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ABSTRACT
        This final substantive report includes the working
papers presented by the American and Japanese participants, notes on
discussions, a summary of an address by William Labov, and draft
proposals for joint sociolinguistic research. The working papers
involve several sociolinguistic issues in Japanese-American and
Japanese culture. The American papers concern lexical borrowing by
Japanese Americans in Hawaii, phonological reduction rules for
evaluation in sociolinguistic analysis, sociolinguistic factors
inhibiting Japanese-American communication, language and social
change, and mutual understanding between Japanese and Americans. The
Japanese papers treat cultural comparisons, language behavior and
cultural patterns, the ethnography of self-reference and address in
Japanese, approaches to studying contrasting cultures, and the use of
Japanese invective words or curses. References and notes are included
with the papers along with a summary of the discussions that followed
the presentation of each paper. (VM)

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Final Substantive Report

Contract No. OEC-0-71-0367 (823)

Joint Japanese-American Conference
on Sociolinguistics
East-West Center
University of Hawaii
August 24-28, 1970

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Project Director
Division of Modern Languages
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Ithaca, New York   14850

December 1970

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Institute of International Studies

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I. Introduction

In response to interest expressed by the Japanese, a pre-
liminary conference on sociolinguistics, with Japanese
and American participation, was organized by the U.S.-
Japan Committee for Join' Research in the Social Sciences,
in Washington, in February, 1970, for the purpose of ex-
ploring the possibility of launching joint research into
the sociolinguistic factors that inhibit Japanese-American
intercultural communication.

It was the unanimous judgment of this group that before
any joint research could be organized, a working con-
ference of Japanese and American scholars should be held
to review some of the work that had already been done,
and to make specific and detailed recommendations
regarding the direction, scope, and methodological base
of the research to be undertaker. Working papers,
describing current projects and interests which would
suggest future research, rather than already completed
research, were to be presented.

Accordingly, the Joint Japanese-American Conference on
Sociolinguistics was held at the East-West Center, Uni-
versity of Hawaii, on August 24-28, 1970, supported on
the American side by the Office of Education, and on
the Japanese side by the Ministry of Education, adminis-
tered through the Japan Society for the Promotion of
Science.

Participants in the conference included:

on the Japanese side:
    Tetsuya KUNIHIRO, COORDINATOR FOR THE JAPANESE,
    Assistant Professor of Linguistics, University of
    Tokyo
    Akira HOSHINO, Associate Professor of Psychology,
    International Christian University
    Fumio INOUE, Student, Graduate School (Doctoral
    course in Linguistics), University of Tokyo
    Chie NAKANE, Professor, Institute of Oriental
    Culture, University of Tokyo
    Rinju OGASAWARA, Textbook Research Officer, Ele-
    mentary and Secondary Education Bureau, Ministry
    of Education
    Takao SUZUKI, Professor of Linguistics, Language
    Research Institute, Keio University

on the American side:
    Eleanor H. JORDEN, COORDINATOR FOR THE AMERICANS
    and PROJECT DIRECTOR, Visiting Professor of
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Bates L. HOFFER, Associate Professor, Department of
English, Trinity University
Agnes NIYEKAWA-HOWARD, Researcher and Coordinator,
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versity of Hawaii
Mary SANCHES, Faculty Associate, Department of
Anthropology, University of Texas

Dr. Richard Thompson, of the Office of Education, Project
Officer for the Conference, attended conference
sessions.

The conference was opened by Professor Jorden, who
described the background and purpose of the conference
and commented on the week's agenda. It was emphasized
that the primary concern of the group would be the
question of the direction and method of future work
rather than discussion of research already completed.

II. Working Papers Presented by American Participants
    (Monday, August 24, 1970)

The Sociolinguistic Significance of Borrowed Words
in the Japanese Spoken in Hawaii

Masanori Higa
University of Hawaii

In 1968 the Japanese community of Hawaii celebrated
the one hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to
Hawaii. Between 1868 when the immigration began and 1924
when it was prohibited by the U.S. Government, about
150,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii.[1] The U.S. Govern-
ment relaxed its immigration law after World War II, and
it is said that about 15,000 Japanese moved to Hawaii be-
tween 1946 and 1968, many of whom were so-called war-
brides. Today these pre-war and post-war immigrants and
their offspring constitute roughly a third of the popula-
tion of the State of Hawaii, that is, about 230,000.

Although most of the Japanese population are nisei,
sansei and yonsei (second, third, and fourth generations),
the Japanese language is still spoken in Hawaii. This is
evidenced by the existence of two full-time and three
part-time Japanese language radio stations, one tele-
vision station, and two daily newspapers[2] on the island
of Oahu alone. This situation is likely to last for many

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more years and the use of the Japanese language in Hawaii
will continue to present interesting topics for not only
linguistic but also psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic
studies.

This is a sociolinguistic essay on an interesting
phenomenon that this writer has observed about the Japanese
language spoken in Hawaii--the use of borrowed words. In
this paper, for the sake of convenience, the Japanese
spoken in Hawaii will be referred to as Hawaiian Japanese
and the people of Japanese ancestry as nikkeijin.

When a visitor from Japan to Hawaii listens to
Hawaiian Japanese, in general he experiences little dif-
ficulty in comprehending it, although he immediately
notices that it is somewhat different from standard
Japanese. The writer's study of Hawaiian Japanese began
with the questions of (1) what makes Hawaiian Japanese
different from the standard Japanese and (2) what makes
Hawaiian Japanese difficult at times for a Japanese visitor
to understand. A commonly given answer to the first ques-
tion is that the accentual base of Hawaiian Japanese is the
Chugoku dialect of Japanese. However, beyond this obvious
accentual difference, there is a lexical factor which makes
Hawaiian Japanese different from standard Japanese. That
factor is the abundant use of borrowed English words. And
this seems to be the answer to the second question also.
When a nikkeijin speaks to a Japanese visitor, he does not
use as many borrowed words as when he converses with an-
other nikkeijin. A visitor finds conversation between
two nikkeijin often difficult to understand, because be-
tween them there is little constraint on the use of bor-
rowed words. This aspect--the use of borrowed words by an
immigrant group in a new culture--has rarely been studied
from the sociolinguistic point of view. Before this aspect
is elaborated on, the background of the nikkeijin will be
briefly described.

The Japanese-speaking nikkeijin may be categorized
into three groups: (1) the pre-war immigrants, (2) their
children, i.e., the nisei, and (3) the post-war immi-
grants. The pre-war immigrant group numbers only about
20,000 and most of them are now well over the age of
sixty-five. According to the census taken by the Japanese
Consulate in Honolulu in 1960, about 24% of this group
came from Hiroshima, 20% from Yamaguchi, 15% from Okinawa,
14% from Kumamoto, and 27% from the rest of Japan. These
proportions were roughly the same in 1924, the last year
of pre-war immigration. Since close to a half of the pre-
war immigrants came from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi, two
neighboring prefectures, and since they came to Hawaii
earlier than the immigrants from the other prefectures,

it is understandable that their speech, the Chugoku dia-
lect, became a sort of standard Japanese in Hawaii. Those
immigrants from such prefectures as Okinawa, Kumamoto, and
Fukushima, who spoke radically different dialects, came to
learn and speak the Chugoku dialect after they arrived in
Hawaii. This dialect is characterized by the frequent use
of the interjectional particle noo and the conjunctive
particle ken and the omission of the nominalizing particle
to. The following is an example of the Japanese spoken by
the pre-war immigrants:3

> /kyoowanoo atamaga itaikennoo sigoto yasumoo omou/
>
> (Because I have a headache, I don't think I will
> go to work today.)

In Standard Japanese the above sentence would be:

> /kyoowa atamaga itaikara sigotoo yasumooto omou/

The number of the pre-war immigrants is decreasing rapidly,
but their speech has been inherited by their children, the
nisei.

The number of nisei is estimated to be around 80,000.
Many of them are in the age range of forty to sixty. The
nisei learned Japanese from their parents as their first
language and, in many cases, they learned English only
when they started going to school (Miyamoto, 1937). As
pupils they went to public schools in the morning and pri-
vate Japanese language schools in the afternoon. Since
their parents emphasized that Hawaii was their temporary
home and they were to return to Japan eventually, a sig-
nificant number of parents sent their nisei sons and
daughters to Japan for secondary and college education.
This practice continued until 1941 when the war between
Japan and the United States broke out. It is said that in
that year 2,000 nisei from Hawaii were studying in Japan.
Naturally enough, those nisei who have studied in Japan
tend to speak better Japanese than English, while those
who have studied in American colleges find themselves
more at ease with English than with Japanese. A common
complaint among those who did not receive higher education
either in the United States or in Japan is that both their
English and Japanese are not satisfactory. In general,
the nisei speak informal Japanese and seem unable to use
the formal or honorific style. Their sentences are often
short and elliptic. The intonation pattern of the nisei's
Japanese shows a clear influence of that of American
English. The following are some examples of their
Japanese:

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/yuu doko iku/	(Where are you going?)
/kore oisiinoo/	(This is delicious, isn't it?)
/mii isogasii/	(I am busy)

It was observed before World War II that among them-
selves the nisei carried on about half of their conver-
sation in Japanese even in public schools (Smith, 1939;
Smith and Kasdon, 1961). It looked as if the sansei, too,
would learn Japanese and become bilingual. However, when
the war broke out, things Japanese became things of the
enemy and a "Speak American" campaign was started in
Hawaii (Kimura, 1956). The issei now spoke Japanese in
whispers, while the nisei, who began to regard themselves
as loyal Americans, spoke English as much as possible and
stopped encouraging their children, the sansei, to learn
Japanese. As soon as the war broke out, the Japanese
language schools were shut down by the U.S. Government and
the school administrators were interned. These schools
were reopened several years after the war, but they have
never regained the prestige and influence they had enjoyed
in the Japanese communities before the war. In 1939, just
before the war, there were 194 Japanese language schools
in Hawaii and 38,515 pupils were enrolled in them. Today
the number of schools is only 82 and the number of pupils
only 9,700, and these numbers are on the decrease.[4] Be-
cause of such influences of the war, today it is rare to
find a sansei or yonsei who speaks Japanese.

The third group of Japanese-speaking nikkeijin con-
sists of about 15,000 post-war immigrants.[5] They tended
to be much more educated than the pre-war immigrants and
brought with them standard Japanese to Hawaii. Most of
the announcers and reporters for the Japanese language
radio and television stations and newspapers come from
this group.

Although there are these three different sub-groups
in the Japanese-speaking population, each speaking accentu-
ally and somewhat lexically different Japanese from the
others, there is one aspect which is common to their
speech and which characterizes the three varieties as one
Hawaiian Japanese. That is the use of words borrowed
mostly from English, the language of the country where
they reside, and to some extent from the languages of the
other ethnic groups in Hawaii.

Lexical borrowing is a common phenomenon when one
language comes into contact with another. This is often
explained in terms of lexical needs and innovations.
Weinreich (1968) gave several possible reasons for such
borrowing, one of which is sociolinguistic and relevant
here. According to him, a person is likely to use words

borrowed from a prestigious language "as a means of dis-
playing the social status which its knowledge symbo-
lizes." The unnecessary and heavy use of borrowed English
words by immigrants to America, for instance, is meant to
show their advanced state of acculturation and, there-
fore, their social status (see also Rayfield, 1970). How-
ever, as Weinreich himself pointed out, there is no ex-
planation to account for the fact that some particular
words are readily and unnecessarily borrowed while certain
other particular words are not, even though they are all
equal in terms of frequency of use and lexical usefulness.
For example, in Hawaiian Japanese words like sister and
yesterday are borrowed from English but words like fruit
and rain are not. It seems that foreign words are not
borrowed randomly. In addition to lexical and prestige
motives, there would seem to be other motives and prin-
ciples behind lexical borrowing. So far very little re-
search has been done on this aspect. Hawaiian Japanese
provides sufficient data for the purpose of such research.

Before discussing the sociolinguistic significance
of the use of borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese, a few
sample borrowed English words are given below:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dakutaa/	doctor
/eegu/	egg
/gyooru/	girl
/pansu/	pants
/samutaimu/	sometimes
/soobisu/	service
/teketu/	ticket
/toozude/	Thursday

Because empirical validation is needed for whatever sig-
nificance may be mentioned regarding the borrowing of
such words as these, this writer's statements will be
made in terms of four hypotheses.

The first hypothesis is that the use of borrowed
words among the nikkeijin is a linguistic device to create
a new Japanese dialect--Hawaiian Japanese. A corollary is
that the use of borrowed words contributes to the soli-
darity of the nikkeijin. When the pre-war immigrants came
to Hawaii from various dialect areas of Japan, there must
have risen a need for a common speech. Regarding such a
need, Hertzler (1965), p. 382, said:

Whenever social circumstances lead to the formation
of a distinct group within the whole body of society,
or of distinct common characteristics and functions

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for a category of the population, the people in-
volved will tend to, or deliberately devise, speech
forms of their own.

The dialect of the dominant majority--the Chugoku dialect--
became the common speech among the pre-war immigrants in
the earlier period as mentioned before. However, that
speech was not sufficient for its speakers to identify
themselves as Japanese immigrants in Hawaii as time went
on. Furthermore, it was not easy for the non-native
speakers of the Chugoku dialect to speak that dialect as
its native speakers did, although it was certainly much
easier than learning and adopting English as a common
speech. The use of borrowed words alleviated this kind
of language handicap by making the dialectal differences
relatively insignificant, and enabled the nikkeijin to
identify themselves as Japanese immigrants or people of
Japanese ancestry in Hawaii.

There is a tendency among the nikkeijin to use such
terms as japan men (Japanese man), japan boi (Japanese
boy), and japan gyoru (Japanese girl) to identify visiting
Japanese and new Japanese immigrants. Such an identity is
usually made on the basis of one's speech. If one speaks
Hawaiian Japanese which is characterized by the frequent
use of borrowed words, one is accepted as a roko (local).
For this reason, a new immigrant is eager to learn and to
use the borrowed words that the roko use. In fact, like
the American immigrants that Weinreich (1968) pointed out,
he is so eager that he tends to overuse them or use words
which are not commonly borrowed by the roko. Since
Hawaiian Japanese cultivates an in-group feeling among the
nikkeijin, it is used mostly among the roko. When a roko
speaks to a japan men, he tends not to use borrowed words.
This avoidance may be due to the awareness of the roko
that the japan men may not understand him. Whatever the
reason may be, the use of borrowed words by the roko is a
conscious language behavior and he seems to be aware of
the variables involved in this behavior. The situation
is analogous to that in which many in Hawaii speak creo-
lized English among themselves but try to speak ordinary
English to visitors from the other States. The question
of how local or familiar a person is judged to be by the
nikkeijin, on the basis of his use of borrowed words,
would be an interesting topic for research which could
validate the hypothesis mentioned above.

The second hypothesis is that the borrowed words
used by the nikkeijin reflect the process and the degree
of their social and psychological adjustment to the new
cultural environment. Since borrowed words are linguistic
records of interaction between different cultures, an

analysis of the borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese should indicate the nature and extent of not only the <u>nikkeijin's</u> acculturation in Hawaii but also something about the nature of Japanese culture. For example, many American kinship terms are borrowed, even though there are Japanese equivalents for most of them. This indicates the <u>nik-keijin's</u> probable adoption of the American kinship system. On the other hand, the author's preliminary study shows that very few words related to government have been borrowed by the <u>nikkeijin</u> despite the fact that the American political system was very much different from the Japanese system prior to the end of the second world war. Not even the word <u>democracy</u> is borrowed and its Japanese translation is not used either. This seems to reflect the fact that the Japanese immigrants had long been barred from acquiring American citizenship and from participating in government.

In order to validate the second hypothesis, as complete a list of borrowed words as possible must be compiled. The chronology of the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese can be traced to some extent in the writings of <u>nikkeijin</u> and also in the back issues of the Japanese language newspapers published in Hawaii. Chronological, etymological, and categorial analyses of these words may be "correlated" to the history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii.

The third hypothesis is that words of so-called conjunctive concepts and disjunctive concepts are individually borrowed to meet various lexical needs, whereas words of relational concepts are borrowed as conceptual systems. Conjunctive concepts are usually concrete like <u>table</u> and <u>violin</u>; disjunctive concepts are abstract like <u>happy</u> and <u>beauty</u>; relational concepts are those that exist only in relation to other concepts, for example, <u>father, son, east</u> and <u>west</u> (Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1956). This hypothesis can explain to a great extent why certain words are seemingly unnecessarily borrowed. An initial analysis of such borrowed words shows that if a word belonging to a system of relational concepts is borrowed for some lexical reason, such as there being no exact equivalent in Japanese, the other words belonging to the same system are also borrowed, regardless of whether there are Japanese equivalents or not.

A kinship system is a good example. It is not clear as yet which of the American kinship terms was borrowed first by the <u>nikkeijin</u>. It may have been <u>uncle</u> for which there is no exact equivalent in Japanese. The Japanese term, <u>ojisan</u>, refers not only to brothers of the ego's parents but also to male adults in general. In Hawaiian

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Japanese these two categories are clearly distinguished
by the use of the borrowed English words, anku (uncle)
and misuta (mister) or men (man). The following is a
list of borrowed words commonly used in making kinship
relations in Hawaiian Japanese:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dedi/	daddy
/papaa/	papa
/mami/	mommy
/mamaa/	mama
/boi/	son
/gyooru/	daughter
/burada/	brother
/sisuta/	sister
/anku/	uncle
/anti/	aunty
/kazun/	cousin

The traditional Japanese terms, niisan (elder brother),
otooto (younger brother), neesan (elder sister), and
imooto (younger sister) are rarely used. However, such
borrowed terms as buradainro (brother-in-law) and sisu-
tainro (sister-in-law) are frequently used. In referring
to their children, parents often use terms like nanba wan
boi (number one boy--eldest son) and nanba tu gyooru
(number two girl--second daughter). These cases indicate
that the Japanese kinship terms are no longer used in
Hawaiian Japanese.

Pronouns and forms of address are also borrowed but
they are very much Japanized. The motive for borrowing
such words must have been to avoid the use of the many
Japanese pronouns and forms of address that are deeply
associated with social status. The following are
examples of the Japanized English forms:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/miiwa/	I
/miino/	my
/miini/	me
/miirawa/	we
/yuuwa/	you
/himuwa/	he
/misuta/	mister or husband
/misesu/	lady or wife
/hezuben/	husband

Both misuta and misesu are often used not as titles but
as common nouns, as in the following:

/nakamurano misutaga kita/

> (The mister of Nakamura came= Mr. Nakamura came.)

/naze misesuwa konakaqta/

> (Why didn't Mrs. come?=Why didn't the wife come?)

/yuuno misesuwa wakainoo/

> (Your Mrs. is young=Your wife is young, isn't she?)

Other borrowed words of relational concepts in Hawaiian Japanese pertain to time and quantity. The borrowing of words like those listed below is as conspicuous as that of kinship terms and pronouns.

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/rasu iya/	last year
/nekisu iya/	next year
/wan mansu/	one month
/tu awa/	two hours
/mande/	Monday
/tuu reeto/	too late
/banbai/	by-and-by
/samu taimu/	sometimes
/ooru taimu/	all the time
/ron taimu/	long time
/seben taimu/	seven times
/wan/	one
/toori/	thirty
/samu/	some
/biigu/	big
/sumooru/	small
/moa/	more
/too maqti/	too much

Very few English prepositions are borrowed, although they are related to the expression of time and spatial concepts. At present, there is no explanation to account for this fact except the phenomenological statement that, unlike content words, function words are rarely borrowed by one language from another. Those few that are used in Hawaiian Japanese, such as bihoo (before), insai (inside), and ausai (outside), are always nominalized by adding a postpositional particle to them. In Hawaiian pidgin English, too, which is spoken mostly by Oriental immigrants, prepositions are rarely used.

It seems that English prepositions are not borrowed in Hawaiian Japanese because they are incompatible and insufficient to replace Japanese postpositions. According to case grammar (Fillmore, 1968), prepositions and

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postpositions function as case-markers. Since the
Japanese language suffixes postpositions to nouns as case-
markers, the borrowing of English prepositions as prepo-
sitions is not compatible in terms of word order. Their
use as postpositions in place of Japanese postpositions is
not sufficient because there are no prepositions in
English for marking such traditional cases as subjective
and objective. Japanese postpositions are used to indi-
cate such cases, too. It may be concluded that only
grammatically compatible words are borrowed. As long as
they are grammatically compatible, even function words
may be borrowed. One proof to support this argument is
that conjunctions like _and_ and _but_ are often borrowed by
the nisei in their Hawaiian Japanese.6 These conjunctions
can be used in accordance with the word order prescribed
by Japanese grammar for their Japanese equivalents. The
reason neither prepositions nor postpositions are used in
Hawaiian pidgin English seems to be that they are de-
pendent on word order for indicating cases.

The fourth hypothesis is based on the three mentioned
above. This is that from the sociolinguistic point of
view the most important words in a language are those re-
lated to kinship relations, social relations, time, and
quantity. This implies that in order to acculturate an
immigrant in a new culture, it is minimally sufficient to
familiarize him with such words in the language of that
culture. The use of these words even as borrowed words
in his native language may be sufficient to give him the
feeling that he is now a member of not only his immigrant
community but also the whole body of society. The hypo-
thesis has an important implication for the teaching of a
foreign language, too. These words may be the ones that
should be taught first and well in an introductory foreign
language course. It may turn out that these words are
also the easiest to learn because of sociolinguistic needs.

This has been a discussion of the sociolinguistic
significance of the use of borrowed words in Hawaiian
Japanese. The four hypotheses mentioned in this paper may
be tested in various ways. One interesting way would be
to compare the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese
with those in the languages of other immigrant groups in
Hawaii and also with those in the Japanese spoken by
Japanese immigrants in California, New York, Argentina,
Brazil, Peru, and other places. This kind of comparison,
though time-consuming, is feasible, and it could test the
universality of the hypotheses.

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Footnotes

[1] The statistical information here comes from the following: Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development; Horman (1956); Schmitt (1968); United Japanese Society of Hawaii (1964).

[2] The number of subscriptions for each is reported to be about 12,000.

[3] See Tsushima (1969, pp. 304-305) for other examples.

[4] See the Nov. 19 and Dec. 15 issues of The Hawaii Hochi (1969) for the state of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii.

[5] No one seems to have the correct figure. The number quoted here comes from Hawaii Times (1968, p. 40).

[6] Rayfield's study (1970) of the borrowing of English function words in American Yiddish also gives support to this argument. Because Yiddish is a prepositional language, English prepositions are frequently borrowed in American Yiddish. Weinreich (1968) also reported the same phenomenon, but he discussed it in terms of lexical interference in bilinguals.

Discussion:

1. A comparative study of English borrowings in standard Japanese and those in Hawaiian Japanese would be an interesting subject for research. This should include investigation of phonological contrasts, comparative semantic structures, and competing forms.

2. An interesting aspect of research on Hawaiian Japanese would be a study of numbers: when are English numbers used, and when Japanese?; which does the nikkeijin use for computation?; why is

English used so consistently for telephone
numbers?

3. In conducting research on Hawaiian Japanese,
   evaluation techniques as described by Professor
   William Labov should be utilized. Value judgments
   by various members of the community will be sig-
   nificant.

4. It might prove worthwhile to examine some of the
   other dialects of Hawaii-Hawaiian Chinese, for
   example--to see if their development is parallel
   to that of Hawaiian Japanese. A difference in
   educational level among the different language
   groups, mentioned as something which might affect
   dialect development, is probably a significant
   factor for such a study, according to Professor
   Higa.

5. The study of what triggers a switch in language
   use among bilinguals is another subject for inves-
   tigation: is it the occurrence of a single
   lexical item of the second language which has no
   unit equivalent in the language that has been used
   up to this point that results in a switch?; or do
   bilinguals vacillate according to subject matter?;
   or does a switch in language reflect an effort to
   establish dominance in a conversation?

Phonological Reduction Rules as an Evaluation Cri-
terion in Sociolinguistic Analysis

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1. Sociolinguistics is based on the grammars of two or
more languages or dialects which differ by at least one
rule; that rule in turn must correlate with a describable
difference in social behaviour or situation. Further-
more, the subjective evaluation of the use of the dif-
ferent rule is the crucial goal of a close sociolinguistic
analysis. For a simple example, a brand cf English in-
fluenced by Japanese rules is considered by most Americans
a substandard English--although in Hawaii and California
this may not be the case. A Spanish "accent" is usually
more neutral, while a French one is highly valued; for
example, Charles Boyer and Maurice Chevalier delight
Americans. William Labov established the basic approach
to sociolinguistics as one consisting of three separate
problems (Labov, p. 93):

(1) The <u>transition</u> problem·is·the·specification of a
linguistic change, or, in the·case·of·a synchronic study
of two dialects, the specification of the precise rule
differences involved. In the latter, contrastive analysis
based on generative phonology provides one solution to
this problem. (See Hoffer for a basic treatment of this
subject.)

(2) "The <u>embedding</u> problem is to find the continuous
matrix of social and linguistic behaviour" in which the
dialects are used. Here we show that there are correla-
tions between elements of the linguistic system, such as
degree of Japanese influence on the person's English, and
elements of the system of social behaviour, such as degree
of retention of Japanese behaviour patterns. Strong evi-
dence for the correlation is the concomitant variation of
speech and behaviour; that is, as the Japanese influence
on English declines, more American behaviour patterns are
acquired. Needless to say, Hawaii is a perfect area in
which to study this area.

(3) The <u>evaluation</u> problem is to find the subjective
correlates of the differences in rules. Labov uses both
conscious and unconscious subjective reactions of the in-
formants to the linguistic variable. The most notable of
low evaluations of a dialect difference is that for the
lack of an r/l distinction in English. Linguistically
naive English speakers often react to incorrect produc-
tion with smiles or laughter. The evaluation of other
differences is not as easy to establish.

In addition to the problem of describing the two
dialects in one grammatical model, there is a problem not
treated by Labov: while he deals with a hierarchical
society with low-class speech, working-class speech, and
so on, the problem in second language teaching is to teach
a level of speech which will enable the student to func-
tion as efficiently as possible. To put it another way,
the native speaker's reaction to the learner will be
based on speech since, as Labov has shown, the economic
class/speech level correlation is a strong one. We must
investigate the rules of English to find which ones if un-
learned could cause social difficulty for the learner.

2. One area I have been working on is stylistic phono-
logical reduction rules. Before explaining them in terms
of a generative phonology, a brief excursion into styles
such as described by Joos' <u>Five Clocks</u> may help the under-
standing of some later remarks.

(a) One way of cataloging styles is to start with
"rhetorical" style, in which the speech is a unit with

few or no contractions, all references fully specified,
strictly controlled pronominal reference, few simplifi-
cations of consonant clusters, and so on. In written
form, this is the style of scientific writing or any highly
edited informational prose. The "consultative" style is
used for informational conversations or less technical
writing. Contractions are used; pronominalizations are
more frequent, but they usually have a linguistic antece-
dent, and so on. This is the style of professional conver-
sations or any formal conversation, for that matter. It
may be the case that the purpose of English courses in an
English-speaking country is to teach the consultative and
rhetorical styles. To reach the number five, we could list
the "colloquial," "casual," and "family" styles. "Col-
loquial" is used at chance meetings, among casual ac-
quaintances, and the like; it uses more idioms, contrac-
tions, sentence fragments, and so on. "Casual" style is
used among friends, relatives, and groups of one sort or
another. In this style, subjects may be omitted (for
example, "Went to town, huh?"), pronouns abound, and many
words or phrases qualifying the statement are used; for
example, "I feel like . . .," or ". . ., don't you think?"
"Family" style is the maximally limited speech, including
the above plus special words having meaning only for the
intimates, and is speech which is interpretable mainly
because of the familiar context. For example, a typical
morning at our house may find this sequence:

/m:/
/m: ćwant/
/bæ neks   kɔfdiyet/
/m: mint/

This might be rendered in the consultative style as:

"Morning."
"Morning. What do you want?"
"Bacon and eggs. Is the coffee ready yet?"
"Yes. Just a minute."

The reason for this digression into stylistics should be
readily apparent. The different styles are defined lin-
guistically but correlate directly with different social
situations. Consultative style is not appropriate between
friends nor is casual style used in professional dis-
cussions. There are subjective reactions to inappropriate
styles. Before a discussion of the reactions, a descrip-
tion of phonological reductions, one component of style,
is appropriate.

(b) A generative phonology includes various kinds of
rules which are too specialized to be explained in a few

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minutes, but the types of operations they perform can be briefly stated as:

Sequential constraint rules which specify permitted sequences of features or feature sets. For example, English initial consonant before stop must be /s/: /spay/, /stey/, /skit/; Japanese vowel after /w/ is /a/.

Blank-filling rules fill in features left unspecified by other rules; some features of segments are predictable from the basic features. For example, English front vowels are non-rounded; Japanese back vowels are non-rounded.

Phonological rules change, delete, or add features or segments based on environment. For example, a glide is inserted after English tense vowels such as /iy/, /uw/; Japanese stem-final /r/ becomes /t/ before /t/ as in /ar+ta/ → /atta/.

Articulatory rules instruct the vocal apparatus to use specific points for certain features. For example, English apicals are usually backer than Japanese apicals.

Reduction rules are optional rules that apply to formal style products of the preceding rules and produce acceptable alternative pronunciations of a sentence. For example, English /nč gow/ is the maximally reduced form of "Why don't you go?"; Japanese /de wa/ may be reduced to /dya/ as in /X dyanai/. Reductions may also affect a single segment; the best known example in English is the centering of non-stressed vowels, such as / ɔtôw/ vs. / ɔtəmætik/, /ôw/ vs. /ə/. A favorite example of heavy reduction is /čiyčet/ from "Did you eat yet?".

(c) One characterization of lower-class speech (in Labov's model) or of informal speech is that it uses many reduction rules. Rhetorical style uses few or none. Non-lower-class speech uses reduction to indicate less formality, or friendship, and so on. In other words, a move from consultative to colloquial or casual style indicates a change, however small, in interpersonal relations. Just as the use of a nickname, a reduced form, indicates friendship, a mother's use of all three names for her son indicates some hostility. It is amazing how much faster my son arrives if called "Stephen Mark Hoffer" rather than "Steve." The conclusion of this section is the specification of the "embedding" problem: variation in stylistic reduction rules is paralleled by a social variation in degree of formality. Most native speakers can use three styles--family, casual, and colloquial; educated speakers also handle the consultative. If the second language

learner handles only consultative style, then his ability
to maneuver in the society may be limited.

3.   Once the linguistic situation has been accurately
described and the embedding problem specified, there still
remains the crucial problem, the evaluation of differences
or misapplications of correct rules such as the use of
inappropriate styles.   The particular example to be empha-
sized here is the subjective evaluation by native English
speakers that Japanese speakers of English are too formal
or distant or stand-offish.   Granted this is a small
point, but of such reactions are large reactions made.
As a further digression, the American's early change to
less formal style makes him seem rather pushy or adolescent
to people with different social patterns.   In either situa-
tion, the best style is the one in which people listen to
what you say rather than how you say it.   To return to the
main point, the evaluation "too formal" rarely follows
immediately the first meeting, where English speakers
usually use the consultative style.   Rather, as the
American expects gradually decreasing formality, the con-
tinuation of the non-reduced speech is interpreted as a
continuation of a business-like relation.   In business and
other situations where a psychological distance must be
maintained, one main indicator of the distance is the
avoidance of reduction rules.   The "evaluation" is that
certain reduction rules are correlated with decreasing
formality and that the non-use of those rules is inter-
preted as a conscious attempt to remain formal.   In
actuality, research with several Japanese speakers of
English indicates that they do not know the appropriate
reductions.   Although they are aware that Americans expect
early informality, they have not been taught the appro-
priate usage.   The pedagogical implications are not the
main point here.   The sociolinguistic description stops
at Labov's "evaluation."   One point that must be empha-
sized in conclusion is one DeCamp (p. 167) made recently:
sociolinguistics is neither a separate theoretical dis-
cipline nor is it an extension of sociology to cover
language; rather, it deals with the sociolinguistic as-
pects of general linguistic theory.   The preceding presen-
tation has been an attempt to show how some generative
phonological rules under research have significant socio-
linguistic implications in Japanese-English bilingualism.
Let me repeat that Hawaii, with its tens of thousands of
two-language speakers, is an excellent laboratory for a
large-scale research project dealing with all sociolin-
guistic aspects of Japanese-English and American-Japanese.

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Discussion

1. The importance of honorifics as a feature of Japanese speech style was discussed. The fact that in some rural areas of Japan honorifics are not used among the peasant class was cited as one possible explanation for the general lack of honorifics in Hawaiian Japanese, where the rural influence is strong.

    Insofar as honorifics are used by the peasant class in Japan, their usage differs from honorific usage in the standard language.

    Honorifics occur most commonly in the speech of the lower upper and upper middle classes, supporting Labov's finding that the second stratum from the top is the group that uses the most "refined" language style. Also, the more educated strata are able to handle more stylistic varieties of their language.

2. The distinction between men's and women's speech was discussed. In Japanese stylistic differences based on sex are overt and are regularly recognized as a distinctive feature of the language. In English, on the other hand, while there are differences--largely lexical and intonational--they are much more subtle and have thus far received comparatively little attention.

3. A study of speech levels across cultures should include investigation of the native speaker's value judgments regarding appropriate levels for foreigners to use, as well as research into his general attitudes toward his own language. Language acquisition studies will be pertinent here. It was pointed out that while the foreigner regularly begins by learning

the consultative style of a foreign language and subsequently learns to handle the reduction rules if he acquires proficiency in less formal styles, the native speaker, who begins with the family and casual styles, is later really faced with "addition rules" as he acquires more formal styles.

In general, the foreigner's goal is only a passive control of the family and casual styles of the language he is learning, for purposes of recognition and comprehension, whereas in learning the consultative and colloquial styles he will be concerned with active production as well. Movies and comic strips, excellent sources of family and casual style samples, make useful second-language training materials for these levels.

4. Pause fillers and voice quality should also be investigated as features of language style and clues to foreign language absorption, but these are more difficult to treat. In particular, statements regarding voice quality continue to be largely impressionistic. Evidence suggests that voice quality is not genetic but rather acquired very early in life from one's immediate family.

5. Investigation of reduction rules in several languages has indicated that there may be a number of "natural reductions" and some universal constraints.

Sociolinguistic Factors Inhibiting Japanese-American Communication

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I would like to outline several research problems of a sociolinguistic nature which I am planning and, in a couple of cases, some preliminary findings and the resultant questions which they suggest need investigation. Most of the questions in which I am interested fall somewhere in an area cross-cut by language description, testing, and how these are related to individual development (acquisition) and diachronic change. Not knowing exactly the background and training of the participants in this conference, I am sure that what I have outlined here will seem alternatively pedantic, programmatic and unduly sketchy to various individuals. I hope that we will have time enough to discuss not only the areas of research

suggested here but also the assumptions and methodology behind them.

I. Description of semantic/sociolinguistic structure

I would like to assume the following: that any research aimed at explicating factors inhibiting communication must be concerned with basic structural descriptions of the communication system--and specifically that portion of the language usually labeled the semantic structure (I would include in this both what is usually defined as referential semantics and narrower sociolinguistic factors, although it is undoubtedly an empirical question whether or not they must be kept separate for descriptive purposes). It should be obvious that for foreigners learning Japanese, what is most different from, for example, English, and gives European-language-speakers the most trouble in learning, is the semantic structure of the language.

Semantic studies of the last two decades by anthropologists and linguists have given us a number of general principles and guidelines which we can profitably follow in describing the semantic structure of Japanese. Some of the things we know about semantic structure are:

(1) People speaking different languages, i.e., using different semantic structures, categorize by different arrangements of (different) criterial attributes. A very simple example: Japanese speakers split into two categories (at one level of analysis, anyway) "relatives" whom English-speakers group together in one category, i.e., "brothers."

(2) Semantic structure is productive; it is not just a static configuration of taxonomies as determined by criterial attributes. That is, just as on the syntactic level of language, the structure is such that it provides devices by which we can understand and produce a variety of novel utterances.

(3) Semantic structures can be formally described. That is, we can specify the necessary and sufficient conditions, in terms of criterial attributes, for the occurrence of any given paradigm or lexeme.

While we have a fair literature now concerned with the description of such concrete domains of "things" as "relatives" and "botanical items," we have very little in the way of descriptions of culturally defined "states" or "actions." However, just as for other semantic domains, it is obvious that speakers of two different languages

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structure the "objective" criteria of behavior into different categories. They may even use the same aspect of behavior as components of mutually exclusive categories. To use a very simple example: when a cat waves its tail in Japanese he is yorokonderu, "happy," but when he does so in American-English he is okotteru, "angry." This is a trivial example but it illustrates my point: if such a simple usage is not predictable, how can we expect any translation veracity for more complex areas of categorization? In order to provide for translatability between the two languages, we need to know the formal definitions of okoru and yorokobu in Japanese and the similar definitions for what we consider to be their parallel categories in English. In other words, we need to specify the criteria by which Japanese-speakers recognize when an individual is any of the particular culturally-defined states.

The reason why so little work has been done in this area, as compared with lexemes which represent more concrete categories of "things," is that it is so very difficult to discover criterial attributes for such abstract categories. For example, it is fairly easy to discover the boundaries between processes like niru, itameru, yaku, wakasu, ageru, fukasu, taku, etc.; it is much more difficult to discover the significant components of categories like okoru and yorokobu, still more difficult for ones like on and giri, and most difficult to provide the necessary and sufficient conditions for the occurrence of members of paradigms like arigato, sumimasen, onegai shimasu, etc. To me, this area and the theoretical problems it presents are of the most interest.

In the coming year I have research plans, which include the investigation of three different topics which touch on problems involved in semantic description. They are: the "phatic communication" paradigm, sequences of which are mentioned above; idiophones or "onomatopoeic forms"; and the development of semantic concepts by children.

Phatic communication is interesting because of its wide divergence from the rules of use for similar forms in English and what must be their very, very abstract or "deep" nature. The obvious example, English "thank you" maps onto Japanese arigato: gozaimasu, osewasama, sumimasen, etc.; "excuse me" onto sumimasen, siturei simasita, etc. The obvious gaffe of Americans who come to Japan and use arigato: for every occasion illustrate nicely the lack of 1:1 fit among the different expressions. So we can't specify the "meaning" of these in terms of concrete referrents, nor "settings" in the usual sociolinguistic sense of the word. I have been reduced to trying to pin

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it on emotional "sets," but trying to figure out how these can be formally specified and how these specifications can be recognized by anyone is another problem.

Onomatopoeic forms, or idiophones, are an interesting phenomenon theoretically because they strain both our notions of the "arbitrariness" of natural languages and challenge the idea of complete intertranslatability, or identical competence among the idiolects of one dialect or language. We know that these forms are one of the areas in Japanese which is semantically most "creative." Individuals make up new forms "off the tops of their heads." Because of their salience they would seem to be an important area to describe for the language generally. Perhaps still more interesting would be to see (1) what communication value they do have; (2) how we can characterize their use by the different age populations; (3) the extent to which they can be formally described; (4) whether they involve any universals of sound symbolism; (5) whether we can isolate elements of "intensification" or "duration" corresponding to reduplication or vowel length. After some preliminary analysis of the data on extant, institutionalized forms, I plan to construct tests which ask a sample of people to: (1) imagine and produce a form for how an "x" goes (using a wide variety of different referrents as "x"); then, (2) ask a different group of individuals to identify the "x" which the first group has characterized.

A third area in which I have been doing some work is the development of semantic concepts in children. Spontaneous speech data from children 2-2 1/2 years learning Japanese as a native language indicates that while it is still not possible to specify the "criterial attributes" or components of their concepts, it is possible to indicate some emergent domains:
  (a) deixis or discriminations in space (<u>kore</u>, <u>sore</u>, <u>are</u>, . . .)
  (b) aspects as they emerge in verb inflections
  (c) process or onomatopoeic events (<u>bun-bun</u>, <u>ju:</u>, <u>ba:</u>, <u>jiji</u>, <u>wan-wan</u>)
  (d) quantity (<u>motto</u>, <u>mo: sukosi</u>)
  (e) identities (proper names)
  (f) grammatical relational concepts

In addition, I have data which indicates a little bit about their learning the features of verbs, e.g. transitive/intransitive and <u>ageru</u>/<u>kudasaru</u> get mixed up. What we would like to know, returning to the points mentioned above, is what criteria they are using to form these concepts, how they differ from adults' concepts, and what features seem to be productive for them.

I plan, using picture tests, to try to get at the boundaries of these concepts and their salient features.

It is interesting to speculate whether or not there are some "basic" features to concepts which are learned earliest and perhaps determine the core meaning of a concept for adults.

II. In addition to formulating descriptions of what we think are the structures of any given language, it is becoming more imperative, in the light of current linguistic problems, that we devise tests of our descriptions. I would like to discuss now what I think is some interesting data revealed in the course of administering a test of a description of inflectional categories. It has uncovered further questions we must ask.

In 1957 Jean Berko did an innovative study testing mastery by children of the concepts underlying a number of inflectional forms for nouns and verbs in American-English. This is done by presenting a subject with a picture-situation, a nonsense word representing the picture, and a syntactic frame into which, in the context of the situation-stimulus represented by the picture, he is asked to provide an appropriate grammatical form. For example, in English a subject might be presented with a picture of one birdlike and then two birdlike forms and told:

> This is a *wug.
> Here is another one.
> There are two of them.
> There are two _____.

The form he is expected to provide, of course, is *wugs.

Using Berko's testing scheme as a model, I have worked up and administered to approximately 250 subjects a comparable test for Japanese. In English, nouns are inflected for number and verbs for a number of tenses. In the Japanese test we tried to incorporate as many of the inflectional forms for "verbs" and "adjectives" and their morphophonemic alternatives as possible, a total of 37 questions.

The categories of inflection which we tested for finally were:

> (1) imperfect indicative
> (2) perfect indicative
> (3) presumptive (for verbs only)
> (4) imperative (for verbs only)
> (5) alternative
> (6) gerund

(7) conditional
        (8) negative
        (9) passive
        (10) causative
        (11) passive-causative

In addition, we included a variety of canonical forms when possible, to get responses on formation of the various consonant and vowel stems. For example, on the negative-producing questions we invented the forms: *pakau (w-stem), *rakiru (vowel stem), *kutabu (b-stem) and *kamiku (k-stem).

The following is a sample of the kind of question on the test: A subject is shown a picture of an infant and a little girl and told:

kono akachan-wa *rokai   "this baby is rokai"

akachan-wa minna *rokai   "babies all are rokai"

kono one:san-wa mo: *rokakunai   "this older-sister is not *rokai any more but when small to be sure ____."
        kedo chi:sai toki-wa yappari ____

The form to be produced is, of course *rokakatta.

There are a couple of reasons for doing a test of this kind: Since one of the goals of the study of language acquisition is to discover what, if any, are characterizable as universal features of the process, we need data from tests like this one in as many languages as possible. However, another interesting motivation is simply to see to what extent adult responses are in conformity with ideal descriptions of the language's grammar. Although Berko found only a small amount of this kind of evidence in her data on English, it is very clear in the Japanese data that subjects do not produce responses conforming to the ideal grammatical descriptions of the language. This lack of conformity occurs on two levels:

(1) Production of forms involving syntactic devices rather than morphological ones. That is, subjects produced, for example, V + to instead of V stem + - eba; and adj + shi + adj. instead of adj. stem$_1$ + - tari + adj. stem$_2$ + tari.

In addition, some subjects went out of their way to avoid producing any inflection with the new form by using it in a syntactic construction with a familiar verb which they inflected. For example, on the basis of:

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kono hito-wa *pakau kara warui hito des:
*pakatte-wa ikenai
instead of producing:
ii hito-wa *pakawanai
some people would use forms like:
*pakau no-o sinai

(2) While "ideal" grammatical descriptions of
Japanese present us with a series of rules for morpho-
phonemic changes in stems and inflectional endings, the re-
sults of this testing show that there is no confirmation
of these descriptions from individual behavior. That is,
while the ideal descriptions of Japanese prescribe that a
verb such as yobu "call," a b-stem consonant verb, should
form a perfect or gerund by "changing" the "b" to an n
and voicing the initial consonant of the inflectional
ending, these data indicate that people are not using this
kind of rule in their inflectional productions. Instead,
they are using a variety of different kinds of rules. For
example, the b-stem verb turned up in the negative as:

        *kuta(bu nai   *kuta bura nai   *kutanai
             (bi   (sa   *kutawanai
             (ba   (basa

The results and their implications are much more com-
plex than I can fully discuss here, but I must note that
so far the discrepancy between traditional descriptions of
ideal rules for morphophonemic variation and what people
actually do does not seem to be reducible to a competence/
performance distinction; nor does it seem explainable in
terms of social or regional dialect. Idiolect or indi-
vidual differences look to be the best explanation for
them, though there are a number of instances where the
same individual uses a variety of rules for forms which
could otherwise be assumed to have the same base form.

The implications of these two kinds of anomalous re-
sponses by subjects are obvious for linguistic descrip-
tion. Instead of attributing one form to a single "deep"
structure somewhere, for all the speakers of a language,
we must account for a lot of different models being used
by individuals. In addition, it gives us a rich field for
inquiry into just why these phenomena should have occurred
in this way: why, in an "agglutinative" language like
Japanese, should syntactic devices be extant and in many
cases so salient for native speakers? Our descriptions
of Japanese have assumed that inflection is a very pro-
ductive device in the language. Why is it relatively un-
productive for so many people? What does this imply for
language change? Is it possible that the inflectional
paradigm has become, or is in the process of becoming,

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"fossilized" and unproductive? If this is so, for what proportion of the population does it hold? How can these speakers be characterized? What other linguistic or sociolinguistic features of their language systems can be used to predict the extent to which inflection vs. syntactic devices is productive for them? How did they get these structures, i.e., how did they learn them? One of the objectives of this study was to find out the sequence of learning the categories of concepts behind the forms, and there is data which indicates that for children, units which have been analyzed by linguists as inflectional are seen as syntactic units. For example, one of the questions on our test was:

kono kimono-wa *kukokunai kedo   "This kimono is
                                  *kukokunai but
kono kimono-wa _____ .   this kimono is
                                  (*kukoi)."

Most of the adults produced varieties of *kukoi, but many children, especially those of the youngest group (i.e., 3-5), produced *kukoku aru, a response which indicates that they did not have inflection, as a device, firmly under control, or alternatively, had not formed a grammatical concept "inflection." This is supported by data from children's spontaneous speech.

For further research I conceive a follow-up study, which will try to pinpoint for a limited sample of subjects, the extent to which inflection vs. other patterns is grammatical.

III. The third topic exemplifying what I think are interesting research problems of a sociolinguistic nature for Japanese involves the study of language borrowing, relexification and language creolization.

At the present time there is something of a small revolution going on in the thinking of linguists about the nature of "creole" languages. Is a "creole" a language which has emerged from a "pidgin" and evolved an augmented lexicon? Or can a language also become a creole by simply undergoing massive relexification in a contact situation? Should we perhaps talk about the process of creolization and the degree to which various languages are amenable to the phenomenon in a contact situation? Are there any universals in a language borrowing and creolization situation?

If we reserve the term "creole" only for those languages which emerge from contact with altered grammatical patterns, what justification do we have for

considering those languages which only relexify to be in-
cluded in our definition of "creole?"

I would like to offer some data from some preliminary
research on the Japanese-English contact situation in con-
sidering these questions. We all know that for the last
one hundred years, ever since the opening of the country
to communication with Europeans, Japanese-speakers have
been borrowing from European languages, and since the end
of WW II the process has intensified considerably, es-
pecially augmented by the bilingualism encouraged by
second-language-training in the schools. While we must
ultimately refer the motivation for borrowing and relexi-
fication to social-psychological factors, I would here
like to consider the implications of the process for the
structure of the language as a whole, particularly on the
semantic and grammatical levels.

Borrowing can be defined rather clearly as taking
over a lexeme from another language in conjunction with
adopting a new "thing" or concept from another culture.
It is one of about four alternatives when faced with "new"
items in the contact situation. At different periods of
the Japanese-expansion process, we see two of these
strategies: e.g., baseball--yakyu: and be:subo:ru. In
contrast to borrowing, however, relexification involves
"borrowing" lexemes from a foreign language for things
and concepts which are familiar to the culture and for
which "native" terms already exist.

It is an obvious observation that when speakers of
one language borrow--whether "new" or "replacement"
lexemes--from a foreign language, they will incorporate
them into the structure of their own language, not only
phonologically and semantically, but also grammatically.
That is, a new lexical item entering the language con-
sciousness of a speaker of a language will be perceived
phonologically in terms of the phonological structure of
his native language, semantically in terms of the semantic
domains and their structure, and syntactically it will
assume a function analogous to that of the rest of his
lexemes. However, it also happens that the process of in-
corporating new elements into his system will cause subtle
changes in the structure itself. For example, we have
already as early as 1950 a statement by Bloch of how the
phonological system of a native Japanese-speaker who has a
mastery of foreign words is different from that of one who
does not. Also we know the "new" status of /ž/ in English
as a result of loans from French like /garaž/ and /ruwž/.

My interest in the phenomena of language change in
Japanese due to contact, especially with English, has

derived largely from the exciting work of C. O. Frake on
Zamboangueno, a "creole" language of the Philippines,
which was the result of contact between Spanish and an in-
digenous Philippine language in the sixteenth century.
Frake noticed that the source of lexical items of the
creole language was divided between the indigenous Philip-
pine language and Spanish. In attempting to account for
the distribution of lexemes between the two source
languages he found that for "adjectives" or modifiers, in
almost all cases the unmarked lexeme had come from Spanish
and the marked member of the pair from the indigenous
Philippine language.

     This immediately poses a question for us in terms of
universals of language contact and borrowing: in the
sixteenth century Spanish-Philippine contact situation,
Spanish was obviously the socially dominant language;
could it be that in all situations of contact and bor-
rowing, the socially "dominant," lending language will
provide unmarked categories and the borrowing language the
marked ones? Interested in the current Japanese-English
situation, I decided that it would be an ideal situation
for testing at least one case. What I wanted to deter-
mine was: where loans are being made for already existirz
lexemes, are they in the marked or unmarked member of the
set?

     The way I have been proceeding is as follows: using
TV tapes and magazines as sources for foreign loans--since
they give a wide range of levels of formal vs. informal,
colloquial vs. intellectual, types of speech and a variety
of speech situations--I have had informants go through a
limited (so far) sample of these and pull out all of the
foreign-derived words. Then, for each adjective-modifier,
the following frames are applied: (1) What is the oppo-
site?; (2) What is a synonym?; and (3) Use it in a sen-
tence (to find how it is being used syntactically). The
results I have obtained so far for Japanese bear out
Frake's findings for Zamboangueno, i.e., we can recognize
intuitively that in almost all cases the category into
which the foreign lexeme has moved is the unmarked. The
only ones that look doubtful are #6 and #13, but this may
be dependent on context. Also, in almost all instances
(except for #6 and #13) the only opposition was a native
word.

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English original	Loanword	Elicited Japanese synonym	Elicited opposite
1. deluxe	derakkusu	go:ka	somatu
2. best	besuto	saizen	saiaku
3. veteran	beteran	ro:renka	shoshinsha
4. charming	cha:mingu	miwakuteki	X ja nai
5. delicate	derike:to	sensai	zubutoi
6. dry	dorai	yo:ki	uetto/jimejime
7. hot	hotto	atui	tumetai
8. open	opun	hiraita	simeta
9. romantic	romanchikku	ku:so:teki	gensituteki
10. sharp	sha:pu	surudoi	nibui
11. sexy	sekusi	iroke-no-aru	iroke-no-nai
12. soft	sofuto	yawarakai	katai
13. short	sho:to	mijikai	rongu/nagai
14. top	toppu	daiichi	saigo

This data is based on the responses of only a few informants and there are still a great number of methodological problems involved in working out firm conclusions, but it raises some interesting questions: chiefly, it looks as if this process may be a universal of borrowing situations. But how far will the process go? The fact that informants can give "synonyms" for the foreign-derived lexemes indicates that they have not replaced the indigenous terms completely. How can we specify when borrowing will become relexification?

Let us look at another area of the semantic structure of the language in order to clarify the question a little. If we think about it, it becomes obvious that all lexemes borrowed are, in some sense "new" to the people who borrow them. From checking a small part of the data now available, it is clear that those lexemes whose "newness" cannot be accounted for in terms of their referent are new in the sense that they elaborate the semantic or socio-linguistic component of the language on the "politeness" or "prestige" dimension. With reference to the two general classes of loanwords we can set up--i.e., those which are new in terms of social or connotative meaning, and those which are new in that they can be distinguished referentially--I think the following are alternative possibilities for how borrowing can turn into relexification:

A. Loanwords with distinguishable referential features

It appears from just the small amount of data I have looked at so far, that the dimension which seems to differentiate a lot of the new lexemes which come into the language and elaborate old, already established domains, is one of "foreignness." That is, the new forms are

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marked for how the new thing is different from the old in
terms of its origin. For example, in the clothing domain,
when items of European clothing and the foreign words for
them were introduced, the _irui_ domain had to undergo a
mitosis: near the top of the taxonomy a distinction was
made for _yo:fuku_ as opposed to _wafuku_, which till then had
not been necessary. Relexification can be expected if
(should we say when?) people in Japan stop using _wafuku_
and the items of clothing as well as their lexemes go out
of the general lexicon. Then we might say that the _wafuku_
half of the domain had "atrophied"; only the _yo:fuku_ half
would be left, and, interestingly, since there would be no
further need for the _wafuku/yo:fuku_ distinction, _yo:fuku_
might also drop out of the lexicon.

B. Loanwords differentiated in terms only of "prestige"

    This class of loanwords is not marked for "foreign-
ness" of some referential attribute, but only connota-
tively. Probably the example _par excellence_ of this kind
of loanword is the set of "adjectives" in the example
above. It seems from all evidence that the only difference
between the native and the borrowed lexemes is the element
of "prestige" derived in the use of the loanword: people
who use lots of _gairaigo_ are only doing so to be _haikara_,
according to one of my informants.

    It seems that the following is as good a speculation
as any about the process by which lexemes of this class
can replace the native lexemes: (1) A loanword is intro-
duced which gets used in complementary distribution with a
native word in certain specified situations or settings.
We can specify its meaning quite well simply by identi-
fying those settings in which it is used. I have not yet
worked this out for specific lexemes, but it is occurring
widely in "kind-of" taxonomies; e.g. _dorinku_ is replacing
nomimono at the top of the domain of "drinks," but only
in certain as yet unspecified settings. (2) Those set-
tings in which the loanword is used have some element of
extra "prestige." By using the loanword in other settings,
speakers can also confer some of the prestigefulness upon
themselves.

    If situation 2 does not occur, then we simply have a
situation where relexification does not occur completely
and we just get a lot of borrowings in the language.

    The final question I would like to consider is one I
mentioned at the outset: how, with simply a process of
relexification, could grammatical change take place in a
language? There has been some speculation in the past
about how Chinese, and possibly English, relative to

other Indo-European languages, got to be relatively iso-
lating, and the suggestion has been made that it may have
been due to "creolization." Perhaps the Japanese-English
contact situation can give us some clues as to how such a
process takes place.

I noticed, in looking at the source sentences in the
texts, and from elicitation, that, of course, as we would
expect, when lexemes are borrowed they are "restructured"
in terms of their grammatical function in the recipient
language. Moreover, they often do not become members of
the same grammatical class as the lexemes they replace.
The most noticeable example of this that I have to date
is from the inflected class of adjectives (or modifiers).

As you know, there are several ways of forming a
modification relation in Japanese: modif-N, modif-no-N,
modif-na-N, infl. adj-N, modif-teki-na-N, modif-no-yo:
-na-N, modif-fu:-na-N, modif-no-aru-N. We can break down
loanword modifiers into whether they form their modifying
relation in the same way as the lexeme they replace or in
some other way, and if so, how. Thus, the 17 adjectives,
or modifiers, for which I have information now are dis-
tinguished as follows:

Replacing modifier of same class	Replacing modifier of different class
cha:mingu	erochikku-na (iroppoi)
derakkusu	furesshu-na (atarasii)
derike:to	hotto-na (atui)
dorai	sha:pu-na (surudoi)
uetto	sho:to-na (mijikai)
ereganto	sofuto-na (yawarakai)
fansi	uetto-na (simeppoi)
romanchikku	sekusi-na (modif-no-aru-N)
	toppu-na (modif-N)

Eight formed the expression in the same way as the lexeme
they were replacing, i.e., modif-na-N; but seven replaced
inflecting adjectives, and themselves moved into the
modif-na-N class.

Since this is all still a hypothesis, what I would
like to do is construct a series of tests to discover for
a substantial population sample:

(1) How foreign lexemes are being incorporated into
the semantic and grammatical structures of individual
Japanese-speakers; and at the same time

(2) Whether these borrowings will completely replace
existing forms or co-exist with them over time.

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Discussion:

1. The question was raised as to whether we are yet
   equipped to handle semantic fields with anything
   resembling a solid methodology. If we agree with
   Labov that we should move from the known to the un-
   known, it may prove more productive to confine our
   theoretical conclusions to the phonological and
   morphological areas. Professor Sanches, however,
   felt that there was a basis for moving ahead in the
   semantic area. In particular she mentioned her
   interest in the metaphor and extension rules de-
   veloped recently in connection with work done on
   kinship terminologies.

2. Regarding the testing data presented, it was
   pointed out:
   a. that with a long history of borrowing only
      into the noun class, there is a question as to
      whether inflected verbs and adjectives are
      productive categories for the Japanese, and
      therefore whether the expectations were jus-
      tified.
   b. that the choice of a nonsense form like *pacau
      with initial p- (non-occurring in the Japanese
      verb class) almost guaranteed that the word
      would be treated as a non-inflecting loanword
      by the Japanese.
   c. that a tight methodology is desirable in
      drawing conclusions about individual varia-
      tions in the nonsense-word inflectional forms
      that were elicited. Did these different forms
      derive from different models, or from incor-
      rect rules--or both?

3. Regarding borrowing in general, it was pointed out
   that languages treat borrowings differently: English,
   for example, regularly inflects the words it borrows.
   In Japanese, some recent borrowings have moved into
   the inflected -ru verb category, but this is a dis-
   tinct departure from the regular Japanese borrowing
   pattern. This type of recent borrowing seems to be
   more prevalent among students. Mentioned in this
   general connection was Greenberg's theory that in
   the initial stage of borrowing noun-like words are
   taken over, that after vast numbers of these have
   entered the language, borrowings begin to move into
   inflectional categories, and finally, grammatical
   items are borrowed, but this development is ex-
   ceedingly slow. Also mentioned again was the con-
   trast between borrowing into standard Japanese as
   compared with Hawaiian Japanese, and the interest
   and value that such a study would have.

Language Change and Social Change

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This paper will focus on the changes that took place
during the past hundred years in Japan and the changes
likely to occur in the future, with a major emphasis on
language changes resulting from changes in the society.
The effect of planned changes in certain aspects of the
language on other aspects of language and society will also
be considered. While it is not my intention to discuss the
relationship between language change and social change in
general, but to deal rather specifically with the case in
Japan, the implications are likely to be relevant to many
of the developing nations.

Roughly speaking, there appear to be two major direc-
tional forces of social change when a traditional, non-
Western society comes into contact with the West and
attempts to modernize. One force works toward broadening
the sphere of personal interaction from a limited personal
circle to a wide range of impersonal interactions. The
other force works towards change in interpersonal rela-
tionships from a hierarchical one to a more egalitarian
one. The former is an inevitable force associated with
commerce, industrialization and technological advancement,
while the latter appears to be a more consciously planned
force associated with the acceptance of Western humani-
tarian values. Both tend to lead to the homogenization of
different languages in the world by filling in unique,
language specific gaps in each of the languages.

Let us consider first the force towards social change
from interactions within the primary group to those within
the secondary group. In primary group interactions, one
knows the age, status, family relationships, personality,
past history of the individual one interacts with, while
within the secondary group, one interacts impersonally
with a great number of people very briefly, often just
once, such as in giving directions to a stranger on the
street. The style of speech is likely to be quite dif-
ferent in the two kinds of interaction in most languages.

Hajime Nakamura, in his book <u>Ways of Thinking of
Eastern People</u> (1964) lists among some of the character-
istic Japanese ways of thinking, a strong tendency to
emphasize a limited social nexus, and nonrationalistic
tendencies. He makes his points by giving many examples
from the Japanese language. For instance, in referring to
the omission of the subject of the sentence, he states:

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. . . Japanese frequently omit the subject, and
this too may have something to do with the inexact
character of the Japanese mode of thought in
general. In such a case, even though the subject
is omitted, we usually find it naturally suggested
or can easily infer what it is by referring to the
linguistic context, or by looking at the situation
in which the utterance is made. But it cannot be
denied that at times, when the situation is not
completely clear, the omission of the subject makes
the meaning ambiguous and causes misunderstanding. . . .

That the Japanese people can dispense with the
subject of their linguistic expression is, I think,
due to the fact that the intuitive understanding of
the scene referred to in their discourse is usually
attained beforehand by the close personal bonds and
nexus with others. Therefore, the necessity of
clearly indicating the subject occurs only in those
cases where some doubt about the intuitive under-
standing of the subject arises. (In other words,
a logically correct assertion of the 'obvious'
sounds harsh to the Japanese people.) (Nakamura,
1964, p. 535)

To the close bonds in interpersonal relationships given
by Nakamura may be added the fact that the status oriented
verb phrases in Japanese help one to guess the omitted gram-
matical subject.

The omission of grammatical subjects when understood,
actually is not a unique phenomenon to Japanese, while the
frequency with which this is done may be. Vygotsky, who
believes that inner speech develops from egocentric speech
of the child states:

. . . as egocentric speech develops it shows a
tendency toward an altogether specific form of
abbreviation: namely, omitting the subject of a
sentence and all words connected with it, while
preserving the predicate. This tendency toward
predication appears in all our experiments with
such regularity that we must assume it to be the
basic syntactic form of inner speech. (p. 139)

He points out that external speech between two people
who are in close psychological contact approximates inner
speech in that the role of speech is reduced to a minimum
with a tendency to predication. He cites an example from
Tolstoy's Anna Karenina:

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'No one heard clearly what he said, but Kitty
understood him. She understood because her mind
incessantly watched for his needs.' We might
say that her thoughts, following the thoughts of
the dying man, contained the subject to which his
word, understood by no one else, referred.
(p. 140) (Italics mine)

The explanation Nakamura gives for the omission of
the subject by Japanese in "close bonds and nexus" then
finds support in Vygotsky. What makes Japanese different
is that the omission of the grammatical subject is per-
missible in writing. In this respect, Japanese may be
considered as not having fully attained the level of
"written speech" as opposed to inner speech. Vygotsky
contrasts the two as follows:

Inner speech is condensed, abbreviated speech.
Written speech is deployed to its fullest extent,
more complete than oral speech. Inner speech is
almost entirely predicate because the situation,
the subject of thought, is always known to the
thinker. Written speech, on the contrary, must
explain the situation fully in order to be intel-
ligible. The change from maximally compact inner
speech to maximally detailed written speech re-
quires what might be called deliberate semantics--
deliberate structuring of the web of meaning.
(p. 100)

Communication in writing relies on the formal
meanings of words and requires a much greater
number of words than oral speech to convey the
same idea. It is addressed to an absent person
who rarely has in mind the same subject as the
writer. Therefore, it must be fully deployed;
syntactic differentiation is at a maximum; and
expressions are used that would seem unnatural
in conversation. (p. 142)

Written Japanese, however, does differ from spoken
Japanese. Until the end of the last century, all writing
was in bungo-bun or written style, originated in the 10th
century, and this style continued to be used in legal
documents until the end of World War II. It was through
the introduction of Western literature that Japanese
literary people became aware of the closeness of written
and spoken styles in the Western languages, and this
prompted them to use kogo-bun or the narrative-conversa-
tional style in writing. This coordinated spoken-written
style, or genbun-itchitai, however, in my view did not
accomplish its objective of coordination. For, in

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reality, a new style of writing resulted, which I will
call translation style. Thus, a new split developed be-
tween written Japanese and spoken Japanese, the spoken
language tending to resist the changes from Indo-European
influences that had been adopted into the written language.

The two major characteristics of translation style
are (1) the development of a new type of passive sentence
which uses inanimate nouns as its subject (e.g. Kono hon
wa hiroku yomarete iru) as opposed to the traditional
Japanese adversative passive (e.g. Chichi ni shinareta)
(Howard, 1968, 1969; Niyekawa, 1968); and (2) the inclu-
sion of the grammatical subject in sentences even when the
subject is understood. These characteristics resulted
from close literal or grammatical translations of Western
literature, and while such a style has been found unpala-
table in casual conversation, it gradually came to be
absorbed into the Japanese language. Through the new
style, it had become possible to describe and report, for
instance, scientific experiments more accurately and objec-
tively. No longer would one interpret the sentence "Kono
jikken de wa kaeru wa denki de shokku o ataerareta nochi
kaibo sareru" (In this experiment, the frog will be dis-
sected, after being given an electric shock.) as having
an emotional overtone expressing sympathy for the poor
frog! Thus the translation style became not only the pre-
ferred style in scientific and philosophical writing, but
more and more articles, stories, and advertisements for
popular consumption in newspapers and magazines are showing
translation style characteristics.

In this connection, I should mention that we know of
no psychological study nor systematic linguistic analysis
so far that distinguishes between the traditional passive
and the translation style passive. We maintain that the
traditional Japanese passive is adversative and that the
translation style passive developed analogically from it
(Howard, 1967). We also maintain that the adversative
passive is acquired earlier in life during the language
acquisition period (before puberty); while the translation
passive is learned during the course of formal education
and through reading. Our first claim about linguistic
change in the passive was tested in a larger study on the
influence of language on perception, cognition and second
language learning (Niyekawa, 1968). Twenty-two Japanese
short stories that were used in a study on translation
were rank ordered (1) according to the year of birth of
the authors, ranging from 1864 to 1925, and (2) according
to the year of publication of the stories, ranging from
1889 to 1954. Relative frequency of occurrence of the
translation style passive (inanimate noun as the subject)
and the adversative passive was obtained by dividing the

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total number of occurrences by the number of pages for
each story. It was hypothesized that the more recently
born authors and the more recently published short stories
would show a higher frequency of usage of the translation
style passive. Statistical tests using the rank order
correlation fully supported the hypotheses at the .01
level of significance. On the other hand, there was no
significant correlation between either index of time and
the relative frequency of use of the adversative passive,
indicating that the use of the adversative passive is
independent of time, and has not shown any significant in-
crease or decrease over the 60 year period. Our claim
that the translation style passive is a recent innovation
was thus indirectly supported. Our other claim concerning
the order of acquisition of the two passives needs yet to
be tested. Such a study would throw some light on the
problem of distinguishing the effects of learning by
listening and by reading, and the process of integration
of the two in the growing child.

The preceding lengthy discussion on translation style
points out that the coordination of spoken and written
styles, supposedly accomplished in the 1890's, actually
just replaced one written style by another, a classic one
by a modern one. The replacement, however, can be assumed
to have contributed to the scientific advancement in Japan.

Following the impact of Western literature in its
original and translated forms, probably the greatest in-
fluence on the Japanese language has been that of radio
and TV. As in writing, communication by radio and TV is
directed toward a person at a distance. It is also com-
municating with people in a secondary group whom the com-
municator does not personally know. Yet one essential
difference from written communication is that the channel
of communication is auditory and visual. Distinguishing
homonyms by the characters used is impossible in this
type of communication. The speaker has to carefully
select words that have little ambiguity. Interestingly
enough there are other factors that put similar pressure
on the avoidance of use of words that have homonyms. One
is the reduction in the number of permissible kanji and
the other is the computer, which cannot print out well in
kanji. Thus, one may foresee a trend toward greater use
of foreign loanwords (and possibly yamato-kotoba?) and
reduction in Chinese compound words, so abundant in
homonyms.

If the past century had its greatest impact on syntax,
the present is on vocabulary, and the future may be on the
writing system. It is impossible to keep up with trans-
lating the thousands of new technical terms in this age

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of information explosion, especially when speedy trans-
mission and diffusion of information is emphasized. For
instance, the same UPI news is received by a number of
newspaper companies, radio and TV stations at the same
time. It is not just one official agency being responsible
for the translation and dissemination of the news. The
news has to be translated immediately and announced or
printed in a matter of a few hours. When there is a new
term for which no standardized translation exists, uni-
formity in the content of information can be best achieved
by using the foreign word untranslated. It is the need
for speedy communication that makes translation of tech-
nical terms difficult. Hence English words are just trans-
literated into Japanese.

Looking at the whole area of borrowing, translation
and coining of new terms, one may raise many interesting
researchable questions. For instance, why is "double
steal" in baseball jūtō, while "double punch" in
boxing is daburu panchi, and "double fault" in tennis is
daburu fuoruto (Bailey, 1962)? Is the popularity of the
particular sport or the date of introduction of the term
relevant here in determining whether or not the foreign
word gets translated or transliterated? Is frequency of
usage the major factor in deriving abbreviated foreign
phrases, such as zenesuto from "general strike," afureko
from "after recording" and atereko possibly from "ateru"
and "recording," in the same manner as kokuren is derived
from the Japanese two-word phrase kokusai rengo? The
reduction of two-word phrases into four syllabics, two
syllabics for each, may become a consistent morphological
rule for abbreviation.

Besides examining how new words get adopted and inte-
grated into the existing language, we should also investi-
gate the consequences of various types of adoption. Some
of the problems will be discussed in relation to unex-
pected consequences of planned changes later in this paper.

Some people predict that kanji will eventually be
eliminated completely. According to a calculation based
on the record since the Meiji era, if the trend in the
decreased use of kanji continues at the same rate, kanji
will go out of existence in 230 years (Gengo Seikatsu,
1964, No. 5, p. 7).

Long before such a stage is reached, however, the
direction of writing may change from the vertical to hori-
zontal. Already many students take notes sideways not
only in science courses, but in other courses as well.
Some businessmen write their letters horizontally too.
What effects will such a writing system have on the

language? For one thing, _tsuzukeji_ and _hentaigana_ (de-
viate _kana_) will have no place in such a system.
Abandoning _tsuzukeji_ means writing each character and
letter separately, as in print. Ending the sentence in
gozaimashita and even _mashita_ may be found to be cumber-
some when writing horizontally. Is it not possible then
that horizontal writing may lead to shorter, more business-
like and terse letters, reinforcing the trend towards less
personal interactions?

It will be much easier to insert foreign proper
nouns in their original form when horizontal writing is
used because (1) one does not have to turn the paper, and
(2) the name can be represented in Roman script rather
than the clumsier _katakana_. Similarly, it may be easier
to spell out in Roman script a borrowed English word such
as "information" than write it in _katakana_ [イ ンフォメーション].
The mixing of English words in Japanese writing may lead
to pronouncing the English words as in English rather
than in the accepted Japanified versions (for example,
pronouncing [lʌndən] rather than [rondon] for "London,"
or handling English consonant clusters without epenthetic
vowels, as in [frʌstréyšan] in place of [furasutore:šon]
for "frustration"). This may lead to two coexisting
phonological systems among the educated even when they are
essentially speaking Japanese with just borrowed words.

The second force referred to earlier, that is, the
force working towards change in interpersonal relation-
ships, has essentially the element of democratization.
It attempts to enforce the Western egalitarian value
system. In comparison to the first force which was
natural and inevitable with Western contact, this appears
to have more of an officially planned element in it. The
introduction of compulsory education, which gave equal
educational opportunities to all children, led to the
standardization of _kanji_ and _okurigana_ by setting up the
Kokugo Chosa Iinkai in 1902. While the Council has
changed its name and function slightly over the years, the
present _Shin Kokugo Shingikai_ has handled the reduction
of _kanji_ in postwar Japan. As was mentioned earlier, the
reduction was a planned change towards simplification,
and while it had many advantages, it also has created a
number of problems. The most serious one probably is that
productivity in neologism by the use of _kanji_ has become
drastically reduced. The situation is equivalent to
having a large number of Greek and Latin stems and suf-
fixes removed from the English language.

Another planned change in this direction may be re-
ferred to as a "regression towards the mean" approach in
the use of _keigo_. On the one hand the uppermost class of

keigo for individual members of the royal family has been
reduced, while on the other hand there is no longer a con-
descending or "talking down" tone to official government
forms. Teachers in school have also followed the govern-
ment in using _masu kotoba_, in place of regular impera-
tives like _kinyuu seyo_ or _kake_, in the instructions of
examinations. These, however, are conscious forces, and
their success in establishing a more egalitarian inter-
personal relationship is still doubtful. Certainly the
effects are to some extent visible, but the process is
indeed very slow. Here we see an effort towards bringing
about social change through language change. The slowness,
however, is not because the language lacks influence but
because of social resistance towards adoption of the new
language system. The student may have used egalitarian
expressions in relating to his classmates, upperclassmen
and teachers alike during his college years. However,
wh l he enters a company as a new employee, he ends up
succumbing to the existing pressure to preserve the old
hierarchical system in language and behavior within the
company. Similarly, while women students may use a less
feminine language during their student days, they may make
more of an effort to conform to the feminine norm once out
of college.

    While the style of language involving honorifics and
masculine-feminine distinction may be slower in changing
as compared with the change in the lexical system, "equality
of the sexes" may have some consequences. This, however,
is not so much planned language change as language change
resulting from social change. For instance, the fact that
women enter professions previously monopolized by men may
create a need for a device to indicate the sex of the
person being talked about. No longer can one assume that
a professor is necessarily a male. While the use of _kare_,
kanojo at present appears to have some derogatory conno-
tation, the connotation may change over time when the use
becomes less optional than it is now. In this connection,
the rules for the use of the causative _sase_ may change
drastically over the years when the hierarchical inter-
personal relationship gets de-emphasized. We already
note such use in "Gakusei wa kyōju o toire nimo yukasena-
katta," 'The students would not even let the professor go
to the toilet.' The semantic connotation of a causative
sentence may also change with time. Ten years ago a sen-
tence like "Gakusei wa sensei ni shiken no kijitsu o enki
saseta" may have suggested that the students, threatened
and forced the teacher to postpone the examination, while
ten or twenty years from now, it may not differ much from
"Okāsan wa Tarō o isha ni ikaseta," 'Mother sent Taro to
the doctor.' The change in meaning may not be noticeable
later. Unless we measure the meaning of these in the

process of change, the semantic connotation may be as hard
to recover later as the pronunciation of words centuries
ago on the basis of written records.

To summarize, I have discussed some of the major
changes in the Japanese language in the past hundred years,
the causal factors, as well as some of the planned and un-
planned consequences of such changes. The types of change
in the language involve the syntactic, semantic, lexical
and writing systems. These observations of the past and
present and predictions for future changes in Japan may
have great implications for other developing nations that
use languages sharing some of the characteristics of
Japanese. While some of the changes, especially the syn-
tactic ones, may be considered as "improvements" in terms
of scientific advancement, others, even when planned, have
brought about serious problems with the supposed "improve-
ment." The predicted changes in the future presented here
are guesses based on the direction of changes up to the
present, and are by no means necessarily considered desir-
able changes. The need to keep abreast in the age of
technology should not be the overriding factor in deter-
mining future language policies. If some of the predic-
tions materialize, we may not only be severing our ties
with past Japanese cultural history, but also be pre-
dicting our future on the clearly false assumption that
the cognitive capacity of the human, in this case the
Japanese, is too limited to cope with the complexity of
the speaking, reading and writing systems of Japanese
which people in the past were able to master.

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Discussion

1. The frequent omission of the subject in the casual style of English was mentioned. This is now frequently used in TV commercials as a device to promote familiarity with the viewer.

2. Regarding the student movement in Japan, it was pointed out that at no time during the recent turmoil was any conscious proposal or demand made by the students concerning language change. While professors and administrators were sometimes addressed as kisama and omae during the demonstrations, this was probably a reflection of the psychological power status of the moment, but the students retained hierarchical personal relationship pronouns within their own group and made no general recommendations for changes.

3. However, social change is reflected in language change and languages adjust to fill developing needs. As interaction between the sexes increases, there will probably be a greater need to specify the sex of referents. For example, -kun, which formerly was used only by men, is now regularly used in reference to males. Perhaps through the influence of English, there seems to be an increasing tendency to indicate plurality in Japanese, through such devices as parenthetical expressions in the written language and the use of -tati as a pluralizer.

4. While the writing reforms recommended at the end
    of World War II have had a lasting effect, the
    linguistic recommendations that the use of honori-
    fics be curtailed and that the Japanese language
    become more egalitarian had no effect whatsoever.
    Such changes seem to occur not as an antecedent
    to--but as a reflection of--social change.

5. The use of kanji in the age of the computer was
    discussed. Will there be a movement for further
    reduction in the number used, or even for total
    abolition in favor of romanization?

6. The possibility that changes in the phonology
    (for example, vowel splits) might occur in
    Japanese to disambiguate homonyms was suggested
    as something that has occurred in other
    languages.

The Problem of Achieving Mutual Understanding
Between Japanese and Americans[1]

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A hypothesis which seems intuitively reasonable is
this: The greater the distance between two cultures in
the personality, attitudes and values of the people, the
higher the probability for misunderstanding.

The psychological literature was searched in an
attempt to determine where Japanese and Americans were in
distance from each other. Then given a concept of dis-
tance, has anyone shown that misunderstanding is a function
of cultural differences?

First, what are the differences in personality be-
tween Japanese and Americans? Abate and Berrien (1967)
have found high correlations in the range of r = .80 for
stereotypes between the two cultures. The Japanese con-
cept of the typical American personality is the same as
Americans' concept of the typical American personality.
Conversely, our concept of the typical Japanese person-
ality is the same as their concept of the typical Japanese
personality. However, the stereotypes do not match vereo-
types. That is, when each American in the study was asked
to describe his own personality, these self-reports were
quite different from the stereotype--the picture of the
typical American's personality. This discrepancy was even
more extreme for the Japanese. Each Japanese i_ the study

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viewed himself as being different from the personality of the typical Japanese.

Cattell and co-workers (1965a, 1965b) have found a remarkable similarity in basic personality structure across many cultures including the American, Japanese, Italian, German, French, British, and Indian. A factor analysis of the personality measure IPAT resulted in the same factors with about the same loadings from culture to culture. This basic personality pattern can be defined with primary source traits of A, affectothymia vs. sizothymia; B, intelligence; C, ego strength; E, dominance; F, surgency; G, superego; H, parmia, etc.

The evidence from Cattell supports a hypothesis of personality universals. While primary personality factors may be the same from culture to culture, factor levels will probably vary. For instance, when Japanese are contrasted with Americans, the latter tend to be more extroverted and active, but have less anxiety and sensitivity.

It is not as if the Americans had personality dimensions A, B, C; the Japanese had personality dimensions D, E, and F; and the Indians had G, H, and I. Rather, the dimensions are the same for any culture but where people are on any dimension will vary from culture to culture.

Misumi and Ando (1964) used the Morris' Value Scale and found that the Japanese life style shifted from 1949 to 1964 in the direction of both the American and Chinese life styles. Some studies have demonstrated no significant differences between Japanese and Americans in such personality traits as dominance, deference, abasement, and autonomy (Arkoff, 1964; Arkoff, Meredith, and Iwahara, 1962). Surprisingly, Japanese and Americans were similar in personality traits for which we would expect dramatic differences. However, Americans of Japanese heritage consistently showed significant differences on these traits when compared with Caucasians (Fenz and Arkoff, 1962). This suggests that the migrant population has preserved characteristics which have changed extensively in the parent culture.

In political attitudes, Kato (1961) has discovered wide differences between Japanese and American high school students. For instance, 80% of Japanese youth in the study disapproved of wiretapping by police as compared with disapproval from 35% of American youth. Seventy-six percent of American teenagers agreed that the most serious danger to democracy comes from Communists and Communist-dominated groups, but only 19% of Japanese youth agreed. For college students, McGinnies (1963) has concluded that

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Japanese and Americans differ on many civil liberty issues. Again, it was surprising to find that Japanese college students in the early sixties had greater concern than American college students for censorship, freedom of speech, and fair employment practices.

Although many studies have shown differences between Japanese and Americans in personality, attitudes, and values, no one has yet shown a relationship between these differences and non-understanding between the two cultures. There may be a significant relationship, but it has yet to be demonstrated.

Nakazima (1959) has hypothesized that mutual understanding between countries is a function of understanding each other's language and cultural background. As a step in this direction he contrasted English with Japanese phonology, showing common errors in sound substitutions when Americans speak Japanese and Japanese speak English. Intuitively, it would seem that Nakazima was quite correct in suggesting that mutual understanding between countries can be facilitated by skill in using each other's language, and developing insight into the other country's cultural background. One critical problem is that achieving language skill has been a slow, tedious, painful process often resulting in failure for 66% of students (Carroll, 1960) even after several years of study.

We have developed evidence that suggests a biological theory of second language learning. That is, the human brain and nervous system may be wired, so to speak, to assimilate second language skills in a configuration which is patterned after first language learning. Since current teaching methods for second languages do not conform to a model of first language learning, the result is not only zero learning, but actually anti-learning behavior. After several years of study, most students have zero facility in listening, speaking, reading, and writing a second language. But more serious yet, these students develop a strong, negative reaction to second language learning.

Next, I would like to present a film which shows how rapidly listening skill in Japanese can be acquired by Americans when the method is adapted to a model of first language learning. The film is entitled, "Demonstration of a New Strategy in Language Learning," and is available in the United States from the Film Library at the University of California at Berkeley. The experimental research to document the effectiveness of this approach with children and adults has been reported in

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the following studies: Asher, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1969a, 1969b; Asher and Price, 1967; and Kunihira and Asher, 1965.

The approach is called the learning strategy of the total physical response, and it contains three basic principles. The first is that listening skill should be developed to a keen level of competency before the student begins speaking. Listening skill seems to produce a "perceptual mapping" of the sound and grammatical features that are in the target language. This perceptual mapping then enables the student to gain a large magni- tude of positive transfer to other language skills as speaking and, under certain conditions, reading and writing.

The second principle is that in the initial stages of listening training, foreign utterances should be syn- chronized with the action of the student's entire body. For instance, when the student hears, "Stand up, walk to the door, and open it!" he should respond immediately with the appropriate action. The pacing of this listening training should resemble a ping-pong game. The utterances from the instructor should manipulate student behavior so rapidly that there is no time for translation.

The third principle is that speaking should be de- layed until there is a readiness to begin producing the foreign utterances. This readiness point should occur spontaneously and will vary somewhat from student to student. Readiness will be indicated when a student be- gins to press the instructor more and more for oppor- tunities to speak.

Summary

One hypothesis is that misunderstanding is a func- tion of the distance between two cultures in personality, attitudes, and values. The literature shows an array of differences on these three dimensions when Japanese are compared with Americans. However, evidence has not yet been developed to show that cultural distance is related to misunderstanding.

Another hypothesis is that mutual understanding is more apt to be achieved when one is fluent in the language of the other culture. The problem then becomes one of creating strategies for accelerating the learning of second languages. One strategy was based on a model of first language learning in which the student achieves a keen level of listening comprehension before he attempts to speak. This listening skill is acquired in a context

in which the student's entire body is synchronized with the foreign utterances he hears. For example, when the student hears "Run to the door and open it," he immediately responds with the physical action.

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Footnotes

[1] This paper is an expansion of the oral presentation to
the Joint Japanese-American Conference on Sociolinguistics
held at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, Hawaii, August 24-28, 1970.

Following Professor Asher's oral presentation, his
film "Demonstration of a New Strategy in Language Learning"
was shown. The discussion that followed was based on the
film.

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Discussion:

Questions were asked about the unnatural variety of Japanese used in the film; the feasibility of using this technique in teaching adults; the possibility of extending the method for teaching more abstract levels of language; and what research had been done subsequent to making the film in 1964, to prove the value of the approach in terms of students' later progress. Because all the Japanese examples in the film had similar patterning, there was a question as to how much of the utterances the children really comprehended. It was suggested that their responses could have been triggered by the recognition of the nouns and verbs only, because of the lack of contrast elsewhere.

In reply, Professor Asher stated that he would welcome suggestions for improving the corpus, but that the nature of the corpus itself would not in any way affect the method. However, since the method calls for constant success on the part of the student, the corpus is kept small, and no unfamiliar material, even for checking purposes, is ever introduced.

The fact that the students in the film were able to understand new combinations of familiar lexemes proved that they were learning, according to Professor Asher. Output, he pointed out, was greater than input. Professor Asher believes that this method is useful for teaching students of all ages, although an occasional individual may fight against an approach which is deliberately attempting to avoid translation. The addition of abstract vocabulary, he said, was simply a matter of finer tuning and did not require a change of method.

Professor Asher has continued research to a higher level, only in languages other than Japanese. In working with German students, he found they were able to cover in twelve hours the listening aspect of a 240-hour course that covered all the language skills.

According to this method of instruction, speaking is taught only after a student presses for it, subsequent to his acquisition of some degree of listening skill. Research on Japanese has not been carried to this stage.

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III. Working Papers Presented by Japanese Participants
(Tuesday, August 25, 1970)

Expressive Culture and Implicational Culture
(Hyogen Bunka To Suisatsu Bunka)

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1. In the comparison of American culture and Japanese culture we can set up various points of view. From one point of view we can call American culture 'a culture of sin,' and Japanese culture 'a culture of shame' as has been pointed out by Ruth Benedict. This point of view does not of course seem to exhaust all the characteristics of both cultures.

For the past several years I have been engaged in contrastive studies of verbal expressions of English and Japanese. With the result of the studies on one hand and a broader view of culture on the other, it seems that we can set up another point of view from which we can see American culture as 'expressive' and Japanese culture as 'implicational.' This difference can be seen not only in verbal expression, but in some phases of nonverbal behavior and in some literary and other arts. Without the knowledge of the difference, both nations seem to be liable to misunderstand each other when they are engaged in communication.

The American (I always mean 'North American') people seem to like to be expressive in their behavior, and even to believe that they cannot expect to be understood if they are not expressive to the fullest extent. On the other hand, we Japanese people tend to regard full expressiveness to be rather childish, and value vague implication as mature. The exploration of the reason needs the help of cultural anthropology.

2. Differences in nonverbal behavior

(1) Facial expression. We Japanese usually wear expressionless faces, that is 'poker faces.' Before the war we men folk used to be educated not to give free expression to emotions. Free expression of emotions was considered to be base or feminine. The containment of emotions was, and perhaps is, a virtue with us men folk, and it may be connected with the old feudalism. When a little boy falls down and is going to cry because of pain, he is often scolded, Otoko dakara, naicha dame! ('Don't cry, because you are a boy!'). We have an old saying

<u>Bushi wa kuwanedo takayôji</u> ('The samurai proudly pretends to use a toothpick even if he is so poor that he has nothing to eat'). That is, the samurai should not express his suffering from poverty.

My impression is that the American people are very rich in facial expression.

(2) Body movement and gesticulation. When American people want to show endearment or respect, they give an embrace or a kiss. But we Japanese usually do nothing of the sort. The American people's gesticulation is not so great as the Italians', but is greater than that of the Japanese.

3. Differences in verbal behavior

In Japanese, love or affection is usually given no direct verbal expression. We believe that sincere emotion or respect should not be expressed directly. We have to show such feelings by nonverbal behavior, or by quite indirect verbal expression.

4. Differences in verbal expression

The following various types of (non)expression don't seem to have English equivalents.

(1) Deletion of the grammatical subject. It is a well-known phenomenon that the subject is quite often deleted in Japanese. I believe it was Professor Martin who asked us at the last Washington conference what word we use as the first person pronoun when we talk to ourselves. It seems we don't use any word. Toshio Iritani suggests that the phenomenon has some relation with the old feudalistic system. The system of personal pronouns and address names which is connected with the hierarchical social system was very complex, and the misuse of it was liable to cause trouble, so that the speakers avoided the use of the subject entirely (cf. Iritani, <u>Kotoba no Seitai</u>, NHK Books, 1968). The disuse of the first person pronoun seems to be further connected with the disinclination for self-assertion.

(2) Deictic pronouns. We often, at least oftener than Americans, use the pronoun <u>are</u> ('that') deictically where common nouns should be used in English. For example, <u>Are o are shite kurenai ka?</u> ('Will you do that for me with that?'). The hearer has to guess what are indicated by the two <u>are</u>'s.

(3) Suggestive deletion. It is quite common to use apesiopetic expressions such as:

. . . desu keredo mo.
Watashi wa Yamada to mōsu mono desu ga. ('My name is Yamada.')
Chotto o-negai ga arimasu keredo mo. ('I have a request.')
Ima chotto kirashite orimasu ga ('It is out of stock, now.')

In the following instances, the presupposed alternatives are not clear.

Tama ni wa eiga o miru no mo ii no. ('Sometimes it is not bad to see a movie, too.')
O-cha de mo nomi masen ka? ('Won't you drink tea, for instance?')

The typical present-day instance is the frequent use of Dōmo! Dōmo can be the initial word of various kinds of expressions:

Dōmo (sumi masen) ('I'm much obliged.')
Dōmo (arigatō gozaimasu) ('Thank you very much.')
Dōmo (go-kurō sama) ('Thank you for your trouble.')
Dōmo (hisashi-buri desu ne) ('It's a long time since I saw you last.')
Dōmo (shitsurei shimashita) ('It has been impolite of me.')

We have to guess what is the deleted portion at every particular occasion.

(4) Vague expression. This is a deliberate way of avoiding 'childish' precise expressions.

Kore nanka dō desu ka? ('How about such as this?')
instead of Kore (wa) dō desu ka? ('How about this?')

Ima chotto kirashite imasu. ('It is out of stock now.') In this instance, chotto literally means 'to some degree.' There can be no difference of degree in out-of-stockness from a logical point of view. But in Japanese, we feel obliged to use chotto to soften the harsh tone of refusal (cf. a 'down-toner').

Even in shopping the quantitative specification is deliberately made vague.

Enpitsu o jippon hodo kudasai ('Give me about ten pencils.')

<u>Niku o 500 guramu bakari kudasai</u> ('Give me about
500 grams of beef.')

We can further point out the following differences:
    <u>ichinen-han</u>: 'eighteen months.'
    <u>han-nichi</u>: 'twelve hours.'

The following type of English expression is quite
foreign to Japanese:

1) With the rolling barrage going in Maine, of
   course I was afraid for myself. Four auto-
   mobiles were hit on opening day, but mainly I
   was afraid for Charley. I know that a poodle
   looks very like a buck deer to <u>one of these</u>
   <u>hunters</u>, and I had to find some way of pro-
   tecting him.--John Steinbeck, <u>Travels with</u>
   <u>Charley</u>.

2) And if I went and tried to get someone from the
   farm they would tell me not to interfere, that
   the old man was best left alone when he got in
   <u>one of his rages</u>, . . .--Du Maurier, <u>The Old Man</u>.

    5. Japanese 'point expression' vs. English 'line
expression.'

    In referring to the same durational occurrence,
Japanese tends to refer to only the beginning or the end
point, and the durational part is only implied. The equi-
valent English expressions express duration as duration.

    The English present perfect tense is often trans-
lated by '<u>-ta</u>,' the so-called 'past form.'

1) <u>Yase mashita</u>:   'I've lost weight.'
2) <u>Dō shitan desu</u>?: 'What has happened?'
3) <u>Haru ga kita</u>: 'Spring has come.'

According to my semantic analysis, the essential
meaning (= sememe) of '<u>ta</u>' is 'some action or state was
realized in the past' and it is left to the hearer's guess
whether the realized action or state continues down to
the time of utterance.

    The 'point-line' contrast is expressed over the whole
sentence in the following instances:

4) <u>Ano hito wa jū-nen mae ni naku nari mashita</u>:
   'He's been dead for ten years.'
5) <u>A. T. wa yomara naku natte kara 30-nen ni</u>
   <u>natte ita</u>: 'Anthony Trollope ceased to be

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read for thirty years.'--Somerset Maugham,
The Summing Up.

English durational verbs also correspond to
Japanese '_ta_.'

6) _Onaka ga suita_: 'I'm hungry.'
7) _Wakari mashita_: 'I see (understand).'

The contrast is also seen in the meaning of lexical
items:

8) _yūdachi_ = a rain that begins to fall suddenly,
usually in the evening (cf. _niwaka-am_).
shower = a brief fall of rain, hail or sleet
(Webster's New World Dictionary).
9) (_o-cha o_) _tsugu_ = pour into (attention is paid
to the reaching point, i.e. the cup).
pour (out tea) = to send (a liquid, fluid, or
anything in loose particles) flowing
or falling, as from one container to
another, or into, over, or on some-
thing (The Random House Dictionary).
(Attention seems to be paid to the
whole process).

According to my very limited investigation, the
description of women's figures in literature also seems to
show the difference. I found several instances of the
description of movement in English, but only one in
Japanese. American and English peoples seem to pay more
attention to process in general than the Japanese.

6. The Japanese inclination for point expression
seems to be reflected in the field of arts. Haiku is a
typical instance.

1) _Meigetsu-ya/ike o megurite/yomosugara_. ('O the
beautiful moon; circling around the pond; all
through the night.')
2) _Me ni aoba/yama-hototogisu/hatsu-gatsuo_. ('Greenery
to the eye; mountain-cuckoos; the first bonito.')

In most _haiku_'s, three things are just juxtaposed
without any explicit grammatical connection, and the rest
is left for the reader's imagination.

The same thing can be said about traditional Japanese
paintings, in which part of the picture is left blank.

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The Japanese garden and the flower arrangement can be interpreted as the composition of emphasis points. These two arts seem to have, at the same time, the character of 'pan-viewpoints,' which is also manifested in Japanese paintings, especially in picture scrolls.

The character of 'pan-viewpoints' seems to have a distant relationship with the structure of Japanese sentences, which can be continued with shifting topics.

European paintings have a fixed mono-viewpoint and are painted in perspective. European gardens are usually symmetrical and seem to presuppose some fixed viewpoints. (Cf. Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, 1966).

Discussion:

1. It was suggested that in many of the areas in which Professor Kunihiro found divergence between Japanese and Americans, actually comparable signals are given in both cultures but in different ways and/or to differing degrees. For example, just as the Japanese use chotto to soften their language, Americans use expressions like 'I'm afraid,' 'I feel like,' 'maybe,' etc. and also special intonation patterns, for much the same purpose. In particular, the casual style is characterized by the heavy use of such qualifiers.

   Similarly, in facial expression, the difference seems to be only one of degree and kind. The Japanese can readily read each other's facial expressions; it is only to a foreigner that the Japanese might seem to be 'poker-faced.' Statements on love and affection can also be qualified in terms of different segments of the culture: Japanese women, for example, express their emotions more readily than men.

2. The importance of being cognizant of speech levels when comparing items in two languages was mentioned. For example, subject deletion occurs in both English and Japanese, but in English, unlike Japanese, it does not occur in consultative or formal styles. Thus, it would not be accurate simply to say that there is subject deletion in Japanese but not in English.

3. The general topic of subject deletion was discussed at some length. Although the phenomenon occurs in both languages the deletion rules are different for Japanese and English.

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It was pointed out that while the common
occurrence of words like sore and are as subjects
in modern translation style makes the Japanese
formally more explicit, in actuality there is
little difference in the degree of assumption and
implication, since the referents of these sub-
jects are often vague. Standard Japanese was con-
trasted with Hawaiian Japanese on this point:
the latter has much less personal subject dele-
tion (cf. the frequent use of yuu wa and mii wa).

4. The use--and growing non-use--of imperatives was
discussed. Various more indirect request forms
seem to be increasing in both languages, even in
the advertising field. Forms like 'Drink Coca
Cola' were also mentioned. There was some dis-
agreement as to whether or not even these should
be characterized simply as imperatives.

5. It was suggested that Professor Kunihiro's use
of 'line expression' and 'duration' together with
"process" as descriptive of English might be mis-
understood by English speakers. For them, the
realization of an action or state in the past
(i.e. the Japanese -ta) would probably be more
apt to suggest 'process' than the frequently
comparable 'durative' English pattern consisting
of a form of 'be' plus an adjective.

6. Professor Kunihiro restated his central theme--
that we must examine language and culture to-
gether. He would like to assume a language-
behavior complex, having common features. From
a methodological point of view, he suggested
that a possible research project would be
Japanese-English translations through which
interesting contrasts between the two languages
would undoubtedly be discovered.

The difficulty of moving from grammar to
behavior was mentioned, particularly in con-
nection with any attempts to determine why
Japanese and Americans behave differently. It
was proposed that probably a careful description
of what the linguistic contrasts of the surface
structure of the two languages are would be the
primary concern of the research proposed.

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Features of the Language Behavior of the Japanese People
with Particular Reference to Their Cultural Patterns[1]

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Introduction

The present study deals with language behavior of a
people. I will proceed without clearly defining what
language behavior is. In the present study, by language
behavior, I mean the manner of expression rather than
the structural patterning of mere linguistic forms.

The language behavior of a people is clearly re-
lated to other cultural patterns. It is more so than
structural patterns of linguistic forms in the narrower
sense. People tend to interpret the language behavior of
people of different cultures superficially with little
insight into interrelated cultural patterns. Studies of
language behavior of different peoples are very important
to avoid possible misunderstanding.

Studies of cultural language behavior can be more
revealing if they are done in comparative or contrastive
ways. But in the present study I will confine myself to
Japanese. I hope to make similar studies of American
behavior in the near future.

The problems will be dealt with in no particular
order, and only those cases which I have observed will
be taken up.

Heart-to-Heart Communication

1. The Japanese have the saying, _I shin den shin_,
which means 'With heart you can communicate.' This
roughly characterizes one of the communication attitudes
of Japanese people. A couple of examples can be given.

2. When a person visits someone to ask for his help,
he does not bring up the subject matter immediately. To
create a friendly atmosphere he begins to smoke or talk
about other things which are totally unrelated. And when
it is time to go to the main topic of his visit, he ap-
proaches the topic gradually. It often happens that he
expects the other person to recognize the purpose of his
visit and ask about it. In this way he can avoid the
embarrassment that he would have felt if he had started
talking about the main topic immediately.

The person who begins with the main topic of his visit is often called "a business-like person." In traditional Japan, being business-like is thought to be unrefined.

3. When a person goes to a friend's funeral and meets the family, he usually does not know what Japanese expressions he has to use. There are one or two conventional funeral greetings which roughly mean, "How sad you must be!" But he is embarrassed to use even these formal expressions. Usually he mutters some words of this sort in an unintelligible manner and bows more than once. He expects that his sympathy can be felt by the other person. (In contrast to the unhappy situation, on auspicious occasions, the Japanese expresses congratulations more freely.)

4. When a person is happy, he has a happy face, but usually does not use very many words to express his happy feeling, though this tendency is changing these days. In Japan if a person expresses such happy feelings freely, he will be considered rude or too modern or childish.

5. Japanese people do not find much purpose in making a formal contract of any sort with others. They find more meaning in non-verbal, heart-to-heart agreement. But, having no verbal contract, it often happens that they see a promise broken or see themselves betrayed.

6. When a Japanese man loves a woman, he usually does not tell her so by saying, "I love you." If you say this in Japanese society you often sound as though you are joking. This is because ordinary people do not express their love in this way. Women do not use this expression either. Instead of saying, "I love you," Japanese people use an indirect expression or gesture.

Frank Criticisms in Human Relationship

1. At an academic meeting or in a demonstration class of a teaching workshop, few Japanese will give direct opinions or criticisms because they know from experience that it may mean the loss of any friendly relationship between the speaker and the critic. Besides, other people present may be made to feel uncomfortable by the rudeness of the critic, because they realize that the person who is being criticized feels "shame."

2. The form of a book review is similar. It is very difficult in Japan to find a book review which is really worth reading, because when a reviewer writes, he foresees embarrassment of the author. This is why a book

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review often has only irrelevant remarks mingled with some favorable comments.

3. At Japanese offices (whether governmental or private) workers who are not in high positions are "not allowed" to make frank complaints about problems to their superiors. If they speak frankly they will often lose the chance for promotion in the future. Office workers are frustrated and often lose enthusiasm for their work, finding release from their tensions during off-duty hours.

Modesty

1. The Japanese people attach a lot of importance to modesty. This attitude is reflected in various Japanese expressions which sometimes say the opposite of what is actually meant.

2. When you are invited to a friend's home for dinner, the host or hostess will often say to you, "There is nothing to eat, but please eat it." You will then be surprised to find you are being served some (often a lot of) delicious food.

3. In a similar way, when you receive a gift from someone, he will say, "This is a small thing, but please accept it," though the present is far from being small.

4. In Japanese society it is thought to be unrefined to express pride in members of your own family. On the contrary it is a regular practice even to speak ill of them. This attitude is reflected in some descriptive words about certain members of the family. In the presence of other people a Japanese often refers to his wife as a gusai ('a stupid wife') and to his own child as a tonji ('a pig child').

5. When a person hears himself well spoken of by another person, he does not accept it and express thanks for it, because it is usually considered stupid to take another person's compliments at their face value. He usually says, Tondemonai ('far from the fact'), Doitashimashite ('no, not at all').

Avoidance of Public Display

1. As a subcategory of "being modest" it can also be mentioned that the Japanese people hate a pretentious attitude. So, most people do not want to use pretentious expressions.

2. One common criticism of foreigners is that in a train or bus Japanese people usually do not give their seats to women or older people. This does not always mean that they lack consideration toward the weaker person. They are so self-conscious that they are embarrassed to offer their seats or say a few kind words in front of other people.

Money Matters

1. Japanese people (except for business people) find it very awkward to bring up money matters directly in the course of their conversation (though it is often said that there is a great difference between the people of southern and northern Japan). This attitude may have had its origin in the earlier days when Samurai (Japanese lords or warriors) were or pretended to be indifferent to money matters. Anyway Japanese people tend to wait until the other person mentions money, or they tend to postpone referring to money as long as possible.

2. When applying for employment, a Japanese employee will hesitate to mention salary for fear that the employer will think him overly concerned with pay.

Unskilled Conversation

1. In traditional Japan, talking is perhaps not thought of as an important skill. Those who talk a lot are thought to lack character, unless they are talking to close friends or family members.

2. At social functions, whether at home or outside, Japanese people are not used to talking very much. Instead they are more inclined to eat and drink. At parties for men (e.g. among graduates of the same high school or college, or among office-workers who are forced to keep quiet while at work, etc.) they tend to drink and sing rather than talk.

3. Most Japanese people are also poor at greetings. At their first introduction, most of them exchange very few greetings, because they lack proper first greeting words. In language textbooks the expression "Hajimemashite"--or other similar expressions-is cited as appropriate for such an occasion, but this is a very formal expression.

4. In urban areas people in the neighborhood tend not to exchange greetings when they meet, even though they recognize each other. If one of them does offer a greeting in this situation, he may be considered to be a person who is too friendly, strange, or ambitious.

5. In larger Japanese offices people from different sections of the office often do not greet at all even though they recognize each other.

6. Japanese people are rather self-conscious about apologizing, particularly to strangers. When a person accidentally does something impolite in public, he often does not apologize. The other person, who may be rather quick-tempered, may get angry and start a fight.

Fear of Laughter

1. The fear of being laughed at is probably stronger in Japan than in any other country.

2. A Japanese mother often scolds her child by saying, "You will be laughed at by people," "You will be scolded by a policeman,". . . By repeated remarks of this sort Japanese children grow to be constantly aware of other people's opinions of them.

3. In high school or college classes the students rarely ask the teacher questions. This does not necessarily mean that Japanese students have no questions. Even though a student may have questions in his mind, he feels embarrassed to ask because he is afraid that his question may sound foolish, or that his question may trouble the teacher.

Avoidance of Speaking Directly

1. Japanese people are interested in creating a pleasant atmosphere before discussing important points. This means that introductory, often totally unrelated topics come first, and important points come toward the end. Foreigners listening to a Japanese often complain that they are irritated by not getting to the point for some time.

When it comes to asking for another's help, the main part of the conversation also usually comes toward the end, as discussed on page 58.

Formal and Arrogant Attitude in Public Affairs

1. In Japan particular varieties of language are used for certain occupations.

2. In governmental offices, some officials use a rather cold or arrogant tone when speaking to visitors. This may have had its origin in the early years of the Meiji Period when the government was considered as _Okami_

('higher institution'). Until the end of the last war,
policemen also used to use very arrogant language in
speaking to the general public.

3. On the other hand, storekeepers and clerks used
to use very polite language, though this tendency has been
declining recently. This may be because storekeepers used
to be lowest on the professional ladder in traditional
Japan.

Concerning language behavior at governmental offices,
complicated format and formal expressions are required for
papers and forms. Even a personal history record, which
is often required to get a new job or to apply for some-
thing from the government, has rigid requirements.

Reluctance to Condescend

1. In a society like Japan's, which used to be
feudalistic, a person who considers himself superior to
another will not willingly relinquish his superiority.

2. Very few parents will say "thank you" to a
child. Teachers will not say "thank you" to a student.
And an official will not thank a general visitor.

3. In a family the husband, who has been consi-
dered the "lord," does not condescend to the other mem-
bers of the family, particularly to his wife. A Japanese
husband rarely uses kind words to his wife, though among
younger husbands and wives this tendency has been
changing a great deal recently.

This reluctance to be kind to others is partly re-
lated to "Terekusai" in Japanese, which may be compar-
able to what Westerners call self-consciousness.

Discussion:

1. The point made in this paper that we are interested
in ways of expression rather than mere linguistic
forms is well taken. We must guard against a ten-
dency to vacillate between two opposite approaches--
i.e. studying how certain linguistic rules and
structures work out in the conceptual sphere on
the one hand, as opposed to investigating which
kinds of forms are pertinent to certain conceptual

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[1] The author wishes to thank Professor Kunihiro of
the University of Tokyo for his helpful suggestions in
preparing this paper.

spheres and types of behavior, on the other. We
should decide which approach we will use and
follow through consistently.

2. A warning against overgeneralization was reiterated.
    Many items in the above paper are relevant in
    American culture as well, but the degree of rele-
    vance and pertinent value judgments from within
    the culture are of great importance. For example,
    it will be necessary to distinguish between rural
    versus urban society, and the individual as
    opposed to the cultural stereotype. Most important
    to the research proposed will, of course, be the
    question of how these attitudes are reflected
    linguistically.

3. Are we interested simply in an inventory of cross-
    cultural differences, or are we primarily concerned
    with those differences that are significant for
    establishing rapport? The latter is certainly
    more important to our proposed research, but we
    will be concentrating on how such differences cor-
    relate with language.

4. It was pointed out that according to one scholarly
    interpretation, there are two kinds of haji: be-
    sides referring to disgrace or humiliation, haji
    also covers the shyness and self-consciousness so
    often attributed to the Japanese.

        It was suggested that the analysis of the
    background of such behavior patterns might indi-
    cate why they had developed, but there was a
    question as to whether this sort of explanation
    can be extended to language. Some reluctance was
    expressed against any analysis into why in a
    research project on the general project proposed.

Ethnography of Self-reference and Address in
              Present-day Japanese

                  Takao Suzuki
                  Keio University

        I am writing this paper by way of a sketchy review
of what I have been doing for the last few years in what
may be called an "Ethnography of Self-reference and
Address," the purpose of which is first to construct a
comprehensive framework according to which terms belonging
to diverse lexical categories such as personal pronouns,
individual names, terms for kin and so on can be grouped

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together in a systematic way so as to present a func-
tional picture of the linguistic behavior of the Japanese
people in interpersonal communication, and then to cor-
relate this, if possible, with the general socio-anthro-
pological structure of the Japanese society.

If we put what we have in mind in general terms, it
is to investigate exhaustively what kind of terms are
used by the speaker to address others, and what words are
used by him to refer to himself in speaking to whom in
what context in a given society. As a special case of
this, the question of self-reference in speaking to one-
self should also be considered, for Japanese seem to use
first person pronouns exclusively, whereas speakers of
most European languages seem to use a second person
pronoun, often preceded by their own name put in the voca-
tive, e.g. "George, you are done for!" Such a difference
might account for the structural difference in the mode
of self-objectification between these people.

It is common knowledge that the Japanese language
abounds in personal pronouns. He who has even a slight
knowledge of the tongue can easily enumerate a number of
first person pronouns, such as <u>watakushi</u>, <u>boku</u>, <u>ore</u>, <u>temae</u>,
together with phonetic variants thereof, each with a
special stylistic idiosyncracy of its own.

Exactly the same thing can be said of the second
person. <u>Omae</u>, <u>kimi</u>, <u>temae</u>, <u>anata</u> are used with varying
shades of meaning.

Certainly the existence of multiple pronouns can not
be considered as a characteristic peculiar to Japanese.
We know there are languages like Siamese and Javanese, to
name only a few, where people are said to make nice dis-
tinctions in the use of different pronominal forms
according to the speaker's status and addressee's posi-
tion. A somewhat similar phenomenon is also reported
from Vietnamese. Unfortunately I am not in a position to
say anything definite on this apparently coincidental
feature in these distinct languages, but I get the feeling
that this trait may turn out to be a linguistic charac-
teristic common to most of the South and East Asian
countries, with the notable exception of Chinese. But
extensive contrastive studies of these languages remaining
a big desideratum, I am not going to say any more on this
point.

Now coming back to the original topic, let us give a
cursory glance over the various ways Japanese pronominals
behave. The first thing that should be noted is that
people seldom use them in daily conversation. In spite

of the rich assortment of pronouns, actual mention of
these is avoided as much as possible. This does not
necessarily mean, as one would be naturally led to sup-
pose, that they are omitted but understood. In Spanish,
for instance, personal pronouns used in the subjective
case are usually omitted but people participating in the
act of speech are fully aware of the kinds of pronouns
underlying their conversation. Here pronouns are just
deleted and when need be they can readily be recovered un-
equivocally. The forms of verbs used point unmistakably
to what   pronouns are meant. This is tantamount to
saying that in Spanish personal pronouns are theoretically
redundant.

The case is rather different with Japanese. It is
true that even here some of the pronouns can be recovered
in exactly the same way as in Spanish. For example, a
mother scolding her son who has overslept may say, "Motto
hayaku okinakucha dame yo!" (You must get up earlier), where
it is obvious that the pronoun anta or omae is deleted.
But in cases where children speak to their parents, it is
impossible to point out what sort of pronoun is deleted,
since in Japanese personal pronouns, as we shall proceed
to explain in a minute, may be used to one's equals as well
as inferiors but not to one's superiors, a fact that so far
has escaped the notice of students of the Japanese of today.
A student, again, conversing with his teacher consistently
uses the word "teacher" instead of any pronominals. Thus
in referring to a book of the teacher's, he says, "Kono
hon wa sensei-no desu-ka?" (Is this book Teacher's?) or
"Sensei-no hon wa kirei-da" (Teacher's book is pretty.)
It is the general rule that in speaking with his
superiors, he employs exclusively terms for kin, words
denoting their occupation, terms for their status in a
social hierarchy, and so forth.

Conversely, superiors addressing their subordinates
often refer to themselves by means of kinship terms,
titles, and status names, instead of the first person
pronouns.

Most Indo-European languages, and for that matter,
even Arabic and Turkish, differ greatly in this respect.
In all of these languages, the speaker refers to himself
by a first person pronoun which admits of no alternatives.
As for the second person, it is true that one or two
alternative forms have developed alongside of the original
in some cases, but the whole picture remains the same as
before. To refer to oneself with words other than the
genuine personal pronoun is extremely rare, and it is not
at all common to refer to the addressee with such terms as
"Teacher" or "Mother" (i.e. "Does Teacher like it?" for "Do
you like it?").

In order to give some idea of the complicated nature of Japanese self-reference and address, a concrete example is given here in a simplified figure.

The ego represents a school teacher of middle age, married and having a son. The picture shows his self-reference and address vary according to whom he addresses.

PRINCIPAL

sensei
kōchō
kōchō-sensei

FATHER

otōsan
ojiisan

ELDER
BROTHER

niisan

watakushi

boku

boku
ore

COLLEAGUE

anta
kimi

EGO

anta
kimi

omae
Name

WIFE

boku
ore

niisan

ojisan

YOUNGER
BROTHER

omae
Name

sensei

otōsan

kimi
boya
Name + chan

NEIGHBOUR'S SON

omae
kimi
Name

PUPIL

omae
Name

SON
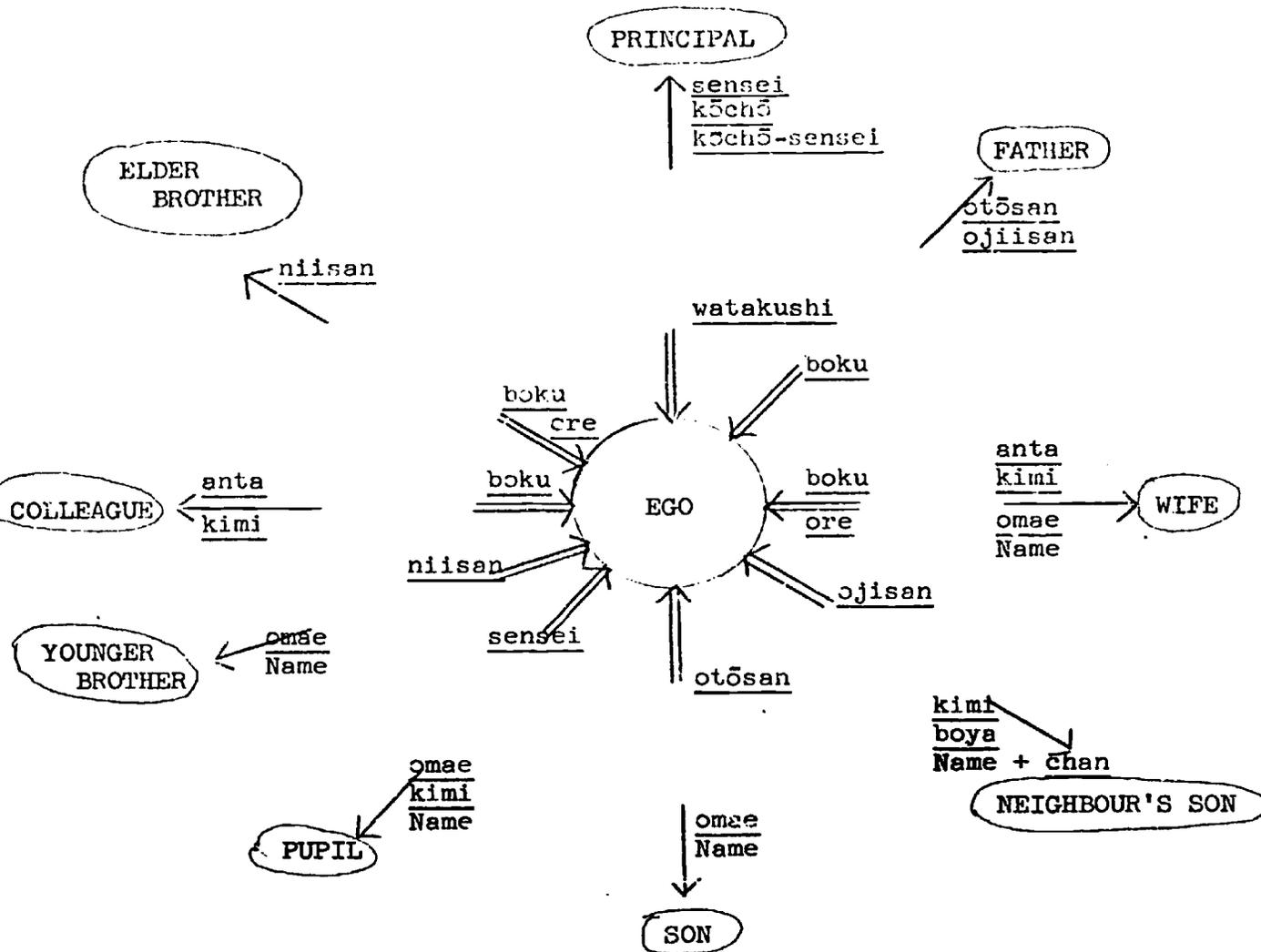
At this point it would be worthwhile to point out that in English self-reference, the word "I" alone is enough to cover all these cases with one possible exception. This is when the man refers to himself as "Daddy" when speaking with his own children in baby talk. Similarly the invariable "you" suffices in pronominal address.

In what follows, some of the results so far achieved from analyzing such examples as shown here will briefly be presented.

First of all, we shall examine how matters stand when members of the same family address each other and what terms are used in self-reference. In Japanese families, age means everything. All members of the ascending generations are viewed by the ego as his or her superiors. Of one's own generation, senior members, i.e. elder brothers and sisters, are also recognized as superiors irrespective of sex. The slanting dotted line crossing the chart divides ego's superiors from inferiors.

Now linguistically this line represents three concurrent lines of demarcation in address and two of reference.
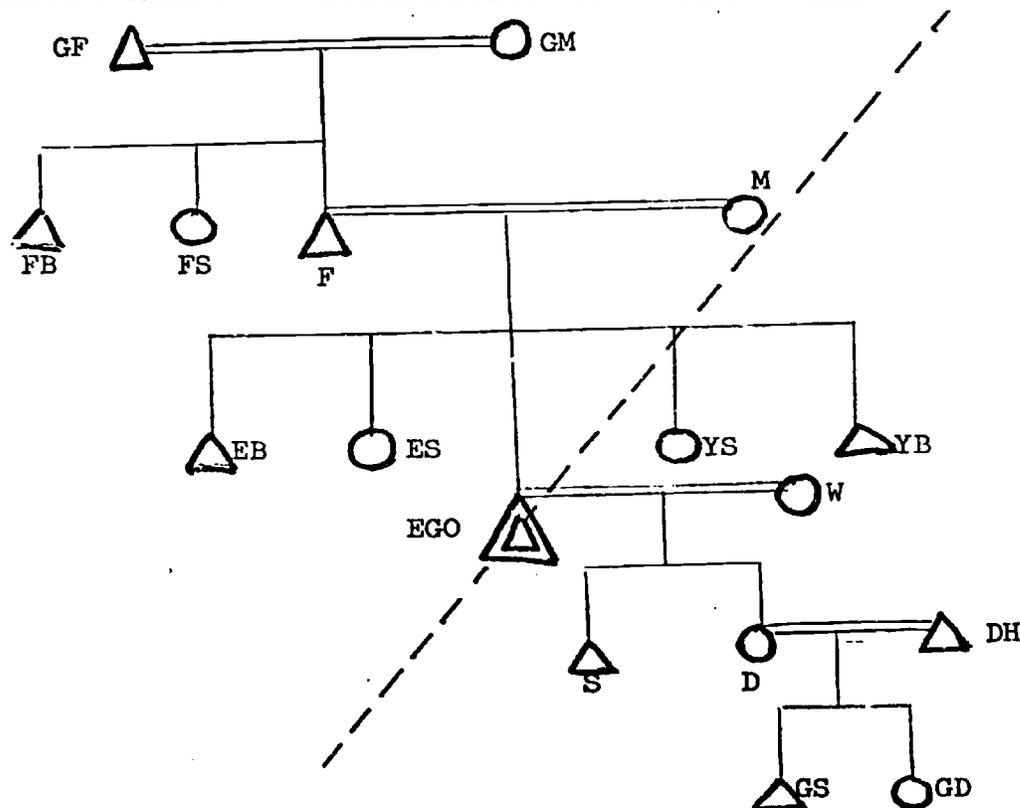
1. The ego cannot address those members of his family above the line by any sort of personal pronouns. Members situated below the line he may address by the personal pronouns.

2. The ego usually addresses those members above the line by kinship terms. Contrariwise he cannot address those below the line by any terms standing for kinship relations.

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3. The ego cannot address those above the line by
   their individual names, whereas he may use
   names in addressing those below the line.

4. The self-same line forms a clear watershed be-
   tween those to whom the ego may use his own
   name in self-reference and those to whom he
   cannot. The speaker, especially a female,
   may refer to herself by her personal name in
   speaking with her superiors but she never
   uses it when speaking with those below the
   line.

5. In exactly the same way, the ego may refer
   to himself by the appropriate kinship term in
   speaking with his inferiors but he cannot use
   any terms for kin in speaking with his
   superiors.

These five rules constitute the basic pattern ob-
served in the intrafamilial verbal communication of the
Japanese people of today.

Now I would like to elaborate a few points of in-
terest contained in the preceding analysis. It has been
shown that in the Japanese family, superiors in speaking
with inferiors, refer to themselves by kinship terms
designating the relationship between them. That is to
say, they look at themselves from the standpoint of the
other party of the conversation. This principle is some-
times carried over into non-familial contexts and we come
across such cases as the following.

All school teachers, excepting college professors,
refer to themselves as "Teacher" in their talk with stu-
dents. Doctors, nurses and policemen follow the same
pattern of self-reference in speaking with children. An
old gentleman staying at a hotel was reported to have re-
ferred to himself as "honorable guest" (o-kyaku-san) in
response to the maid addressing him as "o-kyaku-san." In
all of these cases superiors' self-references are deter-
mined by the terms of address they receive. It should be
noted here that this type of self-reference is most
likely to occur when superiors have a protective or
patronizing feeling towards inferiors. And this is the
reason why college professors do not refer to themselves
by the term with which they are addressed.

It has also been stated above that in the Japanese
family personal pronouns are used exclusively by senior
members to juniors. Outside of one's family, one must
observe the same rule. One avoids using personal

pronouns in addressing one's boss, teacher, or even a
friend who is older than himself.

Instead of genuine pronouns, terms for status ("prin-
cipal," "head," "chief," "master," "director," "manager,"
"president," etc.), occupational names ("teacher,"
"doctor," "carpenter," "nurse," "conductor," "driver,"
"policeman," etc.)and fictive kinship terms ("uncle,"
"aunt," "elder brother," "elder sister," "grandpa,"
"grandma," etc.) are commonly made use of as terms of
pronominal address.

In addition to this, Japanese has a convenient way
of coining professional names by affixing -ya ('store' or
'shop') to a great number of nouns denoting merchandise
and commodities. Thus, a dealer in wine is saka-ya-san,
one who sells books is hon-ya-san; an electrician is called
denki-ya-san, a roofer is yane-ya-san. By means of this
device, we can do without any pronouns in dealing with them.

As soon as two Americans get acquainted, they find
out each other's names. Unless they do so, they feel ill
at ease and cannot get on with the conversation. This is
so much so that when a name is unknown, they may go so
far as to pick up such generic names as 'Jack' or 'Mack.'*

The situation is entirely different with the
Japanese. Names, first names in particular, are things
of little importance. People sometimes associate with
each other without ever knowing each other's names. Per-
sonally I have a lot of friends and acquaintances whose
first names are unknown to me.

On the other hand, it is vital for a Japanese to
know the occupation, social status and age of his asso-
ciates to get on well with them. This linguistic pecu-
liarity raises a serious problem when we do not and can-
not have this information regarding the person with whom
we want to talk. The total absence of a neutral second
person pronoun like English 'you' places us in a very
awkward situation. Before the last war when Japanese
society found itself in a comparatively static state, the
problem was not so acute. Different styles of dress and
clothing offered palpable clues to the class, occupation
and age of people, in most cases. Sometimes the way
they talked revealed their social identity. Nowadays, with
increased social mobility and the spirit of egalitarianism

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*It was pointed out that this usage usually occurs only
in addressing taxi drivers, porters, etc.

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pervading everywhere, it has become extremely difficult to tell people's identity by means of their outward appearance.

I have an impression that the reluctance to talk to strangers, so typical of the Japanese city-dweller, may be attributable to thi_ lack of certainty as to the identity of the person addressed. Of course efforts are being made to overcome linguistic barriers of this kind, and the spreading use of o-taku (lit. 'your precious house') to total strangers, in a manner comparable to the use of English 'you,' may be the sign of an attempt at a break-through in the linguistic deadlock.

Discussion:

1. The line of demarcation shown in the above diagram ic a new discovery by Professor Suzuki, and is important in reflecting present-day Japanese usage. It points up the fact that Japanese has a much more elaborate system for dealing with superiors and inferiors than for dealing with equals.

    Professor Suzuki expressed his interest in continuing research on this subject throughout Japan and in comparing any available Hawaiian data.

2. As a subject for joint research, this topic would of course have to include investigation of English usage. Professor Suzuki has already used American and British novels as a source of comparative English language data.

3. Contrasts in the importance and usage of names—both family and given—were briefly discussed.

4. The use of titles in self-reference was mentioned as a subject for sociolinguistic investigation. For example, when is the use of such terms as "Dr." or "Professor" in reference to oneself con-sidered pretentious? And how are the many varied student-teacher relationships reflected in the vocabulary of personal reference?

5. Aside from the sociolinguistic implications of personal reference usage within one social struc-ture, what are the implications for the second-language learner? While pedagogy is not a primary interest of this group, this is a relevant question in a study concerned with cross-cultural communi-cation. But the first requirement is an adequate description of the systems in the two cultures.

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Again the observation was made that the differences between Japanese and American usage are probably more frequently a matter of degree than they are qualitative differences.

Coexistent Systems and Diasystems of Culture
Fumio Inoue
Tokyo University
Sociolinguistics and Ethnolinguistics

The Japanese title of this conference, translated into English, would be "Problems of Linguistic Sociology as a Factor in Value Systems"--or, more concretely, "Contrastive Study of U.S.-Japan Linguistic Behavior." The term "linguistic sociology" (in Japanese, shakai-gengogaku) is used here, though there are other expressions both in English and Japanese, i.e., "sociolinguistics" and gengo-shakaigaku.

In these border-line disciplines there is always the possibility of a shift of emphasis between two fields of study. So some argue that we should change the term too, according to the change of center of gravity. But sometimes the content of a discipline differs among countries (even among different scholars!) because of a difference in academic traditions. Therefore it is irrelevant and fruitless to discuss here the minute differences of meanings of these four (English and Japanese) terms. So let us regard these terms as representing almost the same discipline.

To define the field of sociolinguistics strictly would not do any good either. Considering the purpose of this conference, we should rather try to widen the field of study and point of view--and it is very natural and at the same time desirable to overstep the borders of "sociolinguistics."

But it must be pointed out at least that the contrastive study of linguistic behavior properly belongs to ethnolinguistics, not to sociolinguistics. We can perhaps distinguish between the structure of culture and the structure of society, though there are many border-line cases. Then sociolinguistics is mainly a study of the relation between language and society--between language and various social groups. Correlation between social strata and linguistic variability, problems relating to bilingualism or language-standardization, and so on, seem to be the major subjects of study in sociolinguistics. So, sociolinguistics concentrates more on the diversity within a community or a nation, while ethnolinguistics

can be said to be more concerned with overall structure
of a culture (or a nation). Accordingly ethnolinguists
are supposed to be better equipped for the contrastive
study of linguistic behavior which would be the main sub-
ject of this conference.

In this paper, the theoretical problems concerning
how to deal with various and diverse phenomena of lin-
guistic behavior will be discussed.

Structural and Emic Treatment of Culture

Among disciplines dealing with human culture, lin-
guistics has experienced a very lucky development partly
thanks to the characteristics of language itself: lin-
guists have been able to describe the actually very com-
plicated linguistic phenomena as beautiful, clean-cut
structures or systems. So it is natural that many
scholars have tried to apply linguistic methods to the
analysis of cultural phenomena.

We can point out two major contributions of lin-
guistics in this field. One concerns the method of
description of actual cultural phenomena--for example the
style of greetings--and the other concerns a more funda-
mental idea about the structure and system of cultural
phenomena.

a. Description of actual phenomena

The generative grammarians tried to deny the exis-
tence of phonology (phonemics) which has been the most
successful field of research in structural linguistics.
But it seems very probable that the basic idea of pho-
nology has validity even now, especially in describing
cultural phenomena. For example the hypothesis that one
identical phoneme can appear as phonetically different
sounds (allophones) according to respective environments
must be applicable in the description of cultural phe-
nomena too.

Also, the hypothesis that one phoneme in one environ-
ment (i.e., one allophone) can be scattered widely pho-
netically (i.e., free variation) is useful for the study
of culture. This means the "emic" and "etic" distinction
of cultural phenomena coined by Pike by analogy with
phonemics and pho. tics. Pronunciation as well as gesture
are kinds of action which are executed aiming at a socially
or culturally determined standard. So, metaphorically,
these actions can be considered as arrows which are shot
toward an "emic" bull's-eye--the actual realization having
a certain "etic" variety or scattering. To determine the

typical "emic" behavior (bull's-eye), we can make use of
the intuition or introspection of informants both in the
case of phoneme and "behavioreme."

      To discuss such a thing as "behavioreme," we should
further consult the methodology of so-called "structural
semantics," which has also gained much from analogy with
phonology. For example, in the case of greetings, the
precise description of gesture and voice corresponds to
the description of the <u>form</u> of words. (As for the form
of a word, we can analyze it into a limited number of
elements called phonemes. But it is not clear yet if the
same can be said about such behavior as greetings.) On
the other hand, behaviors such as greetings have their
own function within the whole structure of culture or
customs, and we can study these as something corresponding
to the <u>meaning</u> of words.

      b. <u>Culture as a structure or a system</u>

      Many scholars have discussed the possibility of re-
garding culture as structural or systematic, so there is
no necessity to discuss this theme here. But important
hypotheses underlying this thesis must be pointed out.

      One such hypothesis is that the cultural phenomena of
a community have close structural correlations with one
another. Therefore, to observe a given cultural phe-
nomenon, we should treat it in the whole network of the
culture. Especially in the contrastive study of cultures,
we should not lose sight of this structural correlation
among elements of a culture, otherwise we tend to empha-
size only the superficial differences among isolated
small parts of two cultures. Our first step should be
the entire structural description of a culture, and con-
trast or comparison should come after that.

      If we go a step further, we come across a hypothesis
which maintains that the relations among cultural phe-
nomena are. <u>orderly</u> or <u>systematic</u>. This has been true
especially on the level of phonology, and there have been
similar arguments which start from analogy with phonology
on other levels of linguistics, though problems are more
complicated. Among them structural semantics is the most
interesting field for us, as a field within linguistics
which has direct relationship with methodology of analysis
of linguistic behavior.

      It may be difficult to find an orderly system in
cultural phenomena other than language, but to keep this
hypothesis as one of the fundamentals of study may be not
only useful but necessary. Any scientific discipline

has some kind of an axiom similar to "orderly system"--
i.e., "the simple and clear one is the true one."

Besides, the areas of our study--the United States
and Japan--are culturally full of diversities. Though
the judgment on the selection of "typical" Japanese or
American cultural characteristics has been made rather
unconsciously so far, theoretically it is very difficult
to determine what is typical, especially when we consider
the diversity according to areas, social classes, races,
generations, time, and so on. The hypothesis of "orderly
system" can be applied to establish the "typical cul-
tural pattern": we regard those cultural phenomena as
"typical" that form orderly systems together with other
cultural phenomena. This means that we make use of the
content or internal relations of culture, not the accom-
panying, external factors such as age, area, education or
social class.

But to describe a culture properly, we need more
steps. And here again we find that experience in the
field of linguistics, especially phonology, gives in-
spiration.

Coexistent Systems in Culture

The most effective method of treating the diversity
within a culture is the hypothesis of coexistent systems.
"Coexistent phonemic systems" were proposed by Fries and
Pike (1949) to account for the loan words in an American
Indian language. In so-called Standard Japanese, es-
pecially in the speech of highly educated people, it is
possible to hypothesize two coexistent phonemic systems--
one excluding recent loan words and the other including
them. It is also necessary to hypothesize two or more
coexistent systems to describe the actual linguistic
situation of most of the present Japanese dialects, be-
cause there is so much influence from Standard Japanese.

Phonologists have been trying to find "orderly
systems" for about half a century. At first, research
was done by assuming tacitly the homogeneity of the
language of a community--neglecting the internal diver-
sity. Later, however, it was noticed that the diversity
within a community was too great to be neglected. To
overcome this difficulty, the study of "idiolect" (the
speech of an individual at a given time) was proposed,
though it was found later that even the speech of an indi-
vidual is not homogeneous. Moreover, the ultimate goal
of linguistic analysis is not the description of the speech
of an individual but that of a community as a whole.

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Charles Hockett (1958) proposed a useful distinction
between "overall pattern" and "common core," admitting
diversity among speakers within a community. This can be
shown in the following figure (not the same as Hockett's).
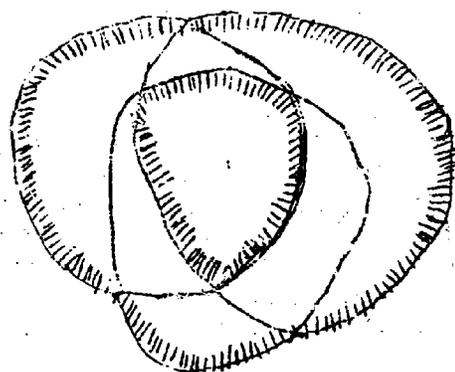
Each irregular circle represents one idiolect;
the area surrounded by the innermost shaded
line represents the common core; and the area
surrounded by the outermost shaded line repre-
sents the overall pattern. (In this paper the
distinction between an individual's active and
passive [productive and receptive] codes is
ignored for simplicity's sake.)

It would be impractical to treat only the common
core in the actual description of language. But it is
difficult to set up an "orderly system" if we treat the
overall pattern as a whole, because there are too many
individual differences and aberrant features in an over-
all pattern. Therefore we turn to the idea of "coexis-
tent systems."

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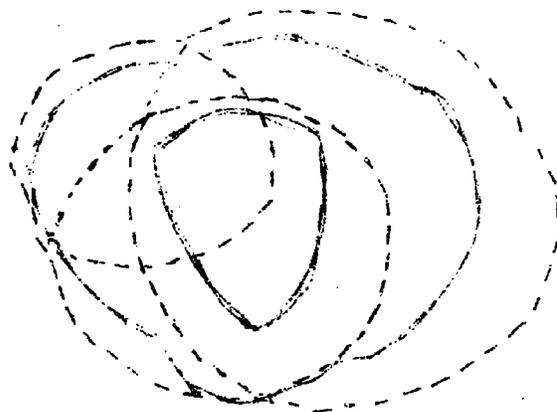
        Circles with dotted lines represent "coexis-
        tent orderly systems"; the area within the
        innermost solid line represents the common
        core; the area within the outermost solid
        line represents the overall pattern.

    An orderly system does not necessarily have to coin-
cide with the common core or the overall pattern; nor
does it have to coincide with any idiolect--an idiolect
may lack some part of a system, and it may often include
parts which belong to other coexistent systems.

    For simplicity's sake, the figures here are modeled
after a small community, but we can widen the view and
treat the whole dialect or the whole language as con-
sisting of many coexistent systems, some of which can be
very far from each other in the figure (i.e., linguisti-
cally very different).

    Similarly, we can argue that a culture too consists
of several coexistent orderly systems. By this way of
thinking, it may be found out that the cultural diversity
within a community stems actually from the selective
acceptance of several cultural systems of different mem-
bers of the community.

    In contrastive study, we generally try to make the
phenomena for comparison as simple as possible. To empha-
size the diversity may therefore sound rather destructive,
but actually it is not; on the contrary, it is a necessary
step to treat culture structurally, because orderly
systems can be found only after studying the overall
pattern, admitting the existence of diversity as a matter
of fact.

Each orderly cultural system may have close corre-
lation with social factors, such as generation, social
class, and so forth. And the study of this correlation
will surely become one of the fruitful research fields of
"culture-sociology." Geographical differences within a
culture, as well as differences according to generation
or era, show the processes of historical change of cul-
tural systems.

It is worth noting here, that complete "orderly
systems" can only be found out through abstract research
by scholars, using various information and materials.

Diasystems in Contrastive Study of Culture

A method to describe a culture in an orderly way was
thus found by hypothesizing "coexistent (orderly) systems."
According to some linguists, setting up a "system" means
at the same time setting up another difficulty, because
different systems are said to be incommensurable with each
other. If this were the case, we could not compare parts
of a system once we set up a system--very inconvenient.
But this must be called an empty argument because many
contrastive studies have been done treating languages as
systems.

Actually we can point out at least two methods for
the contrastive study of language. One of them can be
called, for convenience's sake, typological study, which
compares systems as "forms," temporarily ignoring the
"content." The other is a method which compares systems
point by point, positing "content" of language as its
basis. We can call this diasystemic study, borrowing a
technical term from the study of language contact.

a. The typological study of language is mainly con-
cerned with contrasting the number of phonemes, the shape
of phonological systems, various morphological distinc-
tions, and so on. Thanks to the development of generative
grammar, we now have some new methods for contrasting
syntactic structure, too. In a typological study, only
the abstract elements are contrasted, after analyzing the
language formally.

Examples of typological treatments of culture are
found in the so-called "vertical society" of Professor
Nakane, the "oiko-centric" system of kinship terms of
Professor Suzuki, and "implicit" versus "expressive" cul-
ture of Professor Kunihiro.

We can easily understand the fundamental difference
in cultures and discover similar examples by this kind of

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contrast, for only a small number of elements are used as catch-words for characterization. But this method also has defects because there is a possibility of overlooking other aspects of culture (it is difficult to explain away all aspects of a culture by only one or two catch-words), and sometimes of distorting the interpretation of facts, though by using many catch-words (i.e., characterizing a culture in many ways) we can hope to describe the whole structure of a culture.

b. <u>A diasystemic approach</u> is necessary to overcome these difficulties. But we must be cautious because there are two different ways to construct a diasystem in present linguistics.

<u>Diasystem in the study of language contact</u>. When bilinguals identify a sound of a language with a sound of another language, this is called a "diaphone." And the system of these identified sounds is called a diasystem. Research has been done mainly on the level of phonology. In semantics, almost the same kind of research has been carried out to illustrate the semantic differences between languages, but the term "diasystem" has not been used on this level.

The most important fact here is that the sphere of "content" of language, not the sphere of "form," is used as a frame of reference to construct systems; the "content" in this case means actual sounds in phonology, and actual things and matters of this world in semantics.

<u>In structural dialectology</u>, another kind of "diasystem" is used, and maintained by some to be the main purpose of this field. In setting up a diasystem between dialects, often sounds of a common ancestral dialect are used as a basis of comparison. In this case, we are actually dealing with the results of the historical development of sounds. This is just the opposite of the method used in comparative linguistics to reconstruct the parent language (proto-language) from materials of daughter languages. Actually there is an argument that diasystem in this sense shows the system of parent language; and using diasystem as a means for reconstruction seems fruitful, though we need some reservation.

But in structural dialectology, the first kind of "diasystem" (as in language contact) is also applied. So we can characterize the second kind of "diasystem" as <u>historical</u>, and the first kind as <u>contrastive</u>—both kinds being used concurrently in structural dialectology.

For the contrastive study of culture, we can ignore the historical diasystem and concentrate on the contrastive one.

In phonology, the contrastive diasystemic study has been applied to the whole system because it is the simpler level of language. But a similar study in semantics has been done only in small semantic fields, partly because it is difficult to include a whole vocabulary in a diasystem, but mainly because it is possible to treat a part of vocabulary as a system. By analogy it seems possible to hypothesize several behavior fields in which several behavioremic systems can be set up.

Abundant material for this kind of study can be found in popular manuals of foreign etiquette and customs for travellers and language learners. All we must do for diasystemic study is to describe these phenomena more accurately and systematically, and to contrast each item of culture faithfully--to know more accurately what is different and what is shared between two cultures.

Terse characterizations, as used in "typological study," will result from this steady and sober line of approach. So this "diasystemic approach" is a method to arrange materials properly, which would be worthwhile to develop as a basic method of contrastive study.

The last but the most important problem to be discussed is the combination of "coexistent systems" and "diasystemic approach." It is theoretically possible to contrast systems of both cultures one by one. But practically it is not only superfluous but sometimes impossible because of complexity. We have argued that there are correlations between cultural systems and social structure. By the same token and using also internal information--that is, the orderliness or completeness of systems--we can find a definite order among systems. After determining the order, the next step is to compare the first and the most complete system between two cultures. And after that, subsidiary systems are to be contrasted. By this procedure we can not only contrast the typical cultural structures but also include other inconspicuous features of culture in our investigation. So we can perhaps maintain that this is theoretically one of the most efficient procedures for the contrastive study of culture as a whole.

Let us consider a concrete example such as greetings. First, we regard the part of culture related to greetings as constituting a system. Though the patterns of greetings are diverse, because of differences of style or social

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groups, we include all these in an overall pattern. And after this, we abstract and describe several coexistent systems, according to the hypothesis that elements of culture constitute "orderly systems" with each other. Next we determine the order among systems by internal evidence. We can further study the relative status of greeting systems in social structure, and sometimes the process and cause of historical change.

For contrastive study, we do the same for the culture to be contrasted. Then we compare first the most orderly and typical systems of each culture, by using the "content" of greetings (i.e., functions in culture) as a frame of reference (though it is possible also to contrast greetings by comparing functions, using "forms" as a frame of reference). The same will be done for subsidiary systems. Thus, not only the system of greetings itself, but accompanying factors can be subjects of contrastive study (e.g., the relation between social strata and various greetings).

What has been described above is meant to be a contribution to the methodology of contrasting cultures. Some may call this a desk theory. The important point is to check this hypothesis with actual cultural phenomena. This U.S.-Japan Conference would be a suitable ground to test the validity of the theory.

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Discussion:

1. Problems of terminology were discussed. The Japanese
    shakaigaku and minzokugaku, regularly rendered in
    English as "sociology" and "ethnology" respectively,
    are very distinct disciplines as are their deriva-
    tive disciplines. In the U.S., the terminology
    seems more fluid. Generally speaking, sociolin-
    guistics is most concerned with social differences
    that determine differences of usage within one
    language, and ethnolinguistics with research across
    various languages particularly in the area of
    semantics.

2. What is culture? For some scholars, the definition
    is very broad. Mr. Inoue's thesis that there is
    structure in culture poses the question of just
    what he is including in his own definition.

3. It was suggested that culture might possibly be
    systematized through a stratificational approach,
    analyzing the social and situational constraints
    that exist beyond the semantic level.

4. The complexity of culture--particularly in the
    area of non-ritualized, everyday interpersonal
    relations--was stressed. It is that very complexity
    that has made scholars distinguish between social
    structure and culture.

         There seemed to be general agreement that the
    most urgent problem is the gathering of cultural
    data, for without sufficient data, it is premature
    to worry about a theory.

Akutai* as an Expressive Word and Behavior
          Transmitting Japanese Values

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     Human language and verbal behavior can be studied not
only in terms of their technical structure but also as a
functional system representing people's feelings, thoughts,
values and interpersonal attitudes.

     There have been studies on the social functions of
the Japanese language and verbal behavior. For example,

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* or Akuko: Japanese invective words or curses.

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the work on honorific and other sorts of Japanese words for addressing and referring to others and self are well known among the Japanese participants at this conference. These studies were aimed not only at describing and classifying various expressions but also at exploring the interpersonal attitudes and values behind these language phenomena as influenced by the Japanese social structure.

The present study reported here is also concerned with the functional usages of various Japanese expressions. It focuses on the nature of _Akutai_ (Japanese cursing) as an expression of various aspects of Japanese norms and values,--one which has important social functions.

It is my general assumption that there is no culture and society in which people do not have a body of insulting or cursing words which they can draw upon to express themselves. However, when they are expressed and to whom would vary from one culture to another. People in one culture may feel more free to curse and would enjoy doing so, whereas people in other cultures may feel more restricted and avoid cursing each other except for some mild forms of backbiting.

Furthermore, even within a culture such as American or Japanese, there are various ways of expressing one's thoughts and emotions through cursing, depending upon one's sex, social and economic status, and the particular social situation involved. For example, women traditionally use less profanity than men, and people in higher socio-economic statuses are considered more "refined" and are seen as refraining from using profanity to express themselves.

Presently, in Japan and America there appears to exist a social milieu (especially among the young) which encourages public expressions of profanity. This emphasis on a freer expression of cursing has become an effective tactic of confrontation among many protest groups.

The cross cultural variations on the nature of cursing, however, have not been thoroughly investigated by social scientists. The present paper is a first attempt at dealing with _Akutai_ (Japanese way of cursing and insulting). It is an attempt to present a framework for further comparative analysis of verbal aggressive behavior in general.

Table One shows various expressions of _Akutai_ in terms of the person who is addressed, the occasions on

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which they are expressed and whether they are expressed
privately or in the presence of others.

Table One

Occasion \ To Whom	To address privately	To address in the presence of others
Self	Swear words (e.g. Chikusho, Nanikuso, etc.) Self-blame (e.g. Nante hetakuso)	
An opponent	Abusive language, Stinging tongue (e.g. Baka, Aho, Tonma, Kechi, Hetakuso, etc.) Cursing words (e.g. Zama-miro, Kusokurae, Umani Kerarete Shin jimae, Kuta-bare, etc.) Side-hits	Cursing words (Tanka, Beranmei) Cursing chorus (e.g. Katchan Kazunoko . . ., Keichan Kedarake, Haidarake, . . . Nakimushi Kemushi . . .) Barracking (e.g. Usotsuke) cross-talk
A person not present	Kageguchi (=backbiting) (e.g. Umano Hone, Aonisai, Hageatama) Depreciating words (e.g. Uchi no Yado-roku, Gusai, Tonji, etc.)	Stinging tongue (e.g. "Eich man," Hashutsufu daijin, etc.) Sobriquet (e.g. Tanuki, Dabohaze, Uranari, NHK, etc.) Backbiting
An opponent group		Cursing chorus (e.g. Gakko ii gakko, Haittemi-tara Borogakko)

Words underlined are used by both sexes.

One of the interesting characteristics of Japanese
swear words, as Tsurumi (1954) has pointed out, is the lack
of religious references in the words when compared to
European and American swear words. Certain exceptions are
the use of chikusho and namusan, which are related to
Buddhism, but there are no such words from Shintoism. In
spite of the fact that a few Shinto shrines still cele-
brate the Akutai Festival in which the congregation (and
spectators) exchange various (witty) cursing words with
each other, there are no cursing words at all related to
Shintoism. It is also noteworthy that there are no
references made to the Emperor or Empress nor to any ances-
tral Japanese Gods. Moreover, the Japanese do not make

references to maternal figures in their cursing. Thus,
the son of a female dog has no counterpart in Japanese.

For the most part, Japanese swear words make refer-
ences to excretory and other bodily functions or deformi-
ties (e.g. <u>eekuso</u> and <u>hetakuso</u> both refer to human ex-
crement, and <u>hageatama</u>, <u>hanapecha</u>, <u>heppirigoshi</u>, etc. all
refer to bodily functions) In fact the use of the term
<u>kuso</u> as a suffix or prefix has become so common that it
is used by both men and women talking around the dinner
table (e.g. <u>kuso-dokyo</u>, <u>kuso-majime</u>, <u>kuso-ochitsuki</u>).
Many Japanese may not be aware of its rather seamy
origins.

Another characteristic of Japanese cursing is the
time and place for its use. Some of these may be stylized
and institutionalized. Perhaps the best example of such
use is the <u>tanka</u>--a stylized form of cursing used in
traditional Japanese like the Kabuki play <u>Sukeroku</u>, and
in literature such as Soseki's <u>Bottchan</u>. Such a form of
cursing was publicly expressed against a group or person,
and when cleverly done, it received public applause be-
cause it functions in the form of catharsis of people's
repressed emotions. Such a form may be similar to the
present American attacks by various protest groups who
have utilized various curse words in their rhetoric and
have gotten some recognition for their cleverness, al-
though not necessarily agreement.

Another type of public cursing is <u>Hayashi-Kotoba</u>
(cursing chorus). It is a collective type of cursing
directed against some enemy, and it not only has the
function of attacking the enemy, but it is also a social-
psychological mechanism for uniting a group. Such a
process is possible through the common rhythmic shouting
of obscenities and slogans. Another form of this is the
<u>Manzai</u>, which is an entertaining public encounter by two
professional persons or groups who shout ridicule and
obscenities at each other. The cleverness of these en-
counters is not only entertaining but it also helps the
audience to forget their daily worries. To my limited
knowledge of the English language, it is not clear
whether a similar classification and analysis is possible
in reference to English cursing and swear words. One of
my American informants, however, made a distinction be-
tween swear words and cursing words by the subject to
whom they were addressed. Also, American newspapers,
such as <u>The New York Times</u> and <u>The Los Angeles Times</u>, have
occasionally pointed out the increasing use of swearing
as a weapon by co-eds and women in general, and the
socio-economic differences of people's cursing.

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Furthermore, an article published in the U.S. pointed out that anatomical swearing in English has origins in the uneducated peasantry.

These facts may suggest that a comparative study of words and verbal behavior with invective power in terms of socio-economic status and situation will be contributing greatly to a study of cultural norms and values in each country.

The second table represents some of my own ideas on the various psychological functions of Akutai in terms of three levels of human behavior: 1) individual level, 2) group level and 3) societal level. Such a table is presently a first attempt for such analysis and has not been clearly spelled out. This table is added only for your simple reference and I feel it is difficult to elaborate it now, but this kind of generalization will be another interesting subject for future collaboration between Japanese and American psychologists who are linguistically oriented.

Table Two

A. Individual (motivational-emotional) level
   1. Needs for self-independence, assertion, dependency ⟶ frustration ⟶ anger ⟶ verbal direct aggression (Akutai, swearing and cursing) ⟶ tension reduction (catharsis) ⟶ Affirmation of the self.

   2. Cognitive dissonance (discovery of some discrepancy in others' behavior from one's norms and values)⟶ unpleasant feeling ⟶ laughter (+ criticism).

B. Group Level
   1. Group needs for independence, dominance over other groups, submission to other group, etc. ⟶ common cognitive dissonance (discovery of some discrepancy in the behaviors of other groups) ⟶ common unpleasant feeling ⟶ either Akutai (individual cursing, cursing chorus, and barracking) or laughter (confirmation of common feeling and overcoming individual fear) ⟶ catharsis ⟶ strenghthening collective consciousness, affirmation of group ego.

C. Societal Level
   1. Encountering a different culture in visiting, marriage and emigration ⟶ discovery of behavior discrepancy of members of other cultures ⟶ assimilation and/or mutual repulsion ⟶ group cursing-cursing chorus ⟶ uniting solidarity of an in-group as well as overcoming individual fear.

Discussion:

1. A broader term is required in English to cover the many types of language use--swearing, cursing, insult, derogation, invective, "put-down," "zinger," etc.--included in Professor Hoshino's paper. A new term--"abusage"--was suggested.

2. The question of how and when the language of insult is acquired by the Japanese child was raised. Some pertinent research on the American child has been done in the U. S.

3. Examples of the group insult, directed against rival schools, antagonist sports teams, and enemy nationals during wartime, were cited.

4. The contrast in argument style among different cultures was mentioned. Among the Japanese, blows are apt to follow a minimal amount of verbal exchange.

5. There may be a marked contrast between Japanese and Americans in the amount of cursing used by the military. No one knew of a Japanese parallel to its constant use by American servicemen.

6. Linguistic manifestations of the generation gap were discussed, particularly in terms of student confrontations and demonstrations. Contrasts between Japanese and Americans were noted: for example, the use of taboo words by the Americans as compared with the use of <u>kisama</u> by Japanese students in addressing the president of a university.

7. How does a Japanese wife insult her husband? One method is to fail to use certain polite forms that would ordinarily be expected. The use of <u>akutai</u> by the wife is affected by such factors as status, education, generation, the presence of children, etc.; but one opinion expressed was that the Japanese wife would not use <u>akutai</u>.

8. It was suggested that words of endearment might be taken up as a parallel study. Professor Suzuki has already done some research in this area in connection with his work on forms of address and self-reference. He mentioned the total lack of animal names as terms of endearment in Japanese, corresponding to such examples of English usage as "kitten," "pigeon," "lark," etc.

9. The contrast between Japanese and American atti-
   tudes toward physical handicaps was noted. The
   general lack of public sympathy in the Japanese
   cultural tradition is reflected in the number of
   words used to taunt the afflicted. However, there
   seems to be a change in this area in Japan at the
   present time.

IV. General Discussion
    (Wednesday, August 25, 1970: Morning session)

   A brief summary of each of the five papers presented
by the American team on Monday was given, followed by
both general discussion and specifics on the form that
related research projects might take.

   The following comments and questions were included:

   1. Is there really a problem of breakdown in com-
      munication between the Japanese and Americans?
      Or would it be more accurate to say that com-
      munication does occur but with differing degrees
      of irritation? Our problem, then, would be to
      discover what kind of behavior causes the least
      irritation and teach that. This, more than
      complete acceptance in the foreign culture, is
      probably our primary goal.

   2. In the important area of decision-making, it be-
      comes important to be able to read the clues that
      point out the head man. This is an area of fre-
      quent misunderstanding.

   3. Concerning the choice of alternate forms in a
      given language, a factor analysis and the
      ordering of the elements on which the decision
      is based would be highly useful. The model
      would probably differ for different speakers of
      the language.

   4. Is a shift in speech style conscious or auto-
      matic? And how accurate are observations by
      native speakers on their own use of style?

   5. Concerning kanji, is there any evidence that the
      reduction in the number used has in fact reduced
      the learning load for reading with a concomitant
      increase in the capacity to learn other things?
      Has the limitation of kanji had any effect on cog-
      nitive development? Is the use of Yamato-
      kotoba on radio and television increasing?

V. Address by Professor William Labov
    (Wednesday, August 26, 1970: Afternoon session)

     Professor William Labov, of the University of Penn-
sylvania, and Visiting Professor at the University of
Hawaii, addressed the conference group. He discussed his
views on linguistics and sociolinguistics in general, and
more particularly the methods he uses in gathering socio-
linguistic data. He described his summer work on Hawaiian
Creole and played several of the tape recordings he had
made.

     Professor Labov first discussed the following out-
line:

    1. The Saussurian Paradox: Langue, the social
        aspect of language, can be studied by any one
        individual asking questions of himself; parole,
        the individual aspect of language, can only be
        studied by a sociological survey of the speech
        community.

    2. Six sociolinguistic axioms.

        (2.1) Style range: There are no single-style
               speakers.

        (2.2) The inequality of styles: Not all styles
               are equally systematic, i.e., show equally
               economical and consistent rules of grammar
               and phonology.

        (2.3) Attention to speech: Styles can be ordered
               by the amount of attention paid by the
               speaker to his speech.

        (2.4) The vernacular: The most systematic style
               is the vernacular, in which the minimum
               attention is paid to speech.

        (2.5) Shared knowledge: The vernacular is used
               with those who have the maximal body of
               shared knowledge with the speaker.

        (2.6) Style shift: Whenever a speaker perceives
               himself as being observed by someone who
               does not have the maximal body of shared
               knowledge with him, he will pay more than
               minimum attention to his speech.

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Corollary (1) <u>Interview style</u>: Speakers who are responding to a series of requests for information do not use the vernacular.

Corollary (2) <u>Recording style</u>: Speakers who are aware that their speech is being recorded do not use the vernacular.

3. The Observer's Paradox: In order to obtain information on the most systematic style of speech, one must observe the way the speaker behaves when he is not being observed.

In addition, Professor Labov discussed the following:

(1) To solve the observer's paradox, use insiders as observers; avoid establishing a power relationship, which will automatically preclude any use of the vernacular; learn the interests of those being observed and stick to their ultra-rich topics; use a good tape recorder.

(2) The generation gap is total and always has been. Most adults are not aware of the ultra-rich topics of children and adolescents, and therefore have difficulty establishing rapport. From a position of power, they frequently use a speech style that signals an attempt to improve the child. In effect, the adult is a living reproach to the child: "Why aren't you as good as I am?"

(3) Two cultures free of a power relationship might be expected to be able to tell each other what their stylistic norms are, but people are not aware of their own behavior.

(4) Through the choice of words, grammatical forms, style, intonations, and sometimes gestures, a given meaning may be communicated in such a way that it can later be denied (principle of deniability). This often becomes an important means of insult.

(5) Grammar is the means by which we elaborate or complicate the essential message in "a cloud of words" to fit certain stylistic norms. At the opposite end of the scale is condensation.

(6) It is of the greatest importance to assign the
person(s) addressed to the proper category of
familiarity in reference to a given subject of
conversation, and provide only the proper
amount of information (information principle).
To give more information than is required is
a form of insult.

(7) The language of mitigation is one of the last
things learned in a foreign language.

In organizing a sociolinguistic research team Pro-
fessor Labov recommended that most observers should be in-
siders. Long-term participant observation of a group is
the key to the collection of significant data. In addi-
tion, an outsider can sometimes supplement the data by
observing things an insider is unable to hear. Partici-
pating in the overall project should be a group of re-
searchers who share a point of view and who bring to the
project all pertinent kinds of expertise.

Professor Labov suggested some linguistic categories
he would investigate if he were going to a new language
area:

a. Imperative
b. Negation (particularly of the imperative)
c. Voice (active and passive)
d. Morphophonemics
e. Pronouns
f. Greetings

VI. General Discussion
(Thursday, August 27, 1970: Morning session)

A brief summary was given of papers presented by the
Japanese team on Tuesday, followed by discussion similar
to that of the preceding morning.

The following items were included:

1. A contrastive analysis of Japanese and English
verbal expressions might be arrived at most
quickly through a comparison of translations.
However, the very special problems connected
with translation gave rise to a question as to
whether the results would really constitute
sociolinguistic research in the more usual
sense.

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2. The study of women's speech in Japanese and American was discussed as a subject for research.

3. How is national character developed? Professor Ogasawara has been tracing the cultural as well as verbal behavior of his son, now in kindergarten, since infancy. A parallel study in the U.S. would undoubtedly provide some interesting and valuable contrasts and insights.

4. Japanese baby talk and its use, even by nisei and sansei, were discussed.

5. National attitudes toward native language provide an interesting area for research.

6. In self-reference and address, Japanese constantly reflects role linguistically, and power relationships are explicitly expressed. It was suggested that there may be a closer parent-child relationship among Japanese than among Americans. However, there was a question as to whether there is always correlation between overt linguistic structure and deep psychological meaning.

7. In investigating the use of akutai, it will be important to collect relevant demographic data as well as data on the general situation and degree of aggression.

8. It is possible for the same words to occur with very different--even opposite--meanings. It is important to be able to read the significant signals that determine which meaning obtains in any given occurrence.

VII. Draft Proposals for Joint Sociolinguistic Research (The following draft outlines for joint Japanese-American sociolinguistic research projects were prepared and discussed during the afternoon session on Thursday, August 27 and the morning and afternoon sessions, Friday, August 28).

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Sociolinguistic Studies Across Cultures

1. Project title: "Speech Levels in Japanese and English
                      and Their Sociolinguistic Implications"

Summary: The misuse of speech levels by non-natives in
   Japanese and English often causes interpersonal friction.
   Both languages have speech "styles" or levels appro-
   priate to variations in situations, although Japanese
   is more complex and has much basic research. In par-
   ticular, the use of the wrong level has many bad results,
   two of which are: (1) in English, a psychological dis-
   tance is maintained by a formal style and the American
   feels the Japanese who is unable to use the colloquial
   is unfriendly and so on,--which often causes irritation
   and a break-down in communication; (2) in Japanese, the
   English learner must be able to interpret various styles
   in order to establish the decision-maker in a group, and
   so on. The sociolinguistic aspect of speech level use
   by non-natives has previously received almost no signi-
   ficant research, but both the Japanese and American
   sides at the conference are interested in this area.

Project: Investigate: (1) the linguistic differences in
   phonology, lexicon, and stylistic rules between "con-
   sultative" and "vernacular" speech levels in Japanese
   and English, with both a native analyst and the neces-
   sary "outside" (to use Labov's term) analyst; (2) the
   correlated differences in social behaviour; (3) the
   results of misuse of speech levels by non-natives;
   (4) the stages of acculturation, especially in the use
   of speech levels.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested
   in working on this project are:
   American side: Professors Hoffer and Sanches
   Japanese side: Professor Kunihiro

2.   Project title: "Comparison of Culture Rejection by
                       Youth in Japan and U.S.:   A Socio-
                       linguistic Analysis of Youth Language
                       in Two Cultures"

      The generation gap, that is the breakdown of communi-
cation between adults and youth, is the source of grave
problems in our society today. The youth are disidenti-
fying themselves with the adult culture of the "estab-
lishment" by using a different kind of language, style of
dress, value system, etc. The adults, on the other hand,
have not attempted to understand the language and culture
of the youth.

How are the youth's attitudes and values expressed
in their linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors? In what
way is their language different from that of the adult?
How parallel are these changes among the youth in the U.S.
and Japan? It is expected that many of the sociolin-
guistic characteristics of youth language in the U.S. will
be found in Japan also.

The findings should help in identifying the problems
in communication between the older and younger genera-
tions. The Japanese part of the study should have the
added significance of capturing a particular stage of a
language that is in the process of change. The change is
towards egalitarianism, that is less shift in style (use
of honorifics) according to status differences, and the
source of this change is the younger generation. How-
ever, how they actually speak in various situations, in-
cluding in their new jobs after college, has not been
objectively studied so far.

Data to be collected and analyzed

The data to be collected and analyzed will be of two
types: written material and actual speech samples. The
written material will consist of pamphlets used in stu-
dent demonstrations and underground newspapers. They
will be used to analyze youth language in its most formal
style, and to trace the changes from 1960 to the present.
Another form of written material, namely mottoes on
posters, placards, buttons, T-shirts and bumperstickers,
will also be used to measure the hierarchy of values
among the youth. Actual speech samples will be col-
lected mainly from college students, although samples
from new company employees fresh out of college, and high
school and junior high school students will also be in-
cluded to examine the spread and shift of youth language.
A longitudinal study of a few individual cases will also
be carried out. The speech data will range from dia-
logues, discussion sessions to public speeches at rallies,
varying the major independent variables--power relation-
ship and setting.

Method of analysis

Relationships between findings from linguistic
analysis and content analysis will be examined according
to variation in power relationship and setting.

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Independent (predictor) variables:

power relationship--student in relation to out-
group authority (university administration,
police), ingroup authority (ingroup hero such
as Jerry Rubin, student leaders), another stu-
dent, lower status person (such as children
when the student is a practice teacher or camp
counselor)

setting--formal or informal, presence (or ab-
sence) of ingroup or outgroup members

appearance of speaker and addressee--age, sex,
title, dress, hairdo, hygiene

Dependent (criterion) variables based on:

linguistic analysis--style or level (from
"formal" to "vernacular" characteristics to be
identified), lexicon (personal reference terms,
terms related to youth values), styles of dis-
course (reduction rules in phonology and syntax,
invective expressions, etc.)

content analysis--theme and purpose of message,
degree of mitigation or aggravation expressed,
intensity of emotion, means of arousing in-
group identification, etc.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly in-
terested in working on this project are:
American side: Professors Niyekawa-Howard and Asher
Japanese side: Professor Hoshino

3. Project title: "The Changing Position of Women in
                     Japanese and American Society: A
                     Sociolinguistic Analysis of Women's
                     Language in Two Cultures"

Our descriptions of women's speech are usually
limited to stereotyped statements such as "Women's speech
in Japanese is very different from men's but we don't have
this kind of distinction in English." When examples of
Japanese women's speech are cited, they usually are simply
tagged as such, with no clear indication as to what cate-
gories of women use them and under what circumstances.

We need accurate data and a careful analysis of the
situation as it actually exists today. For the Japanese,
there is the question of the comparative use of polite

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language by men and women, as well as the use of distinctive grammatical structures and vocabulary by the two sexes. To what extent does a Japanese woman vary her speech style according to the person addressed, observers, the role she is playing, the subject matter, etc.? On the basis of value judgments by native speakers, what constitutes typically female speech in Japanese?

Admittedly, specifically female speech in English is less overtly marked and more difficult to analyze, but the nature of the distinctions does not seem to have been identified beyond the noting of certain lexemes that are used only by women. The fact is that women's and men's styles of speech are not identical in the U.S., and adequate research has been lacking.

Pertinent to this study will be an analysis of how the present-day social change in the position and attitudes of women is being reflected linguistically. How does the women's lib movement in Japan contrast with the movement in the U.S.? To what extent are typically feminine speech styles being abandoned? What deliberate changes of style, if any, do some Japanese or American women make in order not to sound feminine? Does linguistic evidence point to polarization between those women who support women's lib as compared with those who oppose it? How much style variation exists within the speech of one individual in Japan as compared with America?

After analyzing the use of female speech within the Japanese and the American setting, research should be done in the cross-cultural setting. Given the differing attitude toward women in Japanese and American society, social situations which involve mingling of the two sexes cross-culturally can produce tension. Linguistic data on contrasts in dialogues between members of one cultural group and parallel dialogues between members of a cross-cultural group should be collected, together with value judgments by both Japanese and Americans. Analysis of such data will be pertinent to the overall goal of promoting Japanese-American cross-cultural communication.

The general method to be used in such research will be similar to that proposed for the project on culture rejection by youth. In fact, the two projects will be overlapping in the area of female youth. Accordingly, the research on these two projects should be carried out with very close liaison between both teams, both to share data and analysis, and to avoid duplication of efforts.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly in-
   terested in working on this project are:
   Japanese side: Professors Nakane and Suzuki
   American side: Professors Jorden and Sanches

4.   Project title: "Ritual and Interpersonal Language of
                       Insult and Abuse in Japanese and
                       English"

     As Professor Hoshino indicated in his presentation,
there appears to exist a social milieu (especially among
the young) which encourages public expression of pro-
fanity in Japan and the U.S.

     This emphasis on a freer expression of cursing has
become an effective tactic of confrontation among many
protest groups.

     The cross-cultural variations and similarities in
the nature of insulting and cursing, however, have not
been thoroughly investigated by social scientists. The
studies presently available are limited to those by
Labov (1969) and Tsurumi (1954).

     It is, therefore, very important to present compre-
hensive data from two countries and a framework for
further comparative analysis of verbal insulting and
abuse in both cultures.

     A comparative study of words and verbal behavior
with invective power should be done in terms of the sub-
jects' demographic differences, place where and occasion
when insult is made (private or public; vernacular or
formal; dialogue or in a group, and so on) and relation-
ships between speaker and person(s) addressed, as the
main variables influencing the behavior. Also, analysis
should be done in terms of the degree of aggression and
other emotional processes related to the verbal behavior
as either motive or evoked states.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Hoshino
   American side: to be selected
   (Note: There is a recognized overlap between this
   project and the two immediately preceding, suggesting
   that close and continuing liaison among the teams is
   essential both to expedite the research and to avoid
   duplication of effort.)

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5. Project title: Personal Reference: "A Sociolinguistic
                   Study of Structures of Personal
                   Reference in Japanese and English"

    Professor Suzuki proposes a cross-cultural study on
the structures of personal reference in present-day
Japanese and English. In papers that he has already
written, he has pointed out that Japanese self-reference
is definitely of the relative type, varying according to
situational changes. Self-reference among Americans, on
the other hand, seems to be of the absolute type to a
much greater extent. They seldom vary in their use of
terms for self. His interpretation of this is that
Japanese tend to code their changing roles explicitly by
adopting an appropriate linguistic form that suits the
occasion. Similar studies on address so far carried out
by both American and Japanese scholars have revealed a
number of points that are of immense theoretical as well
as pedagogical significance.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Suzuki
   American side: to be selected
   (Note: Here, again, overlap with preceding projects
   recommends close cooperation among research teams.)

6. Project title: "Comparative Semantic Structures of
                    Japanese and English"

    1. Relevance of analysis of semantic structure for
       cross-cultural understanding.
          Theoretical work in linguistics and anthro-
          pology of the last two decades has emphasized
          differential structures not only on the syn-
          tactic but also the semantic level of
          language. Explication of the semantic struc-
          ture of English and Japanese can serve the
          following specific ends in international com-
          munication.
            a) devising better ways of teaching students
               non-native languages
            b) promoting better machine translation
            c) providing clues to understanding different
               cultural patterns, and testable hypotheses
               of differences in wider cultural patterns.

          In addition, comparative semantic structures in
          English and Japanese provide a rich field for
          the solution of current problems in linguistic
          theory.

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2. Need for collaboration and development of uni-
   fied methodology in semantic analyses:
   a) Japanese sememic analysis
   b) American formal ethnolinguistic analysis

Personnel: Conference participants particularly in-
   terested in working on this project are:
   Japanese side: Professor Kunihiro
   American side: Professor Sanches

7. Project title: "Language Acquisition and Sociali-
   zation" (A study of how Japanese and
   American children acquire their
   native languages and become social
   beings within their own societies)

A human being is born into a language, so to speak;
but that language is not just given to him. He has ac-
quired it over many years; he has grown in the language
and with the language. It can even be said that to-
gether with other cultural phenomena the language has
made a human being what he is. Language is his means
of describing nature, the climate, and other aspects of
the culture; language is his means of communication with
others; language is his main means of thinking; language
is his means of recognition of reality.

A human being is not able to use his language from
the moment of birth. It takes him some years to acquire
it. He learns both his mother-tongue and other cul-
tural behavioral rules. Thus, with acquisition of the
language and other aspects of the culture, he becomes a
member of the society into which he was born.

When we observe languages and cultures we see there
are similarities and differences among them. Thus not
only are they fascinating as a research subject but it
is also of the utmost importance--particularly at present
when we see so much interpersonal and international mis-
understanding through those differences--to make more
systematic and revealing studies of these similarities
and differences.

As part of these studies it may be fruitful to go
back and study the earlier stages when children in a
culture try to learn the language and other cultural
behavioral rules.

If studies of this kind are done cross-culturally,
it can be shown that cultural-linguistic differences have
already been established as a result of different ways of

child-rearing in each country. These studies will need careful first hand observation, recording and analyses of the interaction between the child and his parents, friends, teachers and the mass communicational media. For this purpose close cooperation, in the present case between United States and Japan research scholars, is called for.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Ogasawara
  American side: to be selected

8. Project title: Hawaiian Japanese (A linguistic analysis and sociolinguistic study of Japanese spoken in Hawaii as a new dialect of Japanese)

    Japanese is widely spoken in the immigrant Japanese community in Hawaii. However, their Japanese (i.e. "Hawaiian Japanese") is different from so-called standard Japanese (i.e. "Japanese Japanese"). We may consider Hawaiian Japanese as a new dialect of the Japanese language. The differences that exist between "Hawaiian Japanese" and "Japanese Japanese" seem to reflect the processes of both social and psychological adjustment to a new social and cultural environment on the part of the Japanese immigrants. This means that by studying Hawaiian Japanese such adjustment processes and also the process of creating a new dialect may be identified. The research proposed here is intended to carry out just such studies.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
  American side: Professor Higa
  Japanese side: Mr. Inoue

9. Project title: "Contrastive Translation Studies of English and Japanese

    One means of arriving at a contrastive analysis of Japanese and English verbal expression is through the comparison of translations in the two languages. Both grammatical and semantic structures can be analyzed and contrasted, and the results would complement the research on semantic structures proposed by Professors Kunihiro and Sanches.

    It was suggested that Professor Hattori be invited to direct such a project. Professor Nakane indicated her interest in participating. American counterparts are to be selected.