and none focussing on OJ honorifics. While numerous studies focus on the quantitative analysis of honorifics (both local and standard) based on self-reported studies (see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.4.1), the next step of looking at these claims in the actual use of honorifics in natural conversation seems to be much needed. I therefore have tried in my coding system to retain links to the kinds of categories the self-report surveys have looked at, in order to make a comparison across these studies clearer.

In the following discussion I will focus on the uses of HARU across distinct social characteristics of the referent. I will, however, also show how most of these features are intimately linked, and that some can be seen as components of others. All of the percentages in the first part of this chapter are calculated from the total occurrences of HARU. Where appropriate, I will refer to the ranking of rules proposed first by Martin (1964), and then by Ide (1982), discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.5. The factors they have suggested as significant are: power, social status and age (Ide) or power, social position, sex difference and out-group membership (Martin). Both Martin and Ide claim that these factors play a different role depending on whether we are looking at the *speaker:addressee* or *speaker:referent* relationship. Where

appropriate in the discussion which follows, I will make distinctions between using HARU as a referent honorific used to address, or to refer to third persons. I will also refer to the rankings proposed by Ide and Martin.

### **6.2.1. Age**

Age of the referent (who may be the addressee) has been shown to have an influence in the use of honorification, both in the traditional descriptive accounts of honorification, and in some empirical research (e.g. Okushi 1998). It has been generally acknowledged, that speakers tend to use more honorifics towards a referent who is older than themselves.

In their ranking of factors that govern the use of honorification, both Ide (1982) and Martin (1964) acknowledge that age of the referent plays an important role. They suggest that for the use of honorification (presumably SJ honorification) age is the second most important factor when referring to someone (after social position), while it is second-to-last in the ranking of factors that determine the use of honorification for the addressee.

I will first discuss the overall distribution of HARU, shown in Figure 6.1, and then focus on relative age when the form is used to address versus when it is used to refer.

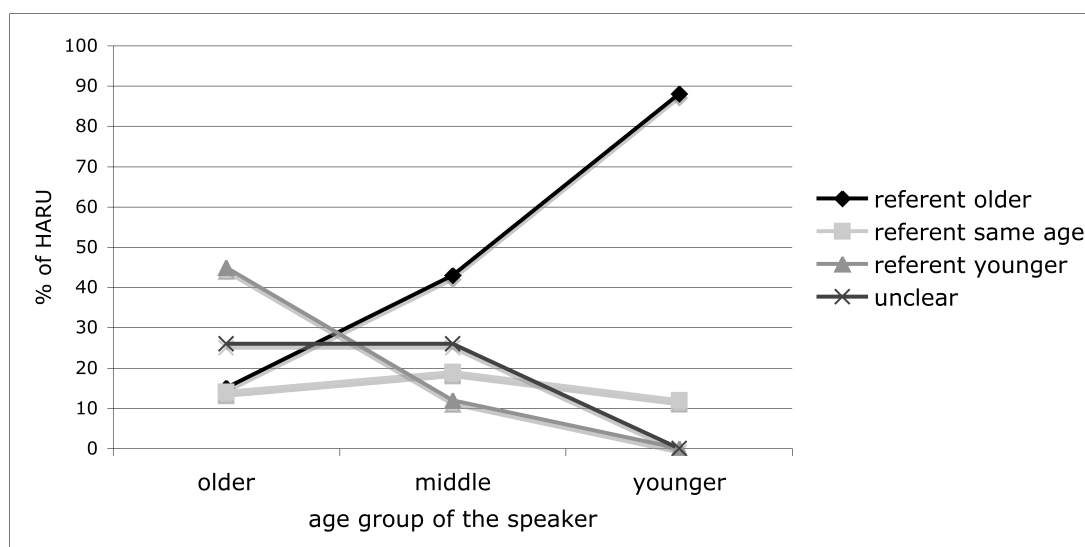


Figure 6.1. Distribution of HARU according to the relative age of the referent, among three age cohorts of speakers

The overall distribution of HARU suggests that when younger speakers use HARU, they use it most with older referents, with very few uses towards other people, while middle and older generations have a more varied pattern. Interestingly, 45% of tokens uttered by older speakers were used towards younger speakers (i.e. younger than themselves).

While age in itself seems to be most relevant for the youngest group of speakers in their use of HARU, the clear difference between oldest and youngest speakers suggests that age may be seen as one of the components of social distance. Since youngest speakers use HARU most often towards older speakers, while older speakers use it most often towards younger speakers it may suggest that for the older speakers the big difference in age between themselves and the person they are talking to or about, denotes social distance, or perhaps out-group membership of the other person (I will return to discussing in- and out-groupness in this chapter, section 6.2.2.1). Figures 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate the use of HARU according to the age of the referent, separately for the addressee and a third person referent. The

connection of age and social distance may be inferred especially from the use of HARU to address someone (Figure 6.3). Speakers use honorifics to position themselves vis-à-vis their interlocutor, and, as we can see in Figure 6.3, the use of HARU towards people not from their own age group shows that the boundaries of age overlap with the boundaries of in-groupness, or are understood as creating distance.

I will now look at the age of the referent in use of HARU to address and to refer.

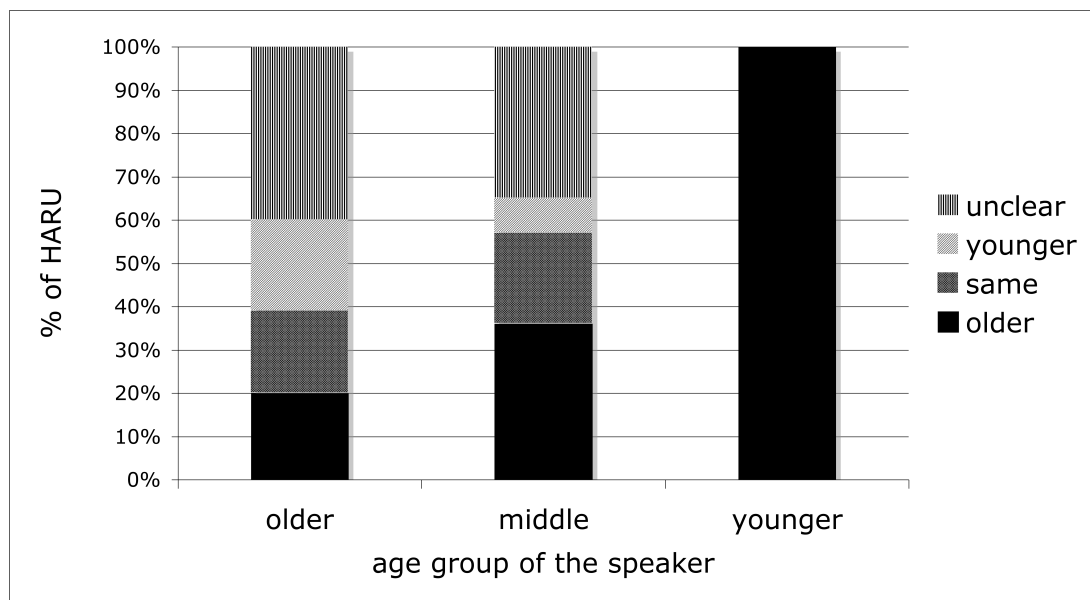
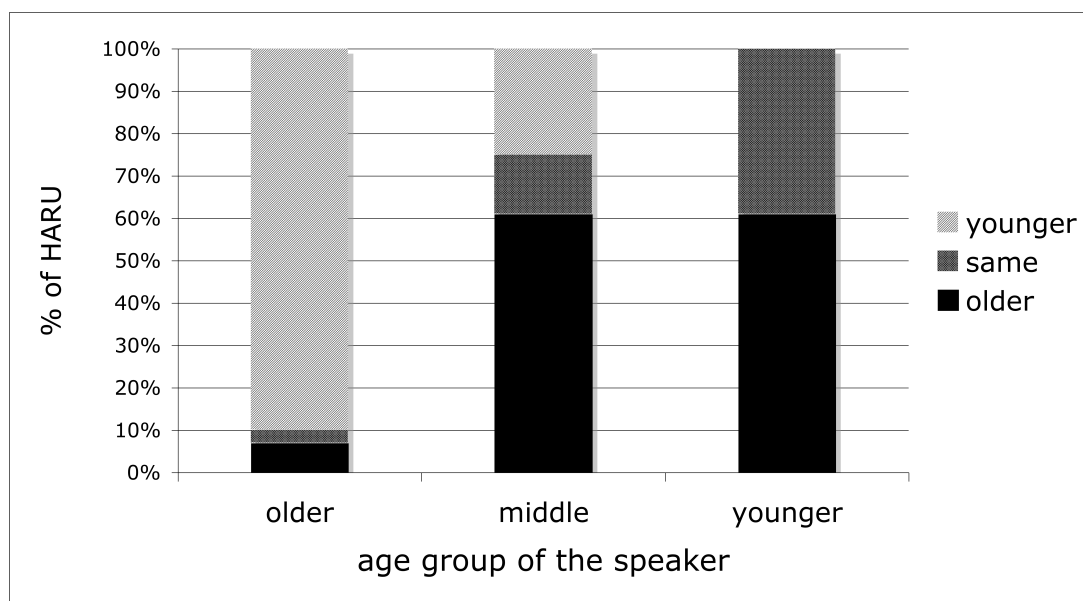


Figure 6.2. Distribution of HARU used towards a referent other than addressee according to different relative age of the referent, across three age groups of speakers



*Figure 6.3. Distribution of HARU towards an addressee according to different relative age of the addressee, across three age groups of speakers*

Both Ide and Martin, in their discussions of SJ honorification, suggest that when honorifics are used to address, age is last of the factors in the rules governing their use. Ide places it behind power and social status, while Martin suggests the following order: out-groupness > social position > sex difference > age (Chapter 2, section 2.5.5). When referring to someone, however, they suggest that the decision to use honorifics rests primarily on the basis of social position, followed by age. Neither Martin nor Ide suggest that there may be a correlation of the in/out-group marking and some (if not all) other factors.

Figure 6.2 shows that there is a clear split between younger speakers and the rest of the community, in their use of HARU in utterances when the referent is not the addressee. Interestingly, when HARU is used to refer, age does not seem to be relevant among older and middle speakers. They use HARU to refer to a number of people from different age groups. This may mean that for these two age groups the choice whether or not to use referent

honorification, rests on factors other than age. This would suggest that perhaps HARU is not treated in the same way as SJ honorifics, or that the use of honorifics overall has undergone a change with regards to what referents they are used to address or refer to in the past few decades. Another point to bear in mind is that the rules proposed by Ide and Martin are perhaps idealised overgeneralisations, as has been argued in more recent research (see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.4.2).

When we look at the younger speakers in Figure 6.3, however, it is clear that they only use HARU to refer to people older than themselves. Since age is also an important factor pointed to by Ide and Martin in their discussion of SJ referent honorification, this again supports the argument put forward in the previous chapter, that the youngest speakers are adopting the SJ honorific grammar when using local honorific forms.

The importance of age can also be seen in Extract 6.2. In this exchange Shun, who used to be my co-worker in kindergarten a few years before, makes a joke when she finds out how old I am. The exchange was noted down by me, as it happened while the microphone was not switched on.

Extract 6.2.

1. S: Anna ima nansai  
[name] how how.old  
*Anna how old are you now?*
2. A: nijuukyuu=  
*Twenty-nine*
3. S: =honma  
really.OJ  
*Really?*
4. sonna toshi ue nan ya  
such age above PART OJ.COP

*You're that much older?*

<Shun gets up to pick up plates from the table>

5. Anna obachan mada tabe-haru no  
[name] aunt.DIM still eat-OJ.RH QP  
*Auntie Anna are you still eating?*

<laughs>

(field notes, 15/10/2008)

Shun never uses any kind of honorifics to address me or to refer to me in this conversation afterwards, or in any other recorded conversation. Even though the use of honorifics overall here is clearly being used as a humorous resource, it is apparent that the joke is brought on by an existing ideology, presumably that one should use honorific forms when addressing a person of older age. It may also be linked to the ideologies discussed in the previous chapter, where I have shown that the younger women see HARU as indexing the local persona of *Osaka-no obachan*. The fact that Shun does not, in this particular moment, choose to use SJ referent honorifics might suggest that either she does not see SJ honorifics as appropriate for making a joke of this kind (see also discussion of HARU used in a joking key in Chapter 5, section 5.5.2.2), or that she sees OJ honorifics as equally appropriate to address an older person.

While age seems to be influencing the distributional pattern of HARU, it is important to check whether this factor is indeed influencing the use of this feature in a significant way. We have seen some indication that it might be so, but further clarification is sought in section 6.3 where I provide results of the multivariate analysis of these external factors.



## 6.2.2. Situating familiarity in the local context

One of the factors I have decided to include in the analysis is the degree of familiarity. I will now briefly focus on situating it in the local, i.e. Japanese context. I will show that, while other locally significant notions and frameworks are definitely more suitable for a discussion of honorifics in interaction, the coding for the degree of familiarity allows us to incorporate some of these local concepts in a quantitative way. I will start by showing how the degree of familiarity can be linked with the distinction between *uchi* and *soto*.

### 6.2.2.1. The concept of *uchi* and *soto*

The concept of *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' is inherently tied with linguistic practices in the Japanese society (Doi 1973; Lebra 1976, 2005; Bachnik 1992; Bachnik & Quinn 1994; see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.3.5). The understanding of this distinction has been brought to attention by a number of scholars in various sub-fields of Japanese Studies, as one of the crucial concepts related to the social organization of Japanese society.

The distinction between *uchi* and *soto* in the linguistic domain is seen especially in the use of honorification. *Uchi* is linked with the self, and as such in-group members are treated as the extension of the self. This in turn means that when talking about in-group members no honorifics are used, or we can expect humble language. This marking of the self with humble forms

is one way in which speakers can conform to the expected social norms, encoded in the *uchi/soto* division.

Since honorific forms are a prime example of politeness strategies, this divide can also be understood in terms of Leech's Grand Strategy of Politeness (Leech 2007), where lower value is to be placed on oneself. Here, however, it is not only oneself, but all members of our in-group (*uchi*) that speakers place a low value on. The members of *soto*, on the other hand, are those who are to be addressed or referred to using some kind of honorific marking.

While the notion of *uchi* and *soto*, and the distinction between the two, is said to be crucial to understanding both cultural and linguistic practices of the Japanese, the application of this concept as an explanatory tool in examining the use of local honorifics presents us with two problems: (i) it is not clear what kinds of factors need to be taken into account when determining the in- and out-group memberships for any given set of interactants, and (ii) we need to somehow account for the fact, that while local honorific forms are intended to mark honorification, they are also intended to mark some kind of locality or localness (so perhaps, some type of in-group membership).

There are situations in which distinguishing between the *uchi* and *soto* members is unproblematic. For example, when talking about one's employer to another employee, the employer is seen as an out-group member (in relation to the employees), but when a speaker is talking about their employer to an employee of another company, the employer is seen as a

member of the in-group, and the employees of the other company are members of the out-group.

When there is, however, no clear-cut group boundary, a number of factors can be taken as creating this kind of *uchi/ soto* border. The groupings in such situations are recursive, and the creation of these boundaries may not rest on a static presupposed order. Seeing this distinction as created within any given interaction, we may therefore argue that the borders themselves might be created by the very use of linguistic features. In this way the use of honorifics is not an outcome of the pre-existing *uchi/ soto* distinction, but rather a way of co-constructing it.

Another issue in applying the in- and out-group discussion in the analysis presented in this dissertation is that HARU is a local honorific (see discussion in Chapter 5, section 5.3.1). This, in turn, means that it can be used to indicate both in-groupness as it is [+local], and out-groupness, through being [+honorific]. We have already seen that the form can be used to index both in-group (Extract 5.12) and out-group membership (Extracts 5.2 and 5.6).

I have, therefore, decided to include the degree of familiarity for the purposes of quantitative analysis, as I suggest that familiarity is a relatively static, objective factor that is in some way linked to the concept of *uchi/ soto*, but that it is easily applicable in testing larger patterns of use of the local honorifics.

I will now turn to analysing the patterning of the use of HARU, with reference to the degree of familiarity of the referent. I will then move on to

discussing the differences observable across generations, and when HARU is used to address as opposed to when it is used to refer.

### 6.2.2.2. The effect of referent familiarity

I will now discuss the distribution of HARU taking into consideration referent familiarity. Figure 6.4 shows the use of HARU for different referents (who may be the addressees) across three age groups of speakers.

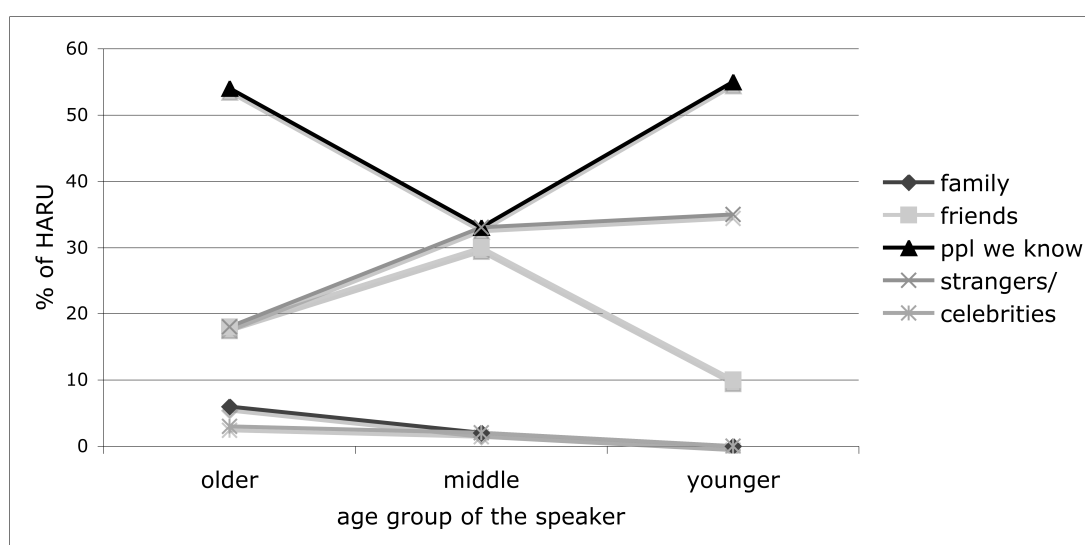


Figure 6.4. Distribution of HARU according to the degree of familiarity of the referent among three age groups of speakers

In line with overt comments made by some speakers, Figure 6.4 shows that HARU is almost never used to refer to one's own family members. The only exceptions can be found in the speech of the oldest speakers, but these, too, are very sporadic (but see the discussion on familiarity in section 6.3).

In general, across the age groups, it appears that HARU is used most often to refer to friends, strangers and people they know. The frequency with

which HARU is used to refer to members of each of these groups differs across the generations of speakers.

The oldest speakers seem to exhibit a pattern which may be similar to Wolfson's "bulge" model (Wolfson 1988, 1989), where politeness strategies are used more frequently towards people you know a little but not well, and less frequently with intimates and complete strangers. Figure 6.4 shows a pattern like this for older speakers. In their speech, HARU is used most often to people 'in the middle', i.e. people we know, but we don't socialise with, or do not have much in common with. Strangers and friends pattern in the same way for this age cohort of speakers, with the use of HARU falling at 17% and 18% of all referent types respectively. This distinction seems to be lost entirely in the middle age group, who treat friends, people they know and strangers in the same way, as far as the use of HARU is concerned. The youngest group of speakers exhibit yet again a different pattern, with the use of HARU gradually increasing from friends, through strangers, to people they know.

I will now turn to examine the patterns found when speakers are making a distinction between the use of HARU towards the addressee and towards the referent.

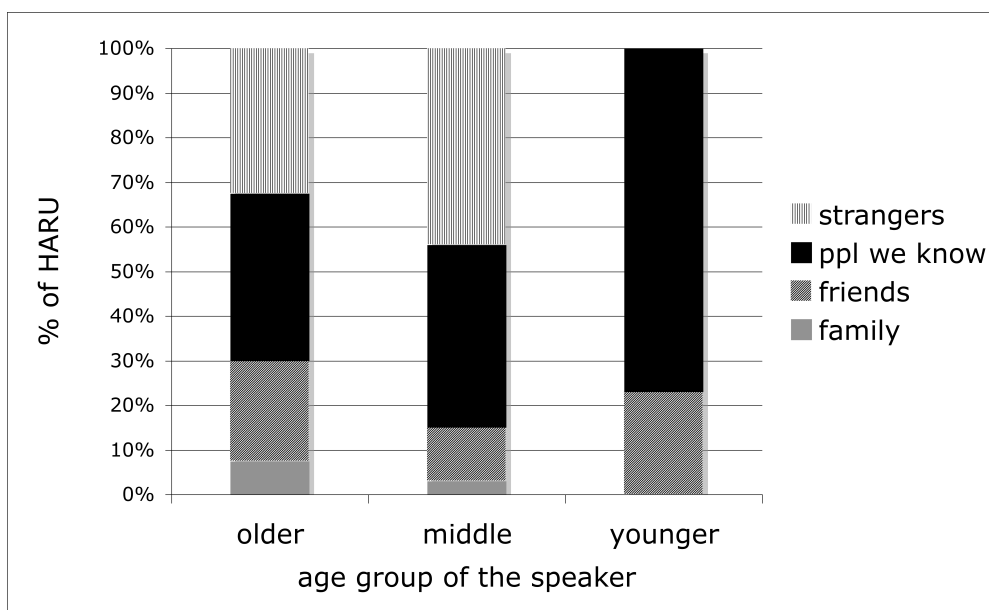


Figure 6.5. Distribution of HARU towards a referent other than addressee according to the different familiarity degree of the referent, across three age groups of speakers

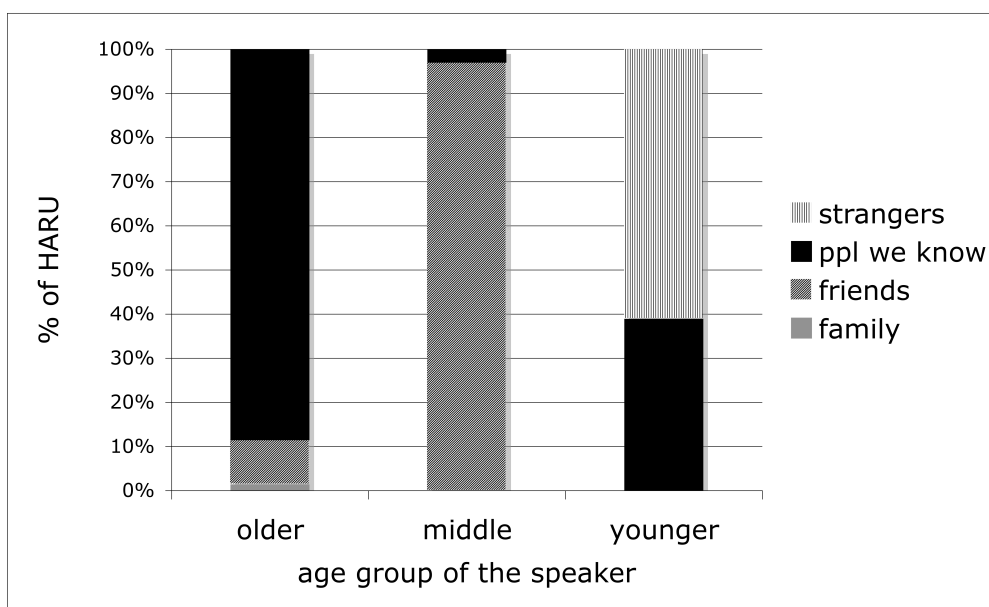


Figure 6.6. Distribution of HARU towards an addressee according to the different familiarity degree of the addressee, across three age groups of speakers

As Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show, older and middle groups use HARU to refer to strangers, but not to address strangers, unlike the younger age group. That is, we are now able to find another measure with which there is

a visible divide between the younger age group and the other two. With the form used to address, all the age groups exhibit a different pattern, with older speakers using it most to address people they know, middle speakers using it most to address friends, and younger speakers using it predominantly to address strangers.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the youngest speakers see the form (and overtly comment on it) as being linked strongly with local identity. The use of the form towards strangers can potentially be seen as a way of self-presentation, where the speakers establish their position and create their local identity vis-à-vis some other person. In addressing strangers our identity tends to be most ambiguous, and thus it may be that the younger speakers assert their local identity in these types of interactions. Among the older generation locality can be taken for granted, since their networks are very dense and people they are in touch with are predominantly local. The younger generation of speakers, even those with locally-oriented networks, have contacts outside their local community. Overall across generations networks become looser. We can presume that locality is not taken for granted in this younger generation of speakers, and that marking of locality takes place on a number of levels, one of them being linguistic features. Since in the younger generation, as we have seen, HARU is seen as a form strongly linked with local identity, the use of this form towards people they know and strangers, rather than friends and family, can be interpreted as using this feature as a way of marking their own local identity. The [+local] association of this form may then be coming to the fore in these kinds of interactions (i.e. interactions with strangers and people we

know little), but not in the way we have seen previously linked with local variants. While it has been argued that the use of local features is more likely to occur in in-group type of interactions, it may be that when such a feature is a strong stereotype (and, like in the case of HARU, one linked with certain types of local identities) its use is seen as a resource for self-presentation. More data, however, would be needed to confirm these speculative explanations. Interestingly, however, for the younger speakers the use of HARU as a reference term can be seen as a marker of in-groupness (using the form towards the people they know and friends), while the use of HARU to address seems to be indexing out-groupness (using it to address strangers), which partly supports my claims above.

When HARU is used to refer, as shown in Figure 6.5, in the middle and older age cohorts we can see once again, that familiarity is, much like age, not a deciding factor. The form is used to refer to people of all ages and different degrees of familiarity. It is not so for the youngest generation of speakers, who seem to be refunctionalising the form to use it for very specific purposes, and specific referents.

It is important here to remember that OJ is perceived differently by speakers from different generations. The older speakers were taught the 'correct' use of language (Carroll 2001) and there was no recognition of dialects in the public domain, in the media or in education. These are also the people whose ties are most dense and locally oriented. While they use HARU for a variety of referents, they only use it to address people they know, friends and family, which may be seen as using the form for members of their in-group (*uchi*). We can assume, as we have seen in a creative way in



Chapter 4, that marking of the *soto* membership for this age group can be done with the use of SJ honorification.

People in the middle age cohort, on the other hand, are those who, even though some of them do not leave their local community too often, have more contacts outside. They witnessed the introduction of dialect awareness programmes at schools. They were taught the difference and appropriate use of OJ and SJ, so effectively were taught how to code-switch between the two varieties (Carroll 2001). This might mean that for them local honorifics are more ambiguous, more confined to the sphere of the local, rather than focussing on their actual honorific value. They use HARU both for referents we would categorise as out-groups and in-groups. Interestingly, however, their use of HARU to address is restricted almost exclusively to friends, which suggests that speakers in this age group see it more as an in-group marker indexing familiarity rather than a marker of distance. There is no conclusive evidence coming from their use of SJ honorifics (due to the context of recordings, and numbers of SJ honorifics being very low), but we may speculate that they can be expected to mark out-group membership using SJ forms. This distinction between SJ as a marker of out-group and OJ honorifics as markers of in-group may also be tied to the introduction of dialect awareness programmes and the focus on code-switching (in schools) as the communicative norm.

The younger generation of speakers, while their use of HARU is very low, seem to exhibit yet a different pattern, with more restricted use of HARU than the other two generations. Younger speakers seem to be shifting the use of HARU towards marking *soto* 'out-group' membership. As we can see

especially on Figure 6.6 they use it predominantly to address strangers. We can speculate as to why this is the case. One of the factors may be the way in which the awareness of local dialect has been changing, and how it is perceived by the younger generation. They are the ones who were taught to code-switch, but for whom using OJ in school has been the norm. They have also seen high vitality of OJ, with its increasing presence in the media connected partly to '*manzai* boom' (cf. Inoue 2009), and positive evaluations by speakers of other varieties. The use of HARU towards strangers can then be seen as a way of self-presentation. Since young men who use this form are at the same time the ones who strongly associate themselves with local identity (one of them even wants to be a stand-up *manzai* comedian) their use of this form might be more self-conscious. In an interesting way, the perception of the local dialect, and its status may have affected the way in which some variants are used by different age groups. We are observing this trend with the local honorific suffix HARU, but it is possible that other features of OJ are also available for reinterpretation.

### **6.2.2.3. Social position and distance**

Another factor included in the analysis is relative social position (which in turn again, can be seen as related to distance). Brown & Levinson (1978) in their seminal work on politeness suggest that in languages that have developed honorific structures, honorifics can be seen as 'direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in a communicative event'

(Brown & Levinson 1987: 276). Figure 6.7 shows the distribution of HARU according to the different social position of the referent (who may be the addressee).

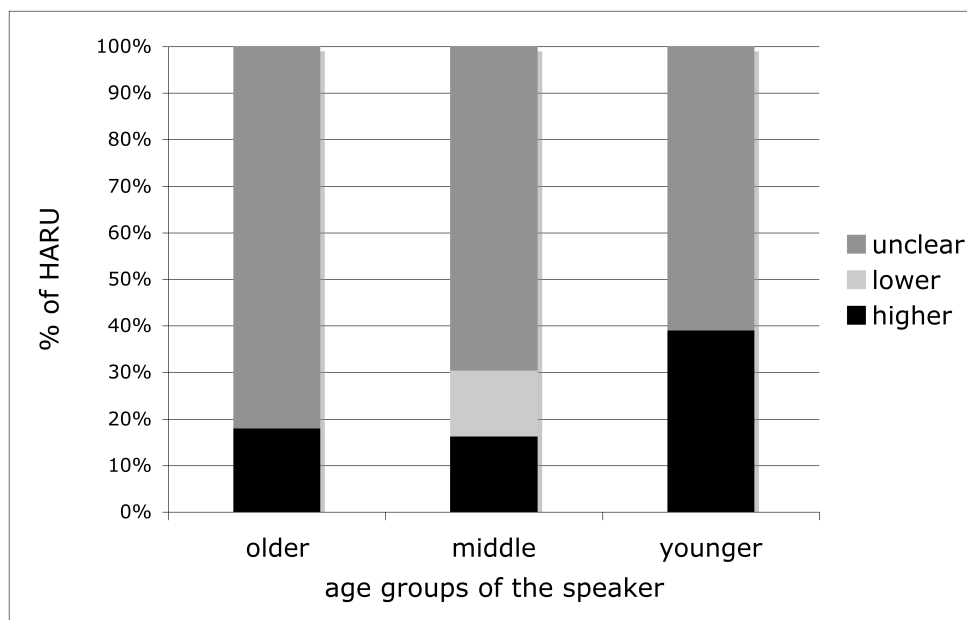


Figure 6.7. Distribution of HARU according to the different social position of the referent/addressee, among three age cohorts of speakers

The importance of social distance seems to be increasing across generations, with youngest speakers using HARU 39% of the time to address or refer to someone who is of a higher position than themselves (Figure 6.7). In the middle group HARU is used equally often to refer to or address people of both higher and lower social position. This is partly an artefact of the recording set-up, where some recordings took place between students and teachers in a community centre. This set-up is different from a typical classroom interaction, where there is a clear age and power difference between the teacher and her students. In the case of community centre craft classes, students were often of the same age as their teacher or older. This is also not a school setting, but a class where the ladies come both to learn the

crafts and to socialise. Therefore the relationship between them and their teacher is more complex than a simple teacher-student relationship. This might explain why HARU was used equally often for referents of higher position (teachers) and lower position (students).

The use of honorifics to mark social distance is often only foregrounded in some parts of the interaction. Extract 6.3 comes from a dinner conversation between Shun (22) and Mayuko (30). Shun and Mayuko are friends, but also co-workers, and Shun is Mayuko's *koohai* 'junior'. While throughout the interaction, where a range of different topics were covered, Shun inconsistently addresses Mayuko with addressee honorifics *desu/masu*, referent honorification only appears when the conversation shifts towards work issues. In Extract 6.3 the conversation revolves around work colleagues. (Yooko is the boss' daughter, who also works part time in the kindergarten as a psychologist.)

All the verbs are underlined, VPs with addressee honorifics are highlighted, and OJ referent honorifics are in bold.

Extract 6.3.

1. M: mada taberu  
still eat  
*Are you still eating?*
2. S: uun (inc.)  
*no*
3. M: nan te yut-ta ima  
what QUOT say-PAST now  
*What did you say?*
4. S: <laughs>
5. S: are ima **mi-tan** **desu-ka**  
that now see-PAST AH-QP

Did you see that one just now?

6. ima no ano  
now GEN that  
*That one there*

7. terebi de  
TV on  
*On TV*

8. M: (inc.)

<Mayuko leaves the room for a moment, then comes back>

9. M: Yooko sensee tte ammari ko-nai deshoo  
Yooko teacher QUOT rather come-NEG AH-HORT  
*Ms. Yooko doesn't really come, does she?*

10. S: kedo senshuu kuru tte yut-te-hari-mashi-ta  
but last.week come QUOT say-CONJ-OJ.RH-AH-PAST  
*But last week she said she would come*

11. kaunseringu ni kuru [tte-]  
counselling to come QUOT  
*[she said] she would come for counselling*

12. M: [a so na]  
ah that OJ.SFP  
*Oh is that right?*

13. S: demo Yooko sensee te mazu mi-te mawat-te  
but Yooko teacher QUOT first see-CONJ revolve-CONJ  
ko-nai desu yo  
come-NEG AH SJ.SFP  
*But first of all, Ms Yooko doesn't come round to have a look.*

14. M: (inc.)

15. S: so  
*right*

16. nikai gurai renzoku de  
twice about consecutive  
*Twice in a row*

17. mi ni ki-te-nai desu  
see to come-PROGR-NEG AH  
*[she] didn't come to have a look*

18. kodomo wa (.) sono hi kaunseringu na no ni  
 children NOM that day counselling even.though  
*Even though the children [knew] that they had counselling that day*
19. ano  
*well*
20. mite mawat-te-naku-te  
 see-CONJ come.round-PROGR-NEG-CONJ  
*She didn't come round to have a look*
21. M: e::
22. S: demo 'Bambi hoomu' de ano **hatarai-te-hat-ta** toki  
 but 'Bambi home' at well work-PROGR-OJ.RH-PAST  
 time  
 soo **ja nakat-tan** **desu-ka**  
 this COP-NEG-PAST AH-QP  
*But wasn't it like that when you worked at 'Bambi home'?*
23. M: un so ya kedo ne  
 yeah this OJ.COP but SJ.SFP  
*Yeah, it was, but ...*

(Osaka I, MS, Mayuko & Shun, 01'34'02)

In the beginning of this interaction, where the girls are talking about food and something Shun just saw on TV, Mayuko addresses Shun with plain forms, while Shun uses addressee honorification in line 5. This is their unmarked pattern in this conversation, although occasionally the use of plain forms is reciprocal. Mayuko shifts to the use of addressee honorification after she returns to the table in line 9, where she changes the topic to work-related issues. In response to that, Shun uses HARU to refer to Yooko in her next turn. She uses HARU again to address Mayuko in line 22. In addressing Mayuko, however, Shun's only uses of HARU (twice throughout the conversation) are when she acknowledges their relationship as *senpai:koohai* 'senior:junior', brought about by the shift of topic to work matters, and talking about their superiors. When the conversation, however, revolves around children in the

kindergarten, or other work colleagues, Shun addresses Mayuko with *desu/masu* addressee honorification, without the use of HARU. The two uses of HARU seem to be linked specifically to situations where the relative social distance associated the social hierarchy in the workplace is brought to the foreground.

We have then seen that while the use of HARU can be linked with social distance, or the relative social position of the referent or addressee, it is used (as are other honorific forms) in situations where this social distance is foregrounded, or when certain roles (teacher, senior) are more significant than others in a given interaction. While Shun and Mayuko are friends, they are also colleagues; Shun is younger than Mayuko, and she is also her *koochai*. All of these relationships are brought to the fore at one point or another during the interaction, and the variable use of honorification is one of the ways in which their different roles, or identities, are reaffirmed. The link of HARU with social distance is then not straightforward, but needs to be seen as one of the resources creating and confirming this kind of distance in the given moment of an interaction.

I will now turn to the remaining two factors in the distribution of HARU: gender and referent specificity.

### **6.2.3. Gender**

Gender of the speaker has often been evoked as an important factor in analysing the use of honorifics, and that mostly was connected with the link between honorification and feminine language. I have already discussed the

distribution of honorifics according to the gender of the speaker (Chapter 5). I will now look at the distribution of HARU with regards to the gender of the referent, following Martin's (1964) suggestion that sex difference between the speaker and the referent or addressee is one of the factors determining the use of honorification.

For this comparison, I have divided the uses of HARU according to both the gender of the speaker and gender of the referent, as this allows us to look at the sex difference as a factor in choosing whether or not to use this local honorific.

Figures 6.8 and 6.9 show relative percentages of the use of HARU comparing gender and age of the speakers. The category marked as 'n/a' is used for referents where it was impossible to determine the gender, i.e. groups of people ('the Japanese', 'people who live around here'), places that stand as metonyms for people who work there ('that restaurant', 'TV'), two references to both parents and one to both grandparents. The percentages are again calculated out of all occurrences of HARU (e.g. 90% of HARU used by younger men was referring to women).

While Martin suggests that sex difference is an important factor in determining whether or not to use honorification, it seems that, again, sex difference might be yet another facet in creating in-/out-group boundaries.



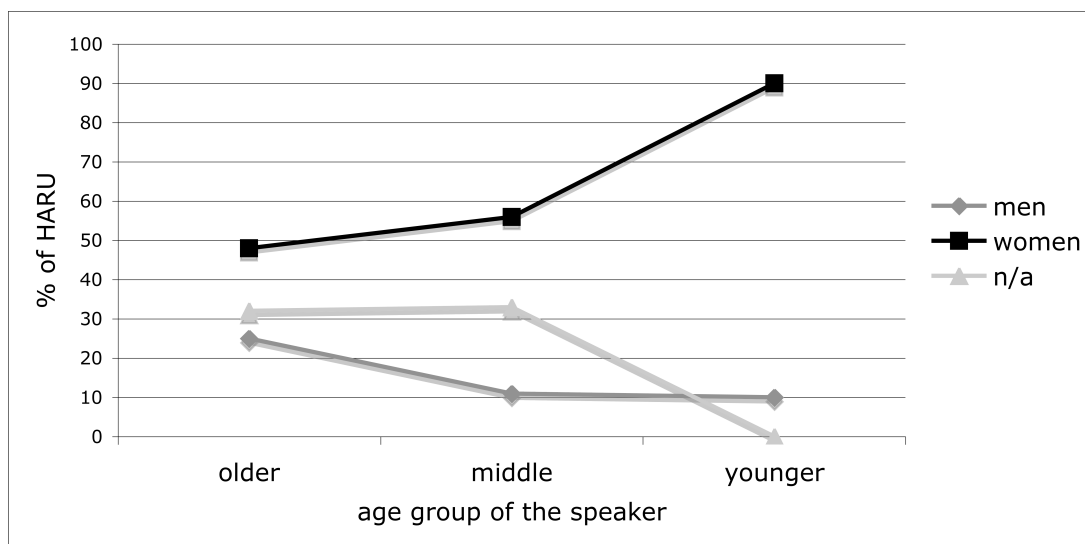


Figure 6.8. Distribution of HARU according to gender of the referent/ addressee among three age cohorts of men

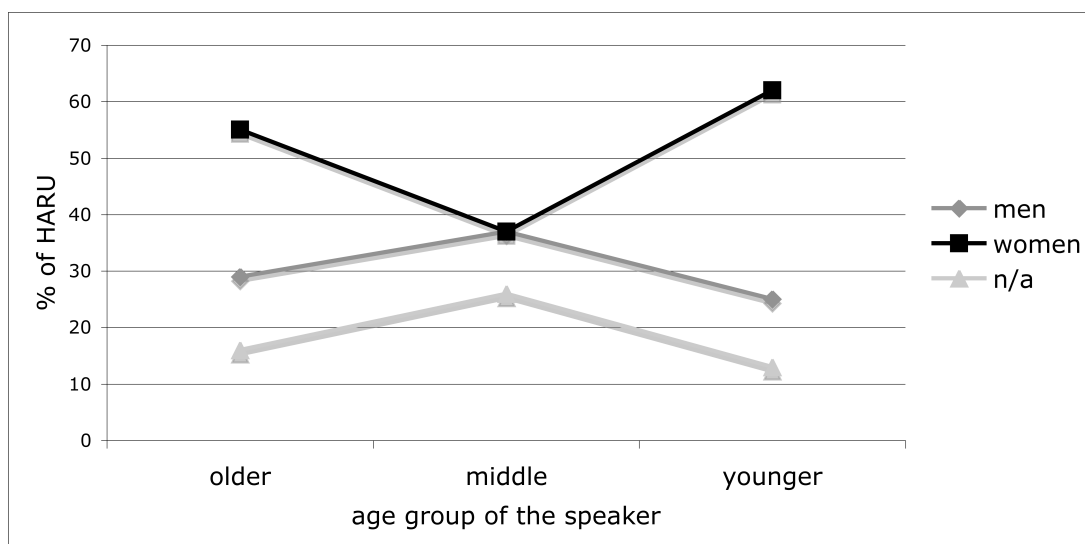


Figure 6.9. Distribution of HARU according to gender of the referent/ addressee, among three age cohorts of women

As we can see in Figures 6.8 and 6.9, both men and women use HARU more often for female referents. This suggests that gender difference in itself is not a defining factor, but rather that the form in addition to being female-preferred, is also more often used to address, or refer to, women.

The use of HARU by women is more varied, which may also be an artefact of the overall higher number of tokens of HARU found in women's

speech. Interestingly, women in the middle age cohort have the most balanced use of the form with regards to gender referent. Younger men, on the other hand, use the form predominantly for female referents. It seems then that while in general all of the speakers use the form more often to refer to women, it is the younger generation who do it to the greatest degree. It appears that both younger men and younger women have come to associate the form with female referents or addressees. Interestingly, while younger men are the ones who may be picking up the use of the form (and possibly recycling it), they use it 90% of the time to refer to or address women.

#### **6.2.4. Referent specificity**

Another factor included in the analysis was referent specificity, following from Okamoto's (1998) findings that HARU was used to address one customer, but not a group.

Figure 6.10 shows the relative distribution of HARU for different referents across age groups of speakers.

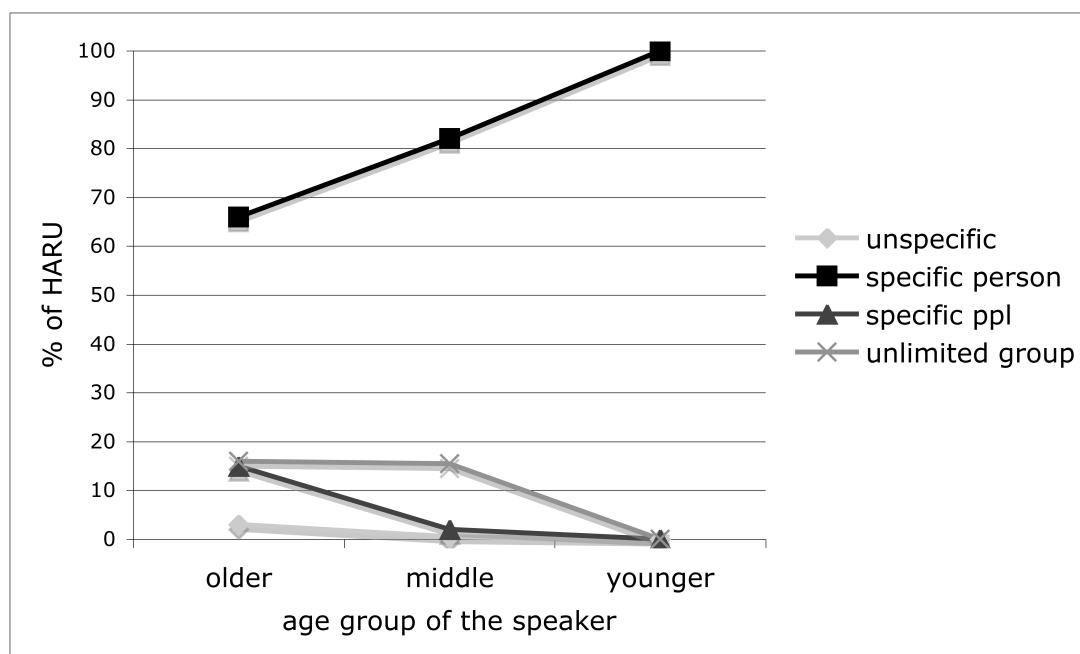


Figure 6.10. Distribution of HARU according to referent specificity, among three different age groups of speakers

While the results largely corroborate Okamoto's findings, we can also see that the preference for using HARU for a specific person increases over time, with younger speakers using the form only to refer to one specific person. Once again then, we can argue that the use of this form among younger speakers is becoming highly restricted and very specialized.

The ongoing change in the use of HARU towards a specific person, seems to be completed in the younger generation, who categorically use HARU for a single specific addressee. We can then see that it is not only the overall frequency of the forms that is changing, but also the functions it fulfils are undergoing a change. We have seen that the relative distribution of HARU with regards to the referent for which it is used is also changing over time, adding yet another dimension to the change we are observing. It appears that younger speakers have a much more restricted use of the form than the other two age cohorts do. If young OJ speakers use HARU, it is done

more often as a referent honorific for an addressee (rather than to refer to a third person), and only when the referent is a specific person. This supports some suggestions arising from a self-reported study of OJ features (Strycharz 2005), where a group of high-school students decreased the (reported) use of HARU to address over time, while the frequency of use of the form to refer remained largely the same. It is, as we have seen in Chapter 5, often used together with addressee honorification *desu/ masu*. Younger speakers use HARU for people they know and for strangers, who are usually older than themselves.

We have then seen that the change in the use of honorifics by young OJ speakers in informal interactions is taking place on a number of levels: their overall repertoire of forms is becoming much narrower than that of middle and older generations, as they only use two local suffixes: HARU and YORU; their use of HARU is becoming much more specialised, and resembles the patterns found in the use of SJ referent honorification. It appears that across the board, the use of referent honorification among younger speakers of OJ in informal interactions is becoming much more restricted. I will now focus in more detail on the external factors discussed in the first part of this chapter, to see whether these changes are significant. In the final discussion (6.3.2.7) I will return to the arguments that link the use of honorification in a given community with its social structure, and discuss how we can analyse the ongoing change seen among young OJ speakers with regards to the community they are living in.

### **6.3. Social factors constraining the use of HARU – multivariate analysis**

In the remainder of this chapter I will focus on the factors discussed above to see which of them significantly constrain the use of HARU. To do this, first I will establish whether there exist significant differences between the factors influencing the use of HARU versus other types of referent honorifics found in the Osaka I corpus. I will show that the best fit to the data is achieved by contrasting the use of only HARU and bare verbs in the final analysis. I will then discuss the results of multivariate analyses for all three age groups, and show how the use of HARU is changing over time with regards to the referent it is used for.

#### **6.3.1. Comparison of HARU versus bare verbs**

Speakers of OJ can draw on a number of resources, both local and standard, to express respect towards the referent of the utterance (who may be the addressee). While in theory a number of referent honorific suffixes are available to them, as we have seen in Table 6.2 the use of HARU overshadows the use of any other referent honorific in spontaneous, informal conversation. As this is the case, analysing the constraints on referent honorification with regards to the referent of the utterance (i.e. what qualities/ characteristics of the referent favour or disfavour the use of referent honorification) is indeed limited to comparing the use of HARU versus bare verbs. In this way we can

discuss what qualities of the referent influence the speakers' choice to use this local referent honorific.

In the next section I will discuss the factors which favour and disfavour the use of HARU. Factors included in the discussion are the same ones we have already analysed and discussed in the previous section, i.e. relative social position of the referent, referent familiarity, relative age, gender and referent specificity. I am also including the distinction between those utterances where the referent is at the same time the addressee, and those where the referent is a third person. This allows me to check whether the preference of younger men to use HARU to address rather than to refer (see Chapter 5, section 5.5.1.2) has a significant effect.

Before discussing the results and comparison across generations, I will check whether the comparison of HARU versus bare verbs only, leaving out all other honorific options, is statistically motivated. To do this I have conducted three separate multivariate analyses for each of the age cohorts. The runs included: (i) the comparison of all honorifics versus bare verbs, (ii) the comparison of HARU versus all other forms, i.e. bare verbs and other honorifics, and (iii) the comparison of HARU versus bare verbs only, leaving out all other honorific options. Results for all 3 comparisons for each of the age cohorts can be found in Appendix B.

A comparison of log likelihoods on each run shows that either there is a significantly better fit to the data achieved by leaving out all other referent honorific options (older and middle speakers), or that leaving out all other honorifics makes no difference whatsoever (younger speakers). The

comparison was done on the runs with factors combined to eliminate the knockouts for the younger speakers (see section 6.3.2 below).

Accordingly, the discussion in the next section is based on the analysis of factors that constrain the use of HARU (versus bare verbs only) across the three age cohorts of speakers.

### **6.3.2. Multivariate analysis of referent characteristics**

In this section I will discuss the results of the multivariate analyses of referent characteristics constraining the use of HARU among speakers from three age cohorts. Since, as we have seen in the previous section, the three generations in this community are differentiated with regards to how they use HARU, I will show the influence of all factors at different points in apparent time. I will discuss how the use of this local referent honorific changes across generations, focussing on the norms of its use that seem to be emerging for the youngest speakers.

Table 6.3 shows the contribution of all external factors (i.e. referent characteristics) to the probability of the use of HARU in the three age groups. All factors are included in the table. Since the number of tokens in the younger age group is low, there are a number of knockouts, which are eliminated in Table 6.4 (see below for the discussion). In the older generation of speakers, there was only one reference to a person who was of a lower social status, this was therefore excluded in the final analysis. The reference was made with a bare verb, i.e. without any honorific marking. Specificity of the referent is not applicable in the youngest generation, since, as we have

seen in the previous section, younger speakers use HARU only to refer to or address a single specific person.



Age cohort	Older Speakers			Middle Speakers			Younger Speakers		
Corrected mean			0.26			0.24			0.024
Log likelihood			-311.279			-296.965			-78.198
Total N			629			637			401
	f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N
<b>Relative social position</b>									
Higher	0.93	84.2	38	0.75	48.1	54	0.88	17.1	70
Lower	excluded		1	0.71	37.6	93	0.96	16.7	18
Unclear	0.46	25	590	0.43	22.2	490	0.35	5.1	313
Range	47			52			61		
<b>Familiarity</b>									
Close friends	0.66	41.5	82	0.38	24.1	212	0.15	3.6	169
People we know	0.66	39.3	248	0.65	40	140	0.88	22.1	104
Family	0.44	13	77	0.16	8	50	KO	0	23
Celebrities	0.35	15	40	0.26	7	43	KO	0	19
Strangers	0.31	18.5	168	0.71	30.4	161	0.76	2.7	73
Range	35			55			73		
<b>Relative age</b>									
Unclear	0.76	34.1	138	0.61	27.4	157	KO	0	63
Same	0.74	48	50	0.39	19.5	164	[0.64]	6	116
Younger	0.38	28.8	275	0.27	12.1	173	KO	0	22
Older	0.37	19.6	138	0.79	53.3	135	[0.42]	12	200
Range	39			52					
<b>Specificity</b>									
Specific singular	0.57	32.7	459	0.55	26.9	420		100%	
Unlimited group	0.41	20	135	0.38	19.3	135			
Unspecific	0.18	12.5	8	0.67	33.3	18			
Specific plural	0.09	7.4	28	0.59	39.1	64			
Range	48			29					
<b>Gender</b>									
Female	0.56	33.3	288	0.53	23.2	284	0.56	10.6	235
Male	0.4	29.1	175	0.44	36.6	164	0.32	8.2	73
Range	16			9			24		
<b>Referent</b>									
Same as addressee	[0.49]	25.9	464	[0.48]	27.5	483	0.7	12.2	131
Third person	[0.51]	36.1	166	[0.51]	24	154	0.4	5.6	270
Range							30		

Figure 6.3. The multivariate analysis of the contribution of external factors (referent characteristics) to the probability of the use of HARU in three age groups of OJ speakers.

Due to the low number of tokens, several factor groups were combined in the younger generation of speakers, to eliminate the knock outs. The decisions to combine factors were based on sociological and linguistic motivations. For familiarity of the referent, I combined family and close friends, and celebrities and strangers. For the relative age, I decided to combine younger and same age referents into one category. The younger generation are people aged between 18 and 25, and, with few exceptions, it was rare that the people they talked about were significantly younger than themselves. Older people and referents of unclear age were also combined into one category. This, however, still did not change the result, namely that the referent age factor is not significant in this age group.

Table 6.4 shows the results of this multivariate analysis. Only significant factor groups are presented in Table 6.4, and the order of factors is kept for each of the age groups. In the following sections I will discuss the factors significantly constraining the use of HARU, and show how the function of this local suffix is changing across generations. As I have already suggested in the previous section, I will argue that the younger generation of OJ speakers use HARU in a very restricted way. To do this, I will discuss each of the referent characteristics selected as significant, and look at their contribution to the probability of HARU in each of the age groups. I will also discuss the ordering of factors that seems to be changing across generations.

Older Speakers				Middle Speakers				Younger Speakers			
Corrected mean	0.26			Corrected mean	0.24			Corrected mean	0.03		
Log likelihood	-311.279			Log likelihood	-296.965			Log likelihood	-74.249		
Total N	629			Total N	637			Total N	347		
	f.w.	%	N		f.w.	%	N		f.w.	%	N
<b>Relative social position</b>				<b>Relative age</b>				<b>Familiarity</b>			
Higher	0.93	84.2	38	Older	0.79	53.3	135	People we know	0.88	22.8	101
Unclear	0.46	25	591	Unclear	0.61	27.4	157	Strangers & celebrities	0.87	3.7	54
Range	47			Same	0.39	19.5	164	Close friends & family	0.17	3.2	190
<b>Familiarity</b>				Younger	0.27	12.1	173	Range	71		
Close friends	0.66	41.5	82	Range	52			<b>Relative social position</b>			
People we know	0.66	39.3	248	<b>Relative social position</b>				Lower	0.97	16.7	18
Family	0.44	13	77	Higher	0.75	48.1	54	Higher	0.92	17.1	70
Celebrities	0.35	15	40	Lower	0.71	37.6	93	Unclear	0.29	6.2	259
Strangers	0.31	18.5	168	Unclear	0.43	22.2	490	Range	68		
Range	35			Range	32			<b>Gender</b>			
<b>Relative age</b>				<b>Familiarity</b>				Female	0.55	10.7	233
Unclear	0.76	34.1	138	Strangers	0.71	30.4	161	Male	0.33	8.6	70
Same	0.74	48	50	People we know	0.65	40	140	Range	22		
Younger	0.38	28.8	275	Close friends	0.38	24.1	212	<b>Referent</b>			
Older	0.37	19.6	138	Celebrities	0.26	7	43	Same as addressee	0.7	12.5	128
Range	39			Family	0.16	8	50	Third person	0.38	6.8	219
<b>Specificity</b>				Range	55			Range	32		
Specific singular	0.57	32.7	459	<b>Specificity</b>							
Unlimited group	0.41	20	135	Unspecific	0.67	33.3	18				
Unspecific	0.18	12.5	8	Specific plural	0.59	39.1	64				
Specific plural	0.09	7.4	28	Specific singular	0.55	26.9	420				
Range	48			Unlimited group	0.38	19.3	135				
<b>Gender</b>				Range	29						
Female	0.56	33.3	288	<b>Gender</b>							
Male	0.4	29.1	175	Female	0.53	23.2	284				
Range	16			Male	0.44	36.6	164				
				Range	9						

Table 6.4. The multivariate analysis of the contribution of external factors (referent characteristics) to the probability of the use of HARU in three age groups of OJ speakers, only significant factors included.

An issue that becomes apparent in looking at the results of multivariate analyses is that of interactions that occur in several of the factor groups. The interactions are visible in different ordering of factor weights and percentages. These interactions suggest that the effects in each specific factor group may actually be a combination of more than one external factor (that is, that it is not necessarily the contribution of familiarity alone, but rather a more complex interaction between familiarity and other external factors). However, for the purpose of comparison across age cohorts, the factor groups are left unchanged. While interpreting the results we need therefore to bear in mind the interactions present especially analysing familiarity.

#### **6.3.2.1. Relative social position**

Relative social position of the referent is the factor consistently significant and highly ranking across all three generations (first in older and younger age cohorts, and second in middle age cohort). This result is in line with prescriptive norms and expectations that honorifics are features that grammatically encode social status difference (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987). This suggests that among the younger generation of speakers, while HARU is said to be indexing locality (see Chapter 5, section 5.5.4), the honorific function of the suffix, indexing social distance (cf. Figure 5.6 in Chapter 5), is still an important underlying constraint. Interestingly, however, while the majority of previous research suggests that honorifics are used to encode higher social status of the referent or addressee, the use of HARU does not

reflect this. In both middle and younger age cohorts, speakers use HARU to mark status difference, regardless of whether the status of the person referred to is higher or lower (the interaction of higher and lower status of the referent found in younger age cohort – represented by the mismatch in percentages and factor weights for those two factors – suggests some skewing in the data, as discussed above; however, it still points significantly to the high contribution of status difference between the interactants as an important factor contributing to the use of HARU). As we can see in Table 6.4 both higher and lower social position of the referent are factors that highly favour the use of HARU. Once again, this may suggest that since it is not the place on the social ladder, but rather the difference between the self and the other that is being marked, this might be another way in which speakers of Osaka Japanese conceptualise the distinctions between *uchi* and *soto*, and HARU is seen as a linguistic device for marking this distinction.

While without a doubt it is the case that there is a high degree of creative (in Silverstein's terms) use of HARU among speakers of all generations, it appears that even in relatively informal contexts, if there is some clear indication of difference in the social status, it will strongly influence the probability of the use HARU among speakers of all ages.

### **6.3.2.2. Familiarity**

Focussing on the degree of familiarity, there are two visible changes across time: the use of HARU towards strangers and close friends.

With regards to strangers, there is a strong disavouring effect in the older generation. Taking into account their sociolinguistic background, and the situation of OJ when they were in full-time education (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2), we may assume that this generation of speakers is more likely to use SJ honorification, rather than OJ honorification, towards strangers. This has also come across in their overt comments. It is also important to note that this generation of speakers overall has had little contact with speakers from outside of Osaka, and so in their interactions with other people (even those with strangers) I have suggested that locality is something that is most likely taken for granted, as all of their networks are situated within Osaka. While the locally networked people are those with networks in the local community, and non-locally networked people have networks outside it, it is nonetheless unusual for this age cohort to have networks outside the city. For these speakers, as we have seen, HARU is also not linked in any explicit way with indexing local identity.

The middle generation of speakers begin to use HARU to refer to strangers (note, however, that the relative strength of this factor group is less than in the younger generation), and in the younger generation of speakers the degree of familiarity becomes the most important predictor of whether or not the speakers will use HARU, with strangers highly favouring its use. I am therefore suggesting that, knowing what kinds of meanings are indexed by HARU among the younger generation of OJ speakers, their use of this form towards strangers can be interpreted as a way of self-presentation. As the form is strongly linked with local identity, this locality is underlined in interactions with strangers in this generation. Since their networks are much

wider and much looser, and since there is much more mobility and contact between speakers of different varieties, we can argue that young OJ speakers use HARU when addressing strangers (as seen on Figure 6.6) as a way of claiming or asserting their local identity. This local identity can no longer be taken for granted. As we have seen in Chapter 5, young people who use the form are those who identify themselves with Osaka. We can therefore suggest that their use of the form towards strangers reinforces the argument from Chapter 5 that younger people see HARU as indexing local identity.

Another type of referent that seems to be changing its effect on the use of HARU over time is the category of close friend. The contribution of this factor to the probability of the use of HARU is declining steadily. For the older generation of speakers, the utterances with close friend as a referent strongly favour the use of HARU, with probability weightings for both close friend and people they know at 0.66. We can see the beginning of the change on the middle generation of speakers, who disfavour the use of HARU for close friends ( $p=0.38$ ), and a further step in this change when we look at the younger speakers, where probability weighting drops down to 0.17.

We can interpret this change as a reflection of the larger social changes in the Japanese society. It has been suggested that younger generations of speakers overall prefer plain forms from the use of honorifics, and that they use fewer honorific features than older generations (cf. Okamoto 1997). This may be seen as a reflection of the introduction of more egalitarian values into the society. The use of honorifics (also local honorifics) to address or refer to close friends may be seen as the introduction of unnecessary distance between the interactants. Thus honorification among younger speakers is

never used towards friends or family, but is reserved for people they know (but not too well) and strangers.

We can also interpret these two changes (the way strangers and close friends are being treated) as related. If we assume that indeed among the speakers of the older generation SJ honorifics are used to refer to strangers, while OJ honorifics are used to refer to close friends and people we know, this would mean that the formality continuum of SJ honorifics > OJ honorifics > no honorifics is also applied to the specific referents. In other words, most formal speech is used with strangers (SJ honorifics), less formal with friends and people we know (OJ honorifics) and least formal with family (no honorifics). This is not a surprising finding. Since members of the younger age cohort started using HARU to address strangers, a strong disavouring effect for close friends may be seen as a change related to it. Since they are now using OJ referent honorific for strangers, there seems to be a need to differentiate between the way strangers and friends are referred to or addressed. If in the older generation this was done by switching from SJ to OJ honorifics, in the younger generation it seems to be done by switching from OJ honorifics to using plain forms. SJ honorifics are not found in the recordings of the younger speakers, which might suggest they are reserved for more formal situations, and again possibly support the use of SJ and OJ honorifics as functionally differentiated features of a single system, rather than belonging to two distinct systems. Informal observations suggest that indeed this is so, however more research needs to be done to fully support this finding. We can then again suggest that SJ honorifics and OJ honorifics (and indeed, plain forms) need to be seen on a continuum of functionally



different features in all generations of OJ speakers. While the functions of these forms seem to be changing over time, there is no evidence that suggests they are treated as belonging to separate linguistic systems by any of the generations. This favouring effect for strangers may also provide an explanation for the preference of the use of HARU with addressee honorification, as we have seen in Chapter 5.

### **6.3.2.3. Age of the referent**

Age of the referent was shown as a significant factor in the older and middle age cohort, but not so in the younger group of speakers. There is a consistent disfavoured effect for utterances where the referent is younger than the speaker herself for both middle and older age cohorts, which is a trend in the direction predicted by normative accounts. The remaining categorisations of the referent age, however, for the speakers in the older generation and those in the middle generation may not be comparable across the two age cohorts. For the older age group, it is a complex task to actually assign referents or addressees between those in the same age group as the speakers, and those in the older age group than the speakers themselves. Apart from the obvious examples, like talking about one's mother for instance, it is not entirely clear whether my understanding of these two categories (the same age and older) overlaps with the way speakers conceptualise them. In other words, while Hiroko is 63 and Makoto is 71, it is hard to tell whether they perceive this difference as meaningful, and whether Hiroko actually perceives Makoto as older or as someone in her age group. This ambiguity exists to a much lesser

degree in the middle and younger generation, where speakers can actually be talking to someone from an older generation.

Thus, while both older and middle speakers don't use the form for referents younger than themselves, the remaining age groups of the referent aren't comparable across generations.

#### **6.3.2.4. Gender of the referent**

In the various discussions of honorifics gender is the factor that has always been seen as influencing the use of these forms, in one way or another. Most notably, it has been suggested that high use of honorific features (both local and standard) is characteristic of women's speech. I have shown that indeed women use local honorifics to a greater degree than men do (Chapter 5). As far as gender of the referent is concerned, I have followed Martin's suggestion that sex difference may influence the use of honorification, presumably in such a way that men will use honorifics more towards women, and vice versa. While this again could be interpreted as yet another way of conceptualising the in-/out-group boundaries being maintained and re-created, the effect found in my database does not support this hypothesis. Overall, for all generations (and, as we have seen in section 6.2.3 above, for both genders) it appears that speakers are more likely to use HARU when the referent of the utterance is a woman.

However, while gender is selected as significant for all of the age cohorts, note that in the middle generation the percentages show an opposite effect to the factor weighting. If we considered only percentages for this age

group, the conclusion may be that they in fact favour the use of HARU for male referents, which is proved to be otherwise in the statistical analysis. For all of the age groups while female referent is selected as favouring the use of HARU, it always hovers around 0.50. These observations suggest that there may be interactions of gender with other external factors, and that this may not be a real gender effect, but again rather an outcome of a combination of factors that include gender.

#### **6.2.3.5. Specificity and referent as addressee**

Specificity of the referent is a factor significantly constraining the use of HARU in both older and middle generations. Factor groups selected as significant, however, are different for the two groups. For the older generation it is only specific singular person that favours the use of HARU, while for the speakers in the middle age cohort HARU is disfavoured only in utterances with unlimited group (e.g. 'the Chinese') as the referent. The younger generation only ever use the form for a specific singular referent.

Once again this supports the argument that younger people seem to have highly restricted and very specific use of HARU. While in the two older age cohorts the form can be found across utterances with different referents (singular, plural and groups), younger speakers only use it in those utterances where the referent is a specific person.

This trend is also seen in the factor group that was selected as significant only among the younger generation of speakers: addressee as referent. While both middle and older generations of speakers use HARU both

to address and to refer to a third person, younger generation of speakers prefer to use the form in utterances where the referent is also the addressee. This constraint emerges in the younger age group. Its lowest ranking may be linked to it being a new constraint on the use of HARU.

This trend seen among younger people is in line with some research on SJ referent honorifics (Yamaji 2000, 2008). In her research on the addressee-oriented nature of referent honorifics Yamaji shows that referent honorifics are rarely used for socially distant third parties. She also discusses a high correlation of referent honorifics and addressee honorifics in naturally occurring interactions, and thus proposed that the two kinds of honorification are actually interdependent (Yamaji 2000:203), rather than independent from one another as has been previously suggested. This is the trend we are observing with regards to the use of HARU (i.e. local honorific) among the younger speakers of OJ.

#### **6.3.2.6. Change in progress and the emerging pattern of the use of HARU: social changes, democratization and the modern values**

Looking at the use of HARU at different points in apparent time, I have shown several aspects of the change in progress. While overall the use of honorifics, both local and standard, is declining (as we have seen in Chapters 4 and 5), there is an indication that the younger men may possibly be recycling (Dubois & Horvath 1999) the local referent honorific suffix HARU. We have seen this both in their use of the form (Chapter 5, Figure 5.1) and in their overt comments (Chapter 5, section 5.5.4.1). I have also suggested (both

here and in previous chapters) that this decrease can be attributed to the use of this form changing over time.

I have shown, however, that the change we are observing is not only with respect to the frequency of use of HARU, but also with respect to the functions it is linked with. I have discussed that the younger age group of OJ speakers have a highly restricted and specialised use of the form. While some of the functions remain the same (HARU is used consistently for referents whose social position is different than that of the speaker), there are a number of observable ongoing changes that seem to be nearing completion in the younger generation of speakers. We have observed an increasing disfavouring effect towards the use of HARU when referring to friends. This can be tied with the more global changes taking place in the Japanese society. The introduction of more egalitarian values and western influences in the post-war Japan are often embraced by the younger generations. The preference for plain forms with friends can be seen as one reflection of those changes. At the same time, when younger people are beginning to use local honorifics for strangers (where older generations do not use OJ forms, but possibly employ SJ honorifics), they drop the use of SJ honorifics in informal interactions altogether. Once again this supports the hypothesis that all of the available OJ and SJ referent honorifics need to be seen as a continuum of variants, rather than two entirely separate independent systems, where the forms are used independently from each other. The changes observed in the use and function of one of the forms may thus be affecting the use of other referent honorifics. The lack of SJ honorifics in the speech of the younger age cohort is not surprising, since the use of SJ honorification among older and

middle speakers is already very low. This lower use of honorification for friends may also be seen as one aspect of ongoing democratisation. Inoue (1999) discussed democratisation in terms of changing the rules of honorification – while in the older generations the use of honorification was governed by more objectively observable factors, reflecting larger macro-sociological categories (mostly social position of the addressee), younger people seem to be reanalysing the rules of honorification and applying them along different axes. In Inoue's discussion, we can see that in the speech of younger generations psychological distance comes to the fore as the governing factor in the use of honorification. This has already been brought to attention by Ikuta (1983) in the discussion of TV shows.

Analysing the use of HARU in this database, we can see a different trend, which can nonetheless be understood also in similar terms, that is as some form of response towards the arising social pressures, and social changes. Since the use of the local honorific suffix was analysed against the same set of external factors (referent/ addressee characteristics), we can observe changes not across categories (like in Inoue's discussion), but a different contribution of categories (referent characteristics) to the use of this feature. Since age of the referent is no longer a factor significantly contributing to the use of HARU, we can argue that in informal interactions age does not play a role as important in understanding and reaffirming social hierarchy for the younger generation of speakers, as it does for the older and middle age cohort. This is especially interesting since we are dealing with a society where seniority system is deeply rooted in e.g. the workplace (e.g. Hendry 2003), and where Confucian filial piety (*oyakookoo* in Japanese) and

respecting elders has been the cornerstone of the social organization. It has been suggested, however, that changes taking place in the Japanese society, especially more recently, question these ideas.

One important aspect of the social changes is seen in the decrease of the multigenerational households, and increase in the number of nuclear families throughout Japan (Hashimoto & Ikels 2005). The old ways, where multigenerational households required three, sometimes four, generations to coexist and find ways in which the power in the household will be divided, are now rarely seen in most of Japan. Thus, the younger generations of speakers no longer interact with elders (not only grandparents, but also parents) in their households on a daily basis, limiting not only their interactions in terms of frequency, but also possibly requiring a new way of interacting across generations. The hierarchy in the household, based on the age of household members, is no longer a daily reality for any of the younger speakers in my sample.

While seniority system can still be seen to a certain degree as the norm in the workplace, some argue its prevalence 'collapsed when the Japanese economy collapsed' (Smith 2006:78). For the younger speakers, it may then be that all of these changes feed into the understanding of themselves in relation to older people, as well as their mutual relationships. While this is not to say that the notion of *oyakookoo* 'filial piety' has disappeared (Hashimoto & Ikels 2005), it is definitely understood differently, with the more democratic values bringing the value of the individual rather than that of mutual interrelationships, to the fore (Maeda 2004). One facet of this can

perhaps be seen in the disappearance of age as a significant factors contributing to the use of HARU, as we have observed in Table 6.4.

The suggestion that the rules of honorification are changing is an important one, as it points to the fact that on some level we can see the use of honorifics across generations as a way of responding to changes on the level of society as a whole (see also Agha 2002 for a discussion on continuous historical existence of honorifics). Looking at the decreasing use of OJ honorifics (and possibly also SJ honorifics), we can then argue that the values connected with their use, values that traditional Japanese society was built on, are changing, and that these changes are in some way mirrored in the pattern of use of honorifics. We have already seen this happening in the past (see the quote from Shibatani in section 6.1.1), and it is conceivable that, even though the changes taking place currently are perhaps more subtle than the abrupt end of social class system, or a sudden change in the way the country was organised, they do nonetheless produce social pressures and change social values, and, what inevitably follows, attitudes towards these values.

For the younger generation of speakers, it appears that a number of changes are either complete or nearing completion with regards to the use of HARU. They use the form only to address a specific person (this is categorical), someone whose social status is different than their own, and who is not a close friend or family member. The number of factors significantly constraining the use of this local honorific is also much more restricted than in the older and middle generation, again suggesting a narrowing and specialisation of the use of HARU. I have also suggested that while the honorific function of HARU is still retained in the younger



generation, its connection with certain local identities has also come to the fore, allowing for it to be used more often as an important tool for self-presentation. The young men in my database who have used this form, are all very aware of their local identity, and ready to talk about it and defend its value. They all talk about themselves as standing in opposition to the mainstream society, as being “different”. Their use of a local honorific form is therefore best seen as indeed different from that of the older members of this community – we have now seen this change in the changing frequency of use, new emerging indexicalities, and also functions of the form, all of which illustrate different levels of change.

#### **6.4. Conclusions**

In this chapter I have taken a referent-centered perspective on the analysis of the use of HARU in the database. Comparing the same set of factors across three generations I was able to infer the changes observable when we look at the apparent time picture. In the discussion I included the social factors pointed to in previous research, such as sex of the referent, relative age, relative social position and familiarity, adding to it referent specificity (as noted for this specific feature by Okamoto 1998), and the distinction between third-person referent and addressee. A number of observed changes have been discussed with reference to the social changes taking place in the community.

I have noted that the changes we are observing seem to be leading to the high degree of narrowing of the function of HARU, as seen in its use

among the speakers in the younger age cohort. All of the changes discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate the ongoing change in the use of this local honorific. This change is best seen as tied with the changes taking place in Japanese society as a whole (ongoing democratisation, change of values), but also locally. We have to remember about the different approaches to local varieties that the different age cohorts were faced with, the increasing popularity of OJ, the loosening of local network ties. All of these may have influenced the use and perceptions of the local honorifics.

## Chapter 7

### 7. Conclusion

In this study I have investigated the variation and change in the use of referent honorifics among three generations of speakers of Osaka Japanese. I have focussed first on describing all of the options for referent honorification available to the speakers, and I have situated them within a broader linguistic context by looking at their co-occurrence with other marked local and standard features. I then proceeded to focus on the single referent honorific suffix HARU, providing a more detailed, multidisciplinary analysis of the use of this feature, drawing on methods of interpretation that afford us a range of different angles from which we can view the variable. I used both quantitative and qualitative methods, supported by ethnographic observations during my fieldwork to demonstrate that we are observing a change in progress in the use of HARU, combined with an effect of age-grading. Drawing on almost 38 hours of recorded conversations, I have argued that the changes can be seen in the functions of the feature used across generations, and on the level of the grammar from the perspective of the referent with whom this local suffix correlates, what is its relationship

with addressee honorification *desu/-masu* is and whether it is used to refer to a third person or to address the interlocutor.

In this chapter I will first provide a summary of the findings discussed throughout this dissertation. To do this I will return to the research questions proposed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4), and provide a brief discussion of each of the questions, followed by a synthesis of the findings. I will then discuss the implications of this study, followed by a note on both the limitations of this study, and the directions for possible future investigation. I will finish with some concluding remarks.

## **7.1. Overview of the results**

Throughout the discussion in this dissertation I have discussed the various aspects of variation and change in the use of local honorifics. To provide a full synthesis of the results, I will first revisit the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. With these questions in mind I will then provide a synthesis of the findings.

### **7.1.1. Research questions revisited**

In Chapter 1, I introduced the main research question:

- 1) What is the distribution and what are the functions of local referent honorifics among three generations of users of Osaka Japanese?

In order to answer this question I first focussed on investigating all of the referent honorific options available to OJ users, and then focussed on one of the local referent honorific suffixes HARU for a detailed analysis. The research questions I addressed in the course of this dissertation are:

### **Referent honorifics used by OJ speakers**

- 2) What referent honorific options are used by OJ speakers in informal interactions? What is their distribution and function?
- 3) Are these referent honorifics best analysed as separate features with discrete functions and categories, or do they belong to a larger continuum and are thus interdependent?
- 4) Is there a change over time in the use of all/ any of the forms? If yes, which ones and towards what?

### **Variation and change in the use of HARU**

- 5) What is the distribution of HARU across different populations of speakers? Which social factors constrain its use?
- 6) What social meanings are indexed by HARU? Are these meanings homogenous across all groups of speakers?
- 7) Can we identify a change in progress in the use of HARU?
- 8) If there is change, what is the nature of this change? Can we observe change in the frequency of the use of HARU? In the meanings it indexes? In the external factors (referent characteristics) that contribute to its use?

In answering these questions I took a multidisciplinary approach to analyse data collected using recorded interviews supplemented by ethnographic observations. I will now provide a brief synthesis of the findings, bearing in mind the research questions reviewed in this section.

### **7.1.2. Synthesis of the findings**

In analysing the use and functions of referent honorifics in informal conversations of three generations of OJ users, I first provided an overview of all the forms (both SJ and OJ), with a closer look at both their frequency of use and their functions in interactions, as well as their linguistic environment (Chapter 4). I have shown that all referent honorifics (both SJ and OJ) are used very sporadically, and the only exception to this is HARU, which overshadows the use of all other referent honorific features. The use of HARU accounts for 85% of all referent honorifics used in the whole corpus. I have also observed that the frequency of the use of all referent honorifics is steadily decreasing across generations, with the exception of younger locally networked men. The decreasing frequency of use of features across three generations led me to suggest that the pattern we are observing might be caused by a combination of a change in progress with age grading. This supports, to a certain degree, some suggestions by previous researchers (e.g. Okamoto 1997) that the use of honorifics is indeed lower among younger generations. The exception to this in our dataset is the use of local honorifics by youngest generation of locally networked young men, who may be beginning to recycle (Dubois & Horvath 1999) this particular feature.

Interestingly, the decrease in the use of forms is visible not only in the drop in overall frequency, but in the decrease in the diversity of forms. While older speakers make use of all available referent honorific forms, employing both OJ and SJ variants, the only referent honorifics that are found in the speech of the younger age cohort are two local suffixes HARU and YORU. Following this overview, I investigated the co-occurrence of these forms with other marked local and standard variants. In so doing, I have shown high degree of code-mixing present in the speech of OJ users, visible on various levels of linguistic structure (lexicon, morphology and syntax). I analysed how OJ and SJ referent honorifics correlate with other marked local and standard variants (cf. Okamoto 2008). The high degree of mixing I have found suggests the two varieties are better seen on a continuum, rather than as two discrete codes (cf. also Makihara 2004). Based on these findings, I argued that in the same way, referent honorific features available to OJ users are better analysed as points on a continuum, rather than either completely independent features with separate functions and trajectories, or variants belonging to two discrete codes (SJ and OJ). To support this argument, I then proceeded to analyse the functions of each of the referent honorific options and shown that there is no significant overlap. Each of the referent honorifics fulfils a different interactional role, and where the functions are seen as overlapping, a change is likely to occur. We have seen this with the case of YARU, where speakers abandoned its use altogether, as HARU seems to have overtaken the function of marking respect and positive evaluation of the referent and his or her actions. I have shown that SJ referent honorifics are often used for giving instructions, and actions that constitute teacher-like

behaviour (cf. Cook 1996, 1999). OJ referent honorific suffix YORU is used mainly to express negative evaluation of referent's actions, while HARU has come to be used as a multifunctional suffix. Since I have argued that the referent honorifics need to be seen as interdependent features that belong to a larger OJ-SJ continuum, the changes in the frequency, use and interactional functions affecting one feature, are likely to be linked with changes in other forms as well. I returned to this point again in the discussion of the functions of HARU, and showed that changes in the use of HARU may be related to changes in the use of other referent honorifics. To further support these observations more investigations would be needed, and especially we would need to have more information on the choice of relevant features in more formal interactions.

Having answered the first set of research questions (2-4), I then moved on to analyse in more depth the use of HARU. While the decision to focus on one single feature may be seen as limiting, I believe this kind of analysis is much needed, as it can (i) give us an opportunity to conduct a very detailed analysis, that draws on a number of different approaches, and (ii) be a starting point for further discussions that may incorporate other features as well. The analysis of HARU I have conducted has two distinct parts: a speaker-centred analysis, and a referent-centred analysis. In Chapter 5, I focussed on the use of HARU in the different populations of speakers. In Chapter 4 I had suggested the possible change in progress in the use of all referent honorifics. In Chapter 5, I argued that there is indeed a change in the use of HARU, with a decrease of the frequency of use that can be seen across generations in some cohorts of speakers. The exception to this is a group of



younger men with local networks, who use HARU more than locally networked men from the middle and older age groups. I suggested that one way of analysing this interesting pattern may be related to the local changes in the perceptions of, and attitudes to the local variety – OJ. The pattern we are observing might be an indication of the younger men ‘recycling’ the form (Dubois & Horvath 1999), and using it to index a different social meaning. To further argue for this possibility I analysed social meanings indexed by this form, and traced how they are changing across groups of speakers. As HARU is a feature above the level of phonology, such an account needed necessarily to take into consideration also the referential meaning of this feature. I discussed how new meanings emerge over time, adding to the ‘indexical field’ (Eckert 2008) of HARU. The fact that HARU is both a local feature (thus often linked with solidarity, or in-group marking) and an honorific (therefore potentially linked with distance or out-group marking) adds to its complexity, but also to the potential range of meanings it can be used to index. I showed that while for older speakers the feature may be seen as indexing politeness, perhaps distance, but also solidarity and evoking a joking key, for the younger generations it has come to be linked with specific local persona (*Osaka-no obachan*) or local identity (‘funny’, ‘cool’). In so doing, I have shown, following Johnstone and Kiesling (2008), that one feature can index multiple meanings in one speech community, depending on the experience and shared history of a given group. I have also suggested that the use of the form and the changes we are observing might be linked to the changes in the ideologies surrounding the feature – while it is possible that female speakers from the older and middle age groups use this form to

create a feminine and cultivated persona, it appears to index a different set of value for the younger women. The pattern we are observing is therefore an outcome of a number of factors intertwined with each other – different ideologies, changing perceptions of both local variety and local honorifics, different styles speakers are utilizing and a variety of functions the feature is seen to perform in interactions.

With regards to the changing grammar of this form, I have shown that over time we can see different trends of its use emerging. We have seen increasing use of HARU with addressee honorification over time, with men leading this change. This pattern (referent honorific with a verbal addressee honorific suffix) is used by older OJ speakers more often with SJ referent honorifics. I have argued that this convergence of rules, where speakers seem to be applying the rule they use for SJ referent honorific to OJ referent honorifics, is a subtle form of standardization.

In Chapter 6, I further pursued investigating the change in the use of HARU, this time focussing on the referent it correlates with, as well as whether it is used to refer or to address. Using first distributional analysis, further supported by multivariate analysis, I investigated external factors, i.e. characteristic of the referent, that contribute to the probability of the use of HARU. To focus on the ongoing change in the use of the form, I selected a set of features pointed to by previous researchers, and tested for their contribution across three generations of speakers. This part of the analysis revealed that the use of HARU among the younger speakers is becoming highly restricted and very specialised. Several changes were observed, namely: (i) the decreasing use of this local honorific towards friends, (ii) the

use of form only to address a specific person (singular) in the younger generation, (iii) the significant contribution of age in the middle and older generations disappears in the younger generation. The most important factor contributing to the use of HARU was found to be social position of the referent, which was selected as highly significant across all age cohorts.

In explaining the patterns observed, I have argued that the changes in the younger speakers may be partly attributed to the social changes. As honorifics are relational features, reflecting perceived relationship between the interactants, it is not surprising that with the increasing democratisation, the use of honorifics is becoming restricted. Interestingly, while younger people associate the feature overtly with local identity (as we have seen in Chapter 5), it is clear that its honorific value of HARU is still strong, as the most significant constraint on its use among younger speakers is social position.

At various points in the discussion in this dissertation I have also made use of the local concept of *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' to show that, on an interactional level, the use of honorifics versus plain forms, as well as local versus standard, is often a way of positioning oneself vis-à-vis some *alter* – be it the interlocutor, or the referent. While for overall patterns of variation and change quantitative sociolinguistics seemed to provide most suitable tools, in order to understand certain motivations for this variation in use of the form, I looked at the meanings emerging in interactions. This combined approach gave me a much fuller understanding of how this form functions in the community.

## 7.2. Limitations and directions for future research

There are several ways in which the discussions and analyses presented in this dissertation can be developed further. I will now look at the limitations of the current study, and ways in which it could be further developed.

This study was designed to provide an analysis of the local referent honorifics. As I have already discussed in the beginning of this dissertation, there seems to be no agreement as to what contexts may be 'appropriate' for these features to occur. The context I found most suitable were informal conversations between people who were relatively familiar with each other. This, naturally, brings up questions about other contexts, such as conversations between strangers, or other semi-formal contexts, such as e.g. service encounters. Analysing a wider array of situations would possibly provide us with a larger scope of use of features, and perhaps also the possibility of analysing more occurrences of SJ referent honorifics. I had no opportunity for recording conversations among strangers, and chose not to pursue such possibility. Such conversations would need to be set in a specific context (see e.g. the study of first-time encounters by Yamaji), which may limit the possibility of the use of local honorifics, and increase the use of SJ forms. This was also a task which would bring its own ethical limitations, as well as the question of dealing with the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972). I therefore decided to only limit the study to interactions between people who had previously met (and who had also previously met me).

In her analysis of service encounters Okamoto (1998) has shown a wide variation in the use of SJ and OJ honorifics, with numerous instances of

OJ honorifics. Okamoto recorded the interactions partly on tape and partly in the form of notes. As one of the goals of the current discussion was a systematic analysis of interactions, I decided to use audio recordings only to have access to longer conversations. While I initially attempted to record sales talk, this proved to be an ethically difficult task, and was thus abandoned. Thus, a further way of developing an understanding of how OJ and SJ honorifics function would call for designing a study in a different context.

A different question arose in discussions with my friends in Osaka, some of whom are very interested in the results of the current study. Their query concerned children and their use of honorifics. The youngest speakers in my sample were 18 years old. The sample was so designed with the intention of including adult speakers only. During the year I worked in kindergarten in 2006-2007 I had an opportunity to observe and listen to children at play, but did not have a chance to record any of the interactions. Very little work has been done that would analyse the use of honorifics by children. One interesting aspect of such a study would be the investigation of sociolinguistic competence (Hymes 1972; Canale & Swain 1980) with regards to the use of honorification (also local honorification) in children of different ages. In her study of addressee honorification, Cook (1997) analysed the use of *-masu* form (verbal addressee honorific suffix) among children and their caregivers, showing that the concept most useful in understanding these interactions was the presentation of self. She argued that this is visible in the use of *-masu* by children, and that this self-presentation is an important aspect of socializing children in the use of honorifics later on in life. Fukuda

(2005) argued that by the age of 3 children acquire some form of sociocultural knowledge regarding honorifics, apparent in their use of addressee honorification in child-child interactions. This brings up interesting question for the use of local honorifics: How are children socialised in the use of local forms? When do they acquire these forms, and how do they function in child-caregiver and child-child interactions? All of these issues fall outside the scope of the present study, but are definitely questions to be addressed in the future. There are no studies, to the best of my knowledge, which would analyse the use of local honorifics in the speech of children.

Another aspect that definitely would benefit from future research is the investigation of attitudes and perceptions of local honorific forms. Wetzel (1994) has already pointed out that this is an interesting field of enquiry, considering the overt attitudes of the speakers towards those who use honorifics. I have shown some similar attitudes (i.e. low regard for the non-users of honorifics) in some extracts in this dissertation. In her matched guise test, Wetzel (1994) has shown that with regards to SJ honorification, speakers are seen as more educated, refined etc. when they use honorifics correctly, but also when they attempt to use them and fail (making grammatical mistakes), than those speakers who do not use honorifics at all. Much needed next step is therefore a study that would look at the perceptions of standard and local honorifics, across an age-graded sample of speakers. I hope to be able to get involved in such a study in the future.

### **7.3. Concluding remarks**

In recent years we have seen a considerable interest in Japanese honorification, with numerous ways of approaching the subject. On a number of levels, this phenomenon is fascinating both linguistically and socially, and with the changes in the Japanese society we are witnessing today, studies of honorification are timely. In my endeavour to investigate local honorification, I have therefore attempted to shed light on both linguistic and social aspects of their use.

In the process of analysing various aspects of the change in the use of local honorifics, I have uncovered both more general patterns of their use, and meaning that are significant in the local context. I hope that this study has provided a contribution to the fields of Japanese studies and Japanese dialectology, as well as to sociolinguistics in a more general sense.

## **Appendices**

## **Appendix A: Glossing and transcribing conventions**

### **Glossing conventions and abbreviations used in the dissertation**

ACC – accusative

AH – addressee honorific

CONT – continuative



COP – copula  
DAT – dative  
GEN – genitive  
HORT – hortative  
NEG – negation  
NOM – nominative  
NOMI – nominaliser  
OJ – Osaka Japanese  
PART – particle  
PAST – past tense ending  
PROGR – progressive  
QP – question particle  
RH – referent honorific  
SFP – sentence-final particle  
SJ – Standard Japanese  
TOP – topic

### **Transcribing conventions used in the dissertation**

For the transcription of the Japanese text Hepburn romanization system was used throughout, with the exception of long vowels. Long vowels ‘o’, ‘a’, ‘i’ and ‘u’ are marked with a double vowel (i.e. ‘oo’, ‘aa’, ‘ii’ and ‘uu’), while long ‘e’ is transcribed as ‘ei’, where the Japanese word in kana is also spelled with ‘ei’.

- [] Square brackets represent overlapping utterances, with ([]) representing the beginning and (]) representing the end of overlapping talk
- = Equal sign represents latching utterances
- TOOI Upper case is used to mark noticeably louder utterance
- Osa- A hyphen represents a sudden cut-off
- (.) A dot in brackets represents a short untimed silence

<smiles> Angle brackets indicate transcriber's comment, usually marking something happening during the interaction

↑ An upward arrow represents rising intonation

he:: Colon represents an elongated sound. The more colons the more it is stretched

The following method of marking relevant features for discussion in the quoted extracts was adopted:

All honorifics used are **highlited**

OJ features relevant for the discussion are in **bold**

SJ features relevant for the discussion are in *italics*

When the variation in the use and non-use of honorifics is relevant to the discussion, all relevant VPs are underlined

## **Appendix B: comparisons of selected datasets in the three generations**

In Chapter 6 the multivariate analysis is conducted based on a comparison of occurrence of HARU versus bare verbs only. That is, all other honorific suffixes are excluded from the statistical analysis in that section (6.3). In order to determine what kind of analysis would present the best it for the

data, all of the following possibilities were tested: (i) all honorific forms versus all bare verbs; (ii) HARU versus all other verbs; (iii) HARU versus bare verbs only. To check which of these would provide the best fit for the data analysed, all three analyses were initially compared. The tables summarising results for each of the analyses in each age group are presented below.

As there is no change to the number of factors or factor groups in each of the analyses, to check which provides the best fit for the data it is sufficient to compare log likelihoods between the analyses (Tagliamonte 2006).

Older age cohort										
Bare verbs versus all referent honorifics					Haru versus all other verbs			Haru versus bare verbs		
	Corrected mean			0,22			0,23			0,26
	Log likelihood			-322,238			-322,238			-311,279
	Total N			666			666			629
		f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N
<b>Relative social position</b>	Higher	0,94	84,2	38	0,94	84,2	38	0,93	84,2	37
	Unclear	0,46	23,6	628	0,46	23,6	628	0,46	25	591
	<i>Range</i>	<i>48</i>			<i>48</i>			<i>47</i>		
<b>Familiarity</b>	Close friends	0,66	40,5	84	0,66	40,5	84	0,66	41,5	82
	People we know	0,62	36,3	268	0,62	36,3	267	0,66	39,3	248
	Family	0,45	12,7	79	0,45	12,7	79	0,44	13	77
	Celebrities	0,37	15	40	0,37	15	40	0,35	15	40
	Strangers	0,31	17,2	180	0,3	17,2	180	0,31	18,5	168
	<i>Range</i>	<i>35</i>			<i>36</i>			<i>35</i>		
<b>Relative age</b>	Unclear	0,77	32,4	145	0,77	32,4	145	0,76	34,1	138
	Same	0,72	45,3	53	0,73	45,3	53	0,74	48	50
	Younger	0,39	36,7	297	0,37	26,7	296	0,38	28,8	275
	Older	0,37	19,1	141	0,37	19,1	141	0,37	19,6	138
	<i>Range</i>	<i>40</i>			<i>40</i>			<i>39</i>		
<b>Specificity</b>	Specific singular	0,57	31	484	0,57	31	484	0,57	32,7	459
	Unlimited group	0,41	18,5	146	0,4	18,5	146	0,41	20	135
	Unspecific	0,18	12,5	8	0,18	12,5	8	0,18	12,5	8
	Specific plural	0,09	7,1	29	0,09	7,1	28	0,09	7,4	28
	<i>Range</i>	<i>48</i>			<i>48</i>			<i>48</i>		
<b>Gender</b>	Female	0,56	28,7	311	0,56	30,9	311	0,56	33,3	288
	Male	0,4	30,9	178	0,4	28,7	178	0,4	29,1	175
	<i>Range</i>	<i>16</i>			<i>16</i>			<i>16</i>		

Table 1. Comparison of three analyses for the older age cohort.

Middle age cohort											
Bare verbs versus all referent honorifics					Haru versus all other				Haru versus bare verbs		
		Corrected mean			0,21				0,21	0,24	
		Log likelihood			-309,196				-309,196	-296,965	
		Total N			659				659	637	
		f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N	
<b>Relative age</b>	Older	0,77	51,1	141	0,77	51,1	141	0,79	53,3	72	
	Unclear	0,59	26,9	160	0,59	26,9	160	0,61	27,4	43	
	Same	0,39	18,6	172	0,39	18,6	172	0,39	19,5	32	
	Younger	0,3	11,8	178	0,3	11,8	178	0,27	12,1	21	
	<i>Range</i>	47			47			52			
<b>Relative social position</b>	Higher	0,71	45,6	57	0,71	45,6	57	0,75	48,1	54	
	Lower	0,7	34,3	102	0,7	34,3	102	0,71	37,6	93	
	Unclear	0,43	21,8	500	0,43	21,8	500	0,43	22,2	490	
	<i>Range</i>	28			28			32			
<b>Familiarity</b>	Strangers	0,7	29,9	164	0,7	29,9	164	0,71	30,4	161	
	People we know	0,63	38,4	146	0,63	38,4	146	0,65	40	140	
	Close friends	0,4	22,9	223	0,4	22,9	223	0,38	24,1	212	
	Celebrities	0,25	7	43	0,25	7	43	0,26	7	43	
	Family	0,18	7,8	51	0,18	7,8	51	0,16	8	50	
<i>Range</i>	52			52			55				
<b>Specificity</b>	Unspecific	0,63	33,3	18	0,63	33,3	18	0,67	33,3	18	
	Specific singular	0,57	26	434	0,57	26	434	0,59	39,1	64	
	Specific plural	0,56	36,8	68	0,56	36,8	68	0,55	26,9	420	
	Unlimited group	0,26	18,7	139	0,26	18,7	139	0,38	19,3	135	
	<i>Range</i>	37			37			29			
<b>Gender</b>	Female	∅			∅			0,53	23,2	284	
	Male	∅			∅			0,44	36,6	164	
	<i>Range</i>							9			

Table 2. Comparison of three analyses for the middle age cohort.

Younger age cohort										
Bare verbs versus all referent honorifics					Haru versus all other forms			Haru versus bare verbs		
Corrected mean					0,03			0,03		
Log likelihood					-74,476			-74,249		
Total N					351			347		
		f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N	f.w.	%	N
<b>Familiarity</b>	people we know	0,88	22,5	102	0,88	22,5	102	0,88	22,8	101
	strangers & celebrities	0,87	3,7	54	0,87	3,7	54	0,87	3,7	54
	close friends & family	0,17	3,1	193	0,17	3,1	193	0,17	3,2	190
	<i>Range</i>	<i>71</i>			<i>71</i>			<i>71</i>		
<b>Relative social position</b>	lower	0,96	16,7	18	0,96	16,7	18	0,97	16,7	18
	higher	0,92	17,1	70	0,92	17,1	70	0,92	17,1	70
	unclear	0,29	6,1	263	0,29	6,1	263	0,29	6,2	259
	<i>Range</i>	<i>67</i>			<i>67</i>			<i>68</i>		
<b>Gender</b>	female	0,55	10,7	234	0,55	10,7	234	0,55	10,7	233
	male	0,33	8,3	72	0,33	8,3	72	0,33	8,6	70
	<i>Range</i>	<i>22</i>			<i>22</i>			<i>22</i>		
<b>Referent</b>	Same as addressee	0,7	12,5	128	0,7	12,5	128	0,7	12,5	128
	Third person	0,38	6,8	219	0,38	6,8	219	0,38	6,8	219
	<i>Range</i>	<i>32</i>			<i>32</i>			<i>32</i>		

Table 3. Comparison of three analyses for the younger age cohort.

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