Speech-style shifts and intimate exaltation in Japanese

Yoko Hasegawa
University of California, Berkeley

Abstract
This paper is a discussion of strategies to express intimacy and exaltation of the addressee — the notions morphologically incompatible in the Japanese honorific system, wherein addressees are marked as either psychologically distant and exalted *or* intimate and not exalted. Selection of such speech style *reflects* not only social relationships between the interlocutors (e.g. superior vs. inferior); it also *constructs* such a relationship. Consequently, the selection is dynamic, and speech styles can shift back and forth during a single span of discourse. These shifts are by no means arbitrarily made; different strategies are required when a superior interlocutor initiates a polite-to-plain shift as opposed to when the inferior does so. In order to account for the latter, recognition of the two kinds of expression — public and private — is needed. Public expression presupposes the existence of an addressee and fulfills the communicative function of language; private expression does not presuppose an addressee and satisfies the non-communicative, thought-expressing function of language. This study demonstrates that when the inferior initiates a polite-to-plain shift, the speech will consist exclusively of private expressions, and that by means of restricting plain expressions to revealing one's private thoughts, the speaker communicates psychological closeness to the addressee without switching to the canonical plain speech style.

1 Introduction

The Japanese honorific system consists of two orthogonal dimensions: one which regards the speech situation, called *addressee honorifics* (AH), and another, which regards the referent of linguistic expressions, called *referent honorifics* (RH).[1] When AH are employed, speech is marked as in a *polite style*; otherwise, it is considered in a *plain style*.
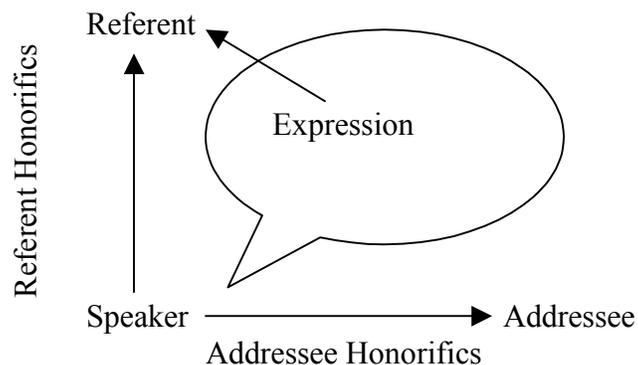
RH can be used independently of AH (i.e. speech style).   For example, (1a) is in a polite style involving RH; (1b) is also in a polite style but without RH; (1c) is in a plain style with RH; (1d) is in a plain style without RH.[2]

(1) a. Tanaka-san ga   irassyai-masita.[3]   +AH; +RH   (polite style)
        Tanaka   NOM come(RH)-PST(AH)   'Ms. Tanaka arrived.'
     b. Tanaka-san ga   ki-masita.   +AH; –RH   (polite style)
        Tanaka   NOM come-PST(AH)
     c. Tanaka-san ga   irassyat-ta.   –AH; +RH   (plain style)
        Tanaka   NOM come(RH)-PST
     d. Tanaka-san ga   ki-ta.   –AH; –RH   (plain style)
        Tanaka   NOM come-PST

        Application of the polite style is the norm when the speaker considers the address psychologically distant, and/or the speaker wishes to exalt the addressee.[4] Here again, we see two orthogonal dimensions: psychological distance and exaltation.   Linguistically, addressees are dichotomized into (i) distant and exalted, and (ii) intimate and not exalted.   With the former, the polite style is used; with the latter, the plain style is used.   In the (B) situation below, where the speaker considers the addressee psychologically distant but exaltation superfluous, the plain style is used, and the speech may sound impolite, e.g. *Dare da* 'Who are you?'

Addressee	Intimate	Distant
Exalted	(A)	(i) Polite Style
Not Exalted	(ii) Plain Style	(B)

        A serious problem occurs in the (A) situation, when the speaker wishes to convey intimacy and exaltation simultaneously, because in the Japanese honorific system, these two ideas are morphologically incompatible.   In fact, this is quite possibly a universal problem, as seen in Brown and Levinson's (1987) analysis of addressing terms.   They consider non-intimate expressions as polite; that is, politeness is defined as an opposite notion of intimacy.   Nevertheless, intimacy and exaltation are not inherently incompatible, and at times, we will certainly wish to articulate both feelings toward the addressee.   Linguistic strategies to reflect, or index, the situations expressing intimate exaltation in Japanese are discussed in the present paper.
        The organization of the paper is as follows: Section 2 provides a brief discussion of the notion of linguistic politeness.   It is pointed out that recognition of politeness as enhancement of one's social standing is essential in order to understand linguistic politeness in Japanese.   Section 3 summarizes several major works on the speech-style shift phenomenon in Japanese.   It is demonstrated that insertion of soliloquy into a conversation can function as expressing intimacy while at the same time maintaining the overall tone of

politeness. Section 4 introduces Hirose's (1995) theory of public and private expressions and considers the connotation of the reflexive pronoun *zibun* 'self' in a public expression. It then discusses why soliloquy can convey intimate exaltation, drawing an analogy from the case of *zibun*. Conclusions follow in section 5.

2 Functions of linguistic politeness

In modern times, linguistic politeness is considered a political behavior — a means to avoid conflict, tone down potential aggression, and ensure smooth interaction (Lakoff 1975, Leech 1983, Brown and Levinson 1987). In the 18th and 19th centuries, however, linguistic politeness was not correlated with a consideration for or deference toward other individuals (Watts 1992). 'Politeness' meant 'prudence,' inextricably linked to social class and socio-political power. Politeness was considered a manifestation of high degree of mental cultivation, elegant refinement, polished manners, and good taste; it was used to enhance one's own social standing and signal membership in a particular social class (Sell 1992).

This older sense of politeness must be acknowledged when investigating the linguistic politeness phenomenon in contemporary Japanese. For example, in (2), the addressee and the person referred to by the subject of the verb *irassyaru* 'come' are identical, and yet the speaker uses only RH, without AH.

(2)   Asita   irassya-ru?   (plain style)
       tomorrow come(RH)-NPST
       'Will you come tomorrow?'

This seemingly inconsistent [–AH +RH] combination regarding the same individual is observable exclusively in female speech. This speech style appears to convey that the speaker considers the addressee psychologically close (–AH), but she prefers to apply RH to show her linguistic, perhaps feminine, refinement.

Another matter requiring our awareness is that linguistic politeness is not automatically coterminous with polite behavior. Polite expressions can be used in an impolite way, e.g. to convey unfriendliness, contempt, etc. On the other hand, non-polite expressions can be used to convey what Brown and Levinson (1987) term 'positive politeness', i.e. friendliness, camaraderie, intimacy, etc. Generally, polite expressions accompany a sense of deference, but they can also be interpreted as unfriendly or rejecting. A non-polite expression could be interpreted as conveying one's trust, intimacy, etc., but it could also be interpreted as too familiar and disrespectful. Therefore, the expression of both respect and intimacy simultaneously requires highly elaborate linguistic skills.

While it is difficult to realize that some societies value impoliteness, it is easily imaginable that some prefer friendliness to deference, while others prefer deference to friendliness. Segments of American society exemplify the former, and Japanese society the latter. Some anecdotal examples can illustrate the

failure of comfortable communication caused by different and variant expectations regarding linguistic politeness.   Because of the many Japanese tourists, shops in San Francisco often employ Japanese women who have lived in the United States for lengthy periods of time.   These women tend to use positive politeness strategies more frequently than most Japanese living in Japan, e.g. (3, both in a plain style).[5]

(3)   a. Kore, ima   seeru nano yo.
             this   now sale   is   IP
             'This is on sale now.'
         b. Aru   ka mo sirenai   kara,   mite kite ageru.
             there-is Q   also don't-know because see   come give
             'There may be more in stock, so I'll go check it.'

While the speakers of (3) might think that friendliness should be more valued than deference, many visitors from Japan consider their speech style does not meet the politeness level expected from sales persons.   Expectations regarding linguistic politeness vary within a single society as well: some speakers feel more comfortable with a polite style, while others prefer a plain style.

3 Speech style shift

While there are numerous studies on the politeness phenomena in Japanese, only recently has investigation into the nature of speech-style shifts with actual data commenced.   This section summarizes several recent major works on this subject.   Researchers have recognized that selection of speech style not only *reflects* the social relationships between interlocutors, it also *constructs* such relationships.   Thus, linguistic interaction is dynamic, with shifting and evolving relationships.   For example, it is commonly observed that unfamiliar interlocutors start their conversation with a polite style, and, as they become familiar, switch to a plain style.   Or fairly familiar interlocutors habitually use a plain style, but when the conversation topic becomes grave (e.g. a death, disputes), they may switch to a polite style.

Although speech styles can shift back and forth during even a single span of discourse, such shifts are by no means arbitrarily made (Neustupný 1982). Maynard (1991:577-78) observes that the plain style marks the speaker's low awareness of the addressee as a separate and potentially opposing entity.   She contends that the plain style is likely to be employed when the speaker (i) exclaims or suddenly recalls something, (ii) vividly expresses events scene-internally as if the speaker is right there and then, (iii) expresses internal thought self-reflexively, including almost self-addressed utterances and monologues, (iv) jointly creates utterances with the addressee, (v) presents information semantically subordinate in nature or backgrounded information, or (vi) is in an intimate relationship with the addressee, expressing social familiarity and closeness.   By contrast, Maynard argues, the polite style is likely to be

employed when the speaker (a) expresses a thought which directly addresses the partner with expressions appropriate in terms of sociolinguistic variables — a marker for social relationship, expressing formality, and (b) communicates essential information directly addressed to the listener.

Usami (1995) proposes the five conditions under which polite-to-plain style shifts may occur: (A) reduction of psychological distance, (B) matching the other's speech style, (C) soliloquy, (D) confirmation, (E) incomplete sentences. Examples in (4) are taken from Usami's data which record conversations of nine native Japanese speakers residing in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The subjects were all unfamiliar with each other and were asked to talk about their student life in the United States. The italicized parts in (4) are intended to illustrate her analysis. (*F* stands for 'female', *M* for 'male', *H* for 'higher status', *L* for 'lower status'; the glosses of (4) and subsequent examples are all mine.)

(4) A.   Reduction of psychological distance (Two Fs with equal status)
    F1.   Ringistikku desu   ka? Gosenmon   wa.
           linguistics is(AH) Q   specialization TOP
           'Is your specialization linguistics?'
    F2.   Edyukeesyon desu   ne, koko wa.
           education   is(AH) IP   here TOP
           'Education here.'
→   *Zibun ga koko ni   iru   no   ga   wakaranai.* <laugh>
           self   NOM here LOC there-is NMLZ NOM understand-not
           'I don't understand why I'm here.'
    B.   Matching the other's speech style (Two Fs with equal status)
    F1.   Sotira wa nagain desu   ka?
           there TOP long   is(AH) Q
           'Did you stay there a long time?'
    F2.   U. Mass Boston de MA o   totte, de, kyonen kara koko.
                            LOC   ACC get   and last-year from here
           'I got an MA from the U. Mass Boston, and I've been here since last year.'
→   F1.   *Aa soo.*
           Oh so
           'Oh, is that so?'
    C.   Soliloquy (A F speaker to a F addressee with a higher status)
    FL: Watasi mo gakubu   wa eibei,   eigogaku, eibei,   n?
           I   also department TOP Eng-US Eng-ling Eng-US   humm
           'My major is also English-American Literature, English Linguistics, English-American, humm …'
→   *Eigogaku, eibeika   tte   iun datta ka na.*
           Eng-ling Eng-US-dept QUOT call was Q   EP
           'Department of English Linguistics, no, it's called English-American Literature?'

→   *Nanka wakannai,   namae ...*
                  what   understand-not name
                  'I don't know how to say it in Japanese …'

D.   Confirmation

FH.   Peepaa kaku to, 30-peezi desita-kke?
          paper   write if 30-pages was(AH)-QUOT
          'If we are writing a paper … was it 30 pages?'

→ FL.   *15 kara 30.*
             from
          '15 to 30.'

E.   Incomplete sentences (Two Fs with equal status)

F1.   Izure   wa   nihon ni okaerininaru koto mo arun   desu
          eventually TOP Japan to go-home(RH) thing also there-is is(AH)
          ka?
          Q
          'Is it possible eventually to go back to Japan?'

F2.   Soo desu   ne. *Soreni,   yappari,   sigoto no   koto   o*
          so   is(AH) IP furthermore as-expected job   GEN thing ACC
→   *kangaeru to, sore ga   itiban ...*
          think   if that NOM best
          'That's right.   Furthermore, if I think about the job market, it'd be
          the best, as expected …'

→ F1.   *Kotti de   amerikazin ni eigo   o   osieru*
          here LOC American   to English ACC teach
          wake-ni-mo-ikanai   si ...
          cannot-be   and
          'And it's not like we can teach English to Americans …'

While Usami's works have made a significant contribution to the understanding of speech-style shift, her analysis awaits public scrutiny. Most importantly, all examples that Usami provides for category (A), reduction of psychological distance, are essentially the same as category (C), soliloquy. The present paper argues that it is the soliloquy form that a speaker can employ as a strategy to express intimacy while maintaining a high level of linguistic politeness.

Regarding category (B), Usami's claim that style shift can be motivated by balancing the other's speech style is inadequate because an interlocutor is not always allowed to use a plain style even when the other has made a shift. Whether confirmation (D) and incomplete sentences (E) form distinct categories is questionable because all of the examples of (D) that she provides are also incomplete sentences. Furthermore, because incomplete sentences can be completed in either manner, it is unclear whether they should uniformly be categorized as a plain style. For example, the (4D) demonstration could be completed with AH, as *15 kara 30 peezi desu* 'It's 15 to 30 pages'. Additionally,

it has been pointed out that because incomplete sentences are less forceful, they are frequently used as a means to express politeness.

Matsumura and Chinami (1998) also consider that incomplete sentences are to be categorized as a plain style. They assert that motivations for a polite-to-plain style shift are the interlocutor's wish to carry on a conversation cooperatively and to become psychologically closer. They observe that style shifts are normally initiated by the superior interlocutor; the inferior detects such a desire and tries to lesson his/her formality. Conversation (5) is between a well-known female TV interviewer (FH) and her guest (FL), who is explaining her father's reaction to her birth. The italicized parts exemplify incomplete sentences:

(5)   FL: De, umaretara, …   Onna   datta-wake-desu
          yo. Sositara,   sono
          and when-born   female was(AH)   IP then   that
          titi   ga byooin ni kuru maeni, kinzyo-no-hito ni "Mata
          father NOM hospital to come before neighbor   by   again
→   onna dattan desutte" tte   *kiite-simatte.*
          femal was   I-heard QUOT heard
          'And when the baby was born, … It was another girl.   Then, my father heard from a neighbor "It was a girl again" before he came to the hospital.'
    FH: Ara, iya   da. Doosite kinzyo-no-hito ga   sakini
          oh no-good is why   neighbor   NOM first
          sittetan-desyoo ne. …
          knew   IP
          'Oh, no!   How did the neighbor know first?'
    FL: … Sorede, ikkai-mo   byooin ni mimai-ni-mo-konakattan
            then   not-even-once hospital to didn't-visit
          desu. Titi ga   syokku-de, sorede, moo gohan mo
          is(AH) father NOM be-shocked and   even meal   also
→   tabezu-ni   heya-toka *tozikomottyatte.*
          without-eating room, etc. shut-oneself-up
          'So he didn't visit us at all in the hospital.   My father was so shocked that he shut himself up in his room without eating.'
          Nanka, hontooni onna-no-ko datta no   ga   syokku datta
          what   really   girl   was NMLZ NOM shock   was
→   *mitai-de.*
          it-looks
          'Indeed, he appeared to be shocked that the baby was a girl.'
          Sorede, okaasan mo sore o   kiite,   zutto   atasi o
          then   mom   also that ACC hearing all-the-way I   ACC
          yoko-ni oita-mama, byooin de zuutto   poro-poro-poro-poro

	side	leaving	hospital at	all-the-way

→ *naitetan desutte.*
cried   I-heard
'So, my mom heard about it in the hospital and cried and kept me near her.'

FH: Heee, hisan   desita   ne.   Kawaisoo ne. Anata no sekinin
Hum terrible was(AH) IP   pity   IP you GEN responsibility
zya-nai-noni ne.
is-not   IP
'Humm, that was terrible. What a pity! It was not your responsibility, was it?'

In (5), the superior, FH, initiates a plain style by uttering such highly colloquial expressions as *ara iya da* 'Oh, no!' On the other hand, FL infers FH's intention and responds to it by using such informal expressions as *okaasan* 'Mom' and the onomatopoeic *poro-poro-poro-poro*. Most of the incomplete utterances in their data sound to me to be in a plain style, especially those ending with the quotative or conjunctive particle *te*. It appears that some incomplete sentences are naturally interpreted as plain, while others as polite. Further investigation in this area is needed.

Researchers have recognized that different strategies are required when a superior initiates a polite-to-plain shift as opposed to when the inferior does so. Suzuki (1997) contends that the boundary between the speaker's and the addressee's territories is clearly drawn in a polite style, and the speaker normally avoids invading the addressee's territory. In a plain style, by contrast, there is no clear boundary; the interlocutors value camaraderie more than deference. In (6), where FL expresses appreciation to FH for the present FH gave FL, *Are, sugoku, kirei* 'They were very pretty' and *Motto ippai hosii naa* 'I want more of them' exhibit a shift from the polite to the plain speech style.

(6)   FL: Kono-aida   wa doomo-arigatoo-gozaimasita.
the-other-day TOP thank-you-very-much
'Thank you very much for the other day.'

→ *Are sugoku kirei.*
that very   pretty
'They were very pretty.'

FH: Soo desyoo?
so   weren't-they
'Weren't they?'

[snip]

→ FL: *Motto ippai hosii naa.*
more   a-lot want EP
'I want more of them.'

FH: Sora yokatta.

that good
'That's good.'

FL: Zibun de kaitain desu kedo, hutuuni uttemasu ka?
self by want-to-buy is(AH) but regularly sell(AH) Q
'I want to buy some more myself. Do they sell regularly?'

FH: Syoozan ni aru kedo.
Shozan LOC there-are but
'Shozan sells them.'

FL: Syoozan? Oosaka desu ka?
Shozan Osaka is(AH) Q
'Shozan? In Osaka?'

FH: Kyooto.
'No, in Kyoto.'

FL: Zya, kondo osiete itadakemasu ka?
then next-time teach receive(AH) Q
'Would you give me the directions next time?'

Suzuki recognizes that when a plain style is used by FL, the statement is about something in FL's or in a neutral territory. When a statement is made regarding FH's territory (i.e. expressing gratitude, question, request), only a polite style is employed.

Significantly, the shifted utterances in Suzuki's data are all in soliloquy. As mentioned earlier, an insertion of soliloquy into a conversation can reconcile psychological distancing that necessarily accompany the polite style. The following are typical examples from my data:

(7)   FH: Hontoni eego de wa kuroo simasu.
truly English LOC TOP trouble do(AH)
'English is sure a pain in the neck!'

FL: Eee, honto desu kaa?
eh true is(AH) Q
'Eh, is it true?'

FH: Honto, honto.
true true
'That's true.'

→   FL: *Hee, sensee demo soo nan-daa.*
hum teacher even so is
'Hum, even teachers have trouble with it.'

(8)   FL: Kore, saikin kekkoo hayatterun desu.
this recently a-little popular is(AH)
'This (a pair of gloves) is kind of popular now-a-days.'

→   FH: Ara, kawaii. Doomo-arigatoo-gozaimasu.
oh is-cute thank-you-very-much

'Oh, it's cute.   Thank you very much.'
    FL: Ookisa, daizyobu   dusu   ka?
          size   okay   is(AH)   Q
          'Is the size right?'
    FH: Tyoodo   mitai.
          just   looks
          'It looks just right.'
→   FL: Aa,   yokatta.
          oh   was-good
          'Oh, good.'

In the next section, we will explore how soliloquy can serve as a means to express intimate exaltation.[6]

4 Public vs. private expressions

The present paper argues that in order to account for the function of soliloquy in a polite-to-plain style shift, it is necessary to recognize the two kinds of expression — *public* and *private*.   Hirose (1995) contends that the speaker has two different aspects of self — *public* and *private* — and that English and Japanese languages differ in the way those aspects are encoded in their lexico-grammatical systems. The public self is the speaker as the subject of communication, facing an addressee or having one in mind.   The private self is the speaker as the subject of thinking/consciousness, with no addressee in mind.   The public and private selves appear in two different kinds of linguistic expression called *public expression* and *private expression*, respectively.   Public expression corresponds to the communicative function of language; private expression corresponds to the non-communicative, thought-expressing function of language.

Public expressions frequently include interactional devices, or addressee-oriented elements, e.g. (a) certain sentence-final particles (e.g. *yo* 'I tell you', *ne* 'you know'), (b) directives (e.g. commands, requests, questions), (c) vocative expressions (e.g. *oi* 'hey'), (d) responses (e.g. *hai* 'yes', *iie* 'no'), (e) pragmatic adverbials of various sorts (e.g. *sumimasen ga* 'Excuse me, but', *kokodake no hanasi dakedo* 'it's between you and me'), (f) hearsay expressions (e.g. *(da)sooda/(da)tte* 'I hear'), and (g) addressee honorifics (e.g. *desu/masu*). Addressee-oriented words/phrases appear exclusively in public expressions; conversely, phrases/sentences containing addressee-oriented words/phrases are public expressions.   On the other hand, phrases/sentences that lack addressee-oriented expressions can be either public or private: if the speaker intends to communicate with another person, the expressions are public; otherwise, they are private.

While public expressions involve communicative intention, private expressions correspond to mental states.   In Japanese, mental states are typically described by verbs like *omou* 'think'.   *Omou* and other mental-state verbs can take as a complement a reported clause marked by the quotative particle *to*.

Descriptions of what one thinks, believes, doubts, or wishes are necessarily private expressions, and mental-state verbs allow only a private expression as their reported-clause complement. In the following examples, taken from Hasegawa and Hirose (forthcoming), angle brackets represent a private expression, and square brackets represent a public expression.

(9) a. Haruo wa _{Priv} ame ni-tigainai> to   omotte-iru.
          TOP   rain must   QUOT is-thinking
       'Haruo thinks it must be raining.'
     b. Haruo wa _{Priv} ame daroo> to   omotte-iru.
        Haruo TOP   rain will   QUOT   is-thinking
       'Haruo thinks it will be raining.'
(10) a. #Haruo wa [_{Pub} ame da **yo**   ] to   omotte-iru.
             TOP   rain be   I-tell-you QUOT is-thinking
        'Haruo thinks "It's raining, I tell you."'   [Intended]
      b. #Haruo wa [_{Pub} ame **desu**] to   omotte-iru.
             TOP   rain is(AH) QUOT is-thinking
        'Haruo thinks politely "It's raining."'   [Intended]

The sentences in (9) contain a private expression as their reported clause, which in turn includes a modal expression representing a mental state of certainty or conjecture. In (10), on the other hand, the items in bold face are addressee-oriented expressions, making the whole reported clauses public expressions. Because public expressions cannot be complements of mental-state verbs, (10a-b) are anomalous.

        Unlike mental-state verbs, utterance verbs such as *iu* 'say' allow either a public or private expression as their reported clause. The reported clauses in (11) are public expressions, generally considered direct discourse.

(11) a. Haruo wa Natuko ni [_{Pub} ame da yo   ] to   itta.
             TOP   to   rain is I-tell-you QUOT   said
          'Haruo said to Natsuko, "It's raining, I tell you."'
      b. Haruo wa Natuko ni [_{Pub} ame desu] to   itta.
             TOP   to   rain is(AH) QUOT   said
          'Haruo politely said to Natsuko, "It's raining."'

Haruo's belief that it is raining in (11) can also be reported as private expression, using indirect discourse, as in (12):

(12) Haruo wa Natuko ni _{Priv}   ame da> to   itta.
              TOP   to   rain is   QUOT   said
       'Haruo told Natsuko that it was raining.'

Japanese has a distinct word for the private self, viz. the reflexive pronoun *zibun* 'self', but it lacks a designated word for the public self. The public self is referred to by various words of self-reference, such as *atasi* (female-casual), *boku* (male-casual), *ore* (male-casual/vulgar), *watakusi* (super formal), *watasi* (male-formal or female-formal/informal), or role names, such as *okaasan* 'mother', and *sensei* 'teacher', depending on the communicative situation. By contrast, English has the designated word *I* for the public self, but it lacks a special word for the private self. The private self in English is referred to by different personal pronouns, depending on its grammatical gender and person, as shown in (13).

(13)   a. Watasi wa _{Priv} *zibun* wa   oyogenai> to   itta.
             I   TOP   self   TOP   swim-can't QUOT   said
             I said that *I* can't swim.
        b. Kimi wa _{Priv} *zibun* wa oyogenai> to   itta.
             you   TOP   self   TOP swim-can't QUOT said
             You said that *you* can't swim.
        c. Zyon/Marii wa _{Priv} *zibun* wa oyogenai> to   itta.
             John/Mary TOP   self   TOP swim-can't QUOT   said
             {John/Mary} said that *{he/she}* can't swim.

Metaphorically, the private self represented by *zibun* is the *naked* self, whereas various words of self-reference — e.g. *boku*, *watasi*, *okaasan* 'mother', and *sensei* 'teacher' — are diverse *clothes* for the private self to wear in public.

It is worth pointing out that *zibun* can also be used to refer to the public self, as in (14b):

(14)   a. Zibun wa sono koto   ni-tuite wa nanimo   sira-nai.
             self   TOP that   matter about   TOP anything know-not
             'I don't know anything about that matter.'
        b. Zibun wa sono koto   ni-tuite wa nanimo   siri-masen.
             self   TOP that   matter about   TOP anything know-not(AH)
             'I don't know anything about that matter.'

Because no addressee-oriented expressions are present, (14a) is understood to be a private expression, representing the inner consciousness of a private self, and the use of *zibun* sounds natural. By contrast, because the AH -*masen* is used, (14b) must be a public expression assuming the presence of an addressee. This use of *zibun* in a public expression carries an unusual tone: it is as if the speaker appeared in public without clothes. In fact, examples like (14b) remind many Japanese of the military, where soldiers are talking to their superiors, or sports clubs, where junior (= inferior) male members are talking to their senior (= superior) members. Probably in these situations it is tacitly assumed that one must show one's real self to one's superior or senior, to whom absolute loyalty is

expected.

Let us now return to the discussion of soliloquy in the polite style. Its effect seems analogous to the effect of *zibun* in a public expression conceived by members of certain circles. Soliloquy supposedly expresses one's private thoughts, and revealing one's private thoughts is to be interpreted as a sign of trust, loyalty, psychological closeness, etc. (Hamlet makes himself psychologically close to the audience when he delivers his famous soliloquy.)

It was mentioned earlier that addressee-oriented elements, or interactional devices, can appear only in public expressions, and that if an utterance contains an addressee-oriented item, it is a public expression. However, it was also mentioned, the lack of addressee-oriented expressions does not guarantee that the utterance is private, for public expressions need not include addressee-oriented items. Are there positive indicators of private expression? The answer is yes. The so-called exclamatory interjections (e.g. *waa*, *hee*, *huun*) and exclamatory sentence-final particles (e.g. *naa*, *kana*) are used exclusively in private expressions.[7] These expressions should by now be familiar because they have appeared repeatedly in the examples provided in this paper.

5 Conclusions

Reviewing recent major works in the area of speech-style shift in Japanese, this paper has explored strategies that a speaker can employ to express intimacy and exaltation simultaneously. The data show that insertion of soliloquy is commonly used for this purpose, and that such soliloquized expressions frequently involve exclamatory interjections and/or exclamatory particles. The motivation for this strategy appears to be that revealing one's inner thoughts is supposed to be based on trust and psychological closeness, the reasoning that also motivates the use of *zibun* 'self' in a public expression. Because such parenthetical soliloquy is detached from the major flow of the conversation, the speaker is able to avoid the risk of changing the speech style from polite to plain, which might be considered disrespectful.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Charles Fillmore, Wesley Leonard, and Ikuko Yuasa for their discussion of an earlier draft.

[2] It is not the case that the polite style is merely an addition of AH to the plain style, as the examples in (1) might suggest. These two styles are governed by different rules, and what can be acceptably articulated varies depending on the style (Suzuki 1997). For example, one can say *Kore ageru* 'I'll give this to you' in a plain style, but expressing the same idea in a polite style, *Kore agemasu*, normally is unacceptable.

[3] Abbreviations: ACC (accusative), EP (exclamatory particle), GEN (genitive), IP (interactional particle), LOC (locative), NMLZ (nominalizer), NOM (nominative), NPST (non-past tense), PST (past tense), Q (interrogative), QUOT (quotative), TOP (topic marker).

[4] Usami (1995) reports that in her conversation data of nine unfamiliar Japanese speakers, 93.9%

of the utterances are in a polite style.

[5] According to Suckle (1994:123), in Japan a plain style is employed in transactions at 77.3% at a railroad station, 51.9% at a post office, and 36.2% at a vegetable market. He also reports that a vegetable vendor with his neighborhood customers restricts a plain style to approximately 50% time, while his customers employ a plain style to him more frequently.

[6] Although not considered in the present paper, style shifts can also be used to signal whether the utterance should be taken as official or as personal. Analyzing elementary-school third-grade classroom conversations, Okamoto (1997) reports that the polite style indexes to official messages, representing statements based on one's role as a teacher or as a student. The plain speech, on the other hand, conveys that the statement is made as a private person, not based on one's official role. In (i-ii), the students were instructed to underline those places in the textbook that explain why the girl from Tokyo and her classmates in a rural school started fighting, and those that explain the girl's feelings at that time. The following represents the teacher's utterances.

(i)   Hai, dewa, enpitu oite kudasaai.
        'Well, then, put down your pencils.'
        Sore de, mada kakete nakutemo, totyuu de ki ga tuitara ne, happyoo sureba iin desu kara ne.
        'And if you haven't finished underlining, that's okay; if you notice something, you can say it at that point.'
        Ii desu ka.
        'Okay?'
        Hai, zyaa, mazu ne, sen o hippatta tokoro kara happyoo site moraimaasu.
        'Well, first, please recite from where you underlined.'
        Hai, zyaa, sen hippatta hito, te o agete kudasaai.
        'Those of you who have underlined, raise your hand.'
        [After wiping her perspiration]
→   Atusa ni makezu ni ganbaroo ne.
        'Don't let the heat get to us!'
        Hai, zyaa, Miya Yutaka-san, onegai simaasu.
        'All right, Yutaka Miya-san, please tell us your results.'

In (i), the teacher's utterances are all in a polite style, except *atusa ni makezu ni ganbaroo ne* 'Don't let the heat get to us!', which should be taken as her personal friendly encouragement, rather than a routine classroom direction.

In (ii) below, Yoshie Ikuma (Y), a female student, misreads the word *tori-musubu* 'to act as go-between' as *musubu* 'to tie'. This error was corrected by a male classmate, Kazuhiro (K). The marked line in the teacher's utterance (T) employs a plain style to convey that the utterance is addressed only to Kazuhiro, not to the entire class.

(ii)   Y: Hai, watasi wa "musunde kureta no desu" to iu tokoro ni sen o hikimasita.
          'Yes, I underlined "they tied it."'
        T: "Musunde kureta" no to, tokoro desu ka?
          'You underlined "they tied it"?'
        Y: Hai.
          'Yes.'
        K: [In backgroud] "Tori-musubu, tori-musubu."
          'To act as go-between, go-between.'
→   T: N, tyotto, n. Kazuhiro-kun, moo itido itte agete, ima itta tokoro.
          'Um, well, Kazuhiro-kun, tell Ikuma-san again what you said.'
        K: Ikuma-san ga itta koto wa, tabun "tori-musubu" no koto de wa arimasen ka?

     'Didn't you mean "to act as go-between," Ikuma-san?'
   Y: Hai, soo deesu.
     'Yes, that's right.'

[7] The grammar of soliloquy has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but it appears that soliloquy has rules that differ from those governing dialogues. For example, the final particle *zo* is used exclusively by men in natural conversations, but women can use it without exerting masculinity in soliloquy, e.g. *ganbaru zo!* 'I'll make it!', *makenai zo!* 'I won't be defeated!'

References

Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hasegawa, Yoko and Yukio Hirose. forthcoming. What the Japanese language tells us about the alleged Japanese collectivism.

Hirose, Yukio. 1995. Direct and indirect speech as quotations of public and private expression. *Lingua* 95:223-38.

Lakoff, Robin Tolmach. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper & Row.
Leech, Groffrey. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London and New York: Longman.

Matsumura, Yoshiko, and Kyoko Chinami. 1998. Nihongo danwa ni okeru sutairu kootai no zittai to sono kooka. *Gengokagaku* 33:109-18.

Maynard, Senko. 1991. Pragmatics of discourse modality: A case of *da* and *desu/masu* forms in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 15:551-82.

Neustupný, J. V. 1982. *Gaikokuzin to no komyunikeesyon*. Tokyo: Iwanami.

Okamoto, Noriko. 1997. Kyoositu-danwa ni okeru buntai-sihuto no sihyooteki kinoo: teineitai to hutuutai no tukaiwake. *Nihongogaku* 16:39-51.

Sell, Roger. 1992. Literary texts and diachronic aspects of politeness. *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory, and Practice*, eds. by Richard Watts, Sachiko Ide, and Konrad Ehlich, 109-29. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Suckle, Robert. 1992. Uchi/soto: choices in directive sppech acts in Japanese. *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language*, eds. by Jane Bachnik and Charles Quinn, 114-42. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Suzuki, Mutsumi. 1997. Nihongo-kyooiku ni okeru teineitai-sekai to hutuutai-sekai. *Siten to Gengo-koodoo*, ed. by Yukinori Takubo, 45-76. Tokyo: Kurosio.

Usami, Mayumi. 1995. Danwa-reberu kara mita keigo siyoo: supiiti-reberu-sihuto seiki no zyooken to kinoo (Conditions for speech-level shift occurrence in Japanese discourse). *Gakuen* 662:27-42. Tokyo: Showa Women's University Kindai Bunka Kenkyuujo.

Watts, Richard. 1992. Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour: Reconsidering claims for universality. *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory, and Practice*, eds. by Richard Watts, Sachiko Ide, and Konrad Ehlich, 43-70. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.